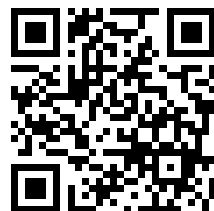

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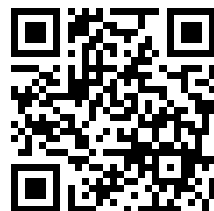
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Modern Philology

VOLUME XXIII

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NUMBER I

NOTES ON ELIZABETHAN PLAYS

I. THE AUTHORSHIP OF "THE KNIGHT OF THE BURNING PESTLE"

Students who hold that Beaumont is the sole author of *The Knight of the Burning Pestle* have not cited in support of their theory a bit of external evidence which at least deserves to be mentioned. Richard Vennar in his *Apology* (1614), referring to a well-known theatrical swindle for which he was responsible, remarks as follows: "For suppose the play was hist, was I the first poet made my clients penitents? Let the *Burning Pestle* bee heard in my cause, which rang so dismally in your eares, and yet the Writer in state of grace."¹ Vennar, in spite of the fact that after 1606 he seemed to have spent most of his time in Essex and Kent, was probably well informed regarding London theatrical conditions, and his use of the singular number is interesting support of W. B.'s statement in the 1613 quarto that the play had only one "father."

II. "ALBUMAZAR" AND "THE ALCHEMIST"

Since Chetwood² admirers of Jonson have from time to time censured Dryden for the following lines incorporated in his Prologue for the revival of Tomkis' *Albumazar*:

Subtle was got by our *Albumazar*,
That *Alchmist* by this *Astrologer*.

¹ Reprinted in Collier, *Illustrations of Old English Literature*, Vol. III.

² *Memorials of the Life and Writings of Ben Jonson*, pp. 22-23.

Dryden no doubt deserves censure, not only because Jonson's play preceded *Albumazar*, but because an earlier and unquestionably better-informed writer had indicated a truer relationship between the two dramas. Richard Braithwaite, in his *An Age of Apes* (1658), has the "Chymicall Ape" comment thus (p. 231) regarding his cheating tricks:

Though on the publick Stage they be displaid,
 As th' subtile-head Alchemist can show;
 Or the Alchimests own Ape, Tom Trinculo.

III. THE DATE OF "PATHOMACHIA"

In the first act of Sampson's *The Vow-Breaker* (1636) an interesting "Pusse-cat" is borne into battle by her master Joshua, who refuses to leave his pet behind him. In III, 2, however, the highly religious Joshua appears with his "Cat in a string," and prepares to hang her on Monday because she has killed a mouse on Sunday. This effective rap at the Puritans is inadequately discussed by Walbrath in his edition of the play in Bang's *Materialen*. It should be noted that the incident, which has the appearance of having been suggested by an actual occurrence, was referred to frequently prior to the publication of Sampson's play. In II, 5, of *Pathomachia*, published in 1630 but written "some yeeres since," Malice remarks that at present Hypocrisy is busy disguising "some Iesuits, Brownists, Arminians, and some Citizins Wiues, and some factious Men whereof one of late killed his Cat because it kil'd a Mouse on Sunday." Just how far back the "some yeeres since" and the "of late" take us it is difficult to say, but Collier points out¹ that the frequently praised passage in Braithwaite's *Barnabee's Journal* (1638) regarding the execution of the cat for violating the Sabbath had been anticipated in John Taylor's *Praise of Hempseed* (1620), where a Brownist is thus described:

His zeale is hot, although his meat be cold.
 Suppose his Cat on Sunday kill'd a rat,
 She on the Monday must be hang'd for that.

Collier thinks it likely that we have in the passage "a sort of proverb against the Puritans" well known before its use by Taylor; but it is at least equally probable that Taylor and the author of *Pathomachia* were both making use of an incident that had actually occurred about

¹ *Catalogue of Early English Literature at Bridgewater House*, p. 305.

1620 or earlier.¹ In such an event the execution of the cat is not only an interesting illustration of how the Elizabethans were wont to repeat themselves but a bit of helpful evidence for determining the actual date of composition of *Pathomachia*.

IV. "THE TWO NOBLE KINSMEN"

A reference to *The Two Noble Kinsmen* not found in the Shakspeare allusion books seems to me to be of more than usual interest. On June 16, 1653, one Theodorus² wrote to Edward, Lord Conway, at Petworth that he had been able to secure for him all the books desired except *The Two Noble Kinsmen*.³ On June 23 he wrote: "As I could not buy the play of *The Two Noble Kinsmen* under 2s., I wait further order."⁴ One would like to have further information as to why Lord Conway, an enthusiastic collector of books, especially of the more serious sort,⁵ should have been eager to secure a copy of this particular drama, and why the booksellers were asking two shillings for a play that had apparently sold in 1634 for six pence.

V. THE "THIRD MAN" IN THE PROLOGUE TO "BUSSY D'AMBOIS"

The "third man" who undertook to act the rôle of Bussy has never been satisfactorily identified. Fleay's statement⁶ that the actor in question was Ilyard Swanston, mentioned by Gayton as having acted the part, has been accepted as probable by Professors Boas,⁷ Parrott,⁸ and Phelps,⁹ the latter remarking that the words in the Prologue "As Richard he was lik'd" probably allude to Swanston's acting of Ricardo in Massinger's *Picture*. The words of Gayton, together with the fact

¹ Professor G. C. Moore Smith (*College Plays Performed in the University of Cambridge*, pp. 96-97, 100) suggests that *Pathomachia* may possibly have been written by T. Tomkis and presented about 1617.

² Apparently Sir Theodore de Mayerne, a very interesting character. Cf. his letter to Lord Conway (*Cal. State Papers, Domestic, 1651*, pp. 470-71, 498). The fondness of burlesque displayed by Sir Theodore and Lord Conway is an interesting illustration of the spirit which received *Hudibras* with such enthusiasm.

³ *Cal. State Papers, Domestic, 1652-53*, p. 420.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 436.

⁵ Cf., for example, *Cal. State Papers, Domestic, 1644*, p. 368; *ibid.*, 1649-50, p. 33; *ibid.*, 1651-52, p. 440; *ibid.*, 1653-54, pp. 35, 43, 85.

⁶ *Biog. Chronicle*, I, 60.

⁷ *Belles Lettres* ed. of *Bussy D'Ambois*, pp. 145-46.

⁸ *Tragedies of George Chapman*, p. 546.

⁹ *Mermoid* ed. of Chapman, p. 125.

that Swanston seems to have been one of the King's Men from 1625 to 1642, unquestionably point to him as the most probable candidate so far advanced for the honor of acting Bussy after Field and the gray-haired veteran had ceased to perform the part. On the other hand, it seems to be somewhat straining matters to see in the words "As Richard he was lik'd" an allusion to Swanston in the rôle of Ricardo; and the general tone of the reference to the "third man" in the Prologue seems to me to point to a less-experienced actor than Swanston, who as early as 1622 was one of the "chiefe" players of Lady Elizabeth's company.¹

Possibly a passage in F. G. Waldron's *Shakespearean Miscellany* (1802) may be of interest in an attempt to identify the gray-haired veteran's successor:

It has been suggested to the editor by J. P. Kemble, Esq. Manager of Drury-lane Theatre; in whose matchless collection of Old Plays is the above-mentioned edition of *Bussy D'Ambois*; and who is no less acute in the study, than affecting on the stage; that the above lines allude to, and by the *third man* is meant, the now-so-little-known *Tom Bond*. Mr. Kemble is almost certain that he has met with such information in some old tract, or poem; but, not having taken a memorandum, he cannot now refer to it. Should this be the fact, we may conclude that *Bond* was an actor of some celebrity; nor, were it otherwise, is it likely that his portrait should have been thought worthy of preservation.²

Unfortunately, we know practically nothing about Bond; and what we do know by no means indicates that he was "an actor of some celebrity." He took the part of Miscellanio in Marmion's *Holland's Leaguer*, printed in 1632 as "lately and often acted with great applause, by the high and mighty Prince Charles his servants, at the private house in Salisbury Court"; in 1624 he belonged to the Children of the Revels of the late Queen Anne;³ and he acted one of the Tritons in *The Two Ladies*, one of the plays included in Egerton MS 1994, which Professor Boas and Mr. Warner believe was bequeathed to Dulwich College by William Cartwright, the Younger. This latter

¹ Murray, *English Theatrical Companies*, I, 255.

² Pp. 25-26. Waldron reproduces Bond's portrait from the original in Dulwich College. The picture—No. 148 in the collection presented to the college by William Cartwright, the Younger (died 1686-87?)—is thus described: "Tom Bond's picture, an actor, in a 'band rought with imbrodery, bared neck,' on a board; in a black frame, very old. 5s." (Warner, *Manuscripts and Muniments of Dulwich College*, p. 206).

³ Murray, *op. cit.*, I, 362.

point is interesting, for it is rather clear that Bond and Cartwright were associated professionally,¹ a fact which would account for the presence of Bond's portrait in the Dulwich collection.

In view of the facts above, it seems hardly plausible that by 1634 the rôle of Bussy would have been intrusted to Bond, either by the King's Men in their revival of the play or by the rival company that had presented it prior to this date;² nor is there any evidence that Bond was ever a member of the king's company or that Prince Charles's company, to which he apparently belonged about 1632-34, ever acted *Bussy D'Ambois*. In spite of all this, one should at least remember that Kemble had a good memory and an excellent library.

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¹ Boas, *Shakespeare and the Universities*, pp. 104 ff.

² Cf. Parrott, *Tragedies of Chapman*, p. 541.

THE SPARROWS OF CIRENCESTER

A number of medieval chroniclers relate the following stratagem, attributing it to several historical personages. An army lays siege to a fortified town, but is for a long time unable to conquer it. The leader then hits upon a new device. He has a large number of birds caught which have their nests in the city, ties combustibles to their bodies and sets them on fire. The frightened birds fly to their nests, and soon the roofs begin to burn. While the burghers are engaged in extinguishing the flames the besiegers attack the walls and easily carry the fortress by storm.

One of the earliest sources narrating the episode is the *Brut Tysilio*, which is the Welsh translation of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia regum Britanniae*, but drew on other accounts as well. The Welsh version runs as follows:

Als dieser Sieg errungen war, kam Imbert, König von Gaul, und verband sich mit Gormund unter der Bedingung von ihm Hülfe zu erhalten, um Frankreich seinem Oheim wieder zu entreissen, der ihn daraus vertrieben hatte. Die gingen daher gemeinsam sich Caer-Vyddan's durch vollständige Einschliessung zu bemeistern, um den Verlust von Menschenleben zu vermeiden. Als dieses geschehen, nahmen sie ihre Zuflucht zu einer Kriegslist. Eine grosse Zahl von Sperlingen wurde eingefangen, und mit Pech und Schwefel gefüllte Nusschalen mit Ende der Nacht angezündet, ihnen an die Flügel gebunden, und die Vögel dann frei gelassen. Das Feuer in den Schalen ward durch die Bewegung der Flügel angefacht, und am nächsten Tage stand die Stadt in Flammen.¹

The stratagem is here attributed to the Dane Gormund and his ally Imbert, the French Isembard, both heroes of a *chanson de geste*.²

Gormund is also the chief protagonist in the version of Wace, who narrates the episode in his *Roman de Brut*³ in the following text:

Cil de fors par tel tricerie
Qui ainc mais n'ot esté ole,

¹ San-Marte, *Gottfried's von Monmouth Historia Regum Britanniae und Brut Tysilio* (Halle, 1854), p. 568.

² Ed. Alphonse Bayot, *Gormond et Isembard*, Paris, 1914; cf. Rudolf Zenker, *Das Epos von Isembard und Gormond*, Halle, 1896; Joseph Bédier, *Les Légendes épiques*, IV (Paris, 1921), 19-91.

³ *Le Roman de Brut par Wace*, ed. by Le Roux de Lincy, II (Rouen, 1836-38), 244-45. [MODERN PHILOLOGY, August, 1925]

Ont la cité tote enflamée,
 Oiés com il l'ont alumée.
 Moissons aroi et glu present,
 En escaille de nois fu misent
 Et od le fu fisent repondre
 Es prises de lin et de tondre,
 As piés des moissons l'espëndirent,
 Mervillose voisdie firent.
 Al soir, qant vint a l'avesprer,
 Laierent lor moissons aler.
 Il s'alerent al soir colchier
 La ou il soloient jochier;
 Es tas de blé et es buisons,
 Et es sourondes des maisons.
 Et des que li vile escaufa
 Li vile esprist et aluma;
 Breton virent la vile ardoir,
 Flambes lever, maisons caoir.
 A combatre se contraèrent,
 Mais venqu furent que poi erent.

Wace adds that the peasants called Cirencester *la cité as moissons* to his day.¹ ?

Another translation² of Geoffrey's work, the *Brut* of Layamon, has the following version:

Gurmund made a tower, therein he built a chamber; therein he played his play, that men loved in those days, therein he had his mawmet, that he held for his god. It befell on a day, that Gurmund with his folk were exceeding blithe, and drunk with wine. Then came there a heathen man—cursed therefore be he,—and asked tiding of Gurmund the king. "Say me, lord Gurmund,—thou art king very powerful,—how long wilt thou lay about this burgh? What wilt thou give me, if I give thee the burgh, and all that is within, to do thy will, that nought shall be left, for all thou shalt possess?" Then answered Gurmund, the mighty heathen king: "I *will* give thee an earldom, ever to possess, on condition that thou quickly deliver me the burgh." This agreement was made anon,—few men it knew. Then this heathen knight up arose forthright, and sought nets woven (?) exceeding narrow, and the tools thereto, and cut them very narrow; there before he gan pour draff and chaff and oats. Thus gan he it dight; and sparrows thereto alighted, and he at the first draught very many he caught; and he took them in safety from the ground, so that all their wings were not injured. Then sought he nut-shells, and caused the kernels to be drawn out; and took

¹ Verse 14,029.

tinder, and caused *it* to be put in the shells, and before the night brought fire therein, and fast knotted them to the sparrows['] feet. These he let go forth, very many sparrows; the sparrows took their flight, and flew to their holes over the burgh, where they ere were inhabiting; in the eaves they clung, so they did in the mows. Anon as the fire was hot, as the sparrows inner crept, the wind came with the night, and the fire kindled, and the burgh in many places gan her to burn; in *the east side and in the west side*,—woe was to *the Britons* there, when they weened to be sure; and they fled into one end. Then arose the fire anon, before and behind. Gurmund caused horns and trumpets to be blown; fifteen thousand thronged to the blast. *The Britons* burn, the Britons gan to run; they leapt out of *the walls*, and men slew them all.¹

The same story relating to the siege of Cirencester by Gormund is related by Giraldus Cambrensis (twelfth century). His text reads as follows:

In Britannica ligitur historia Gurmundum ab Affrica in Hiberniam advectum, et inde in Britanniam a Saxonibus accitum, Cirecestriam obsidione cinxisse: qua tandem capta, et passerum, ut fertur, maleficio igne succensa, ignobili quoque tunc Britonum rege Keredicio in Kambriam expulso, totius regni dominium in brevi obtinuisse.²

The *Vita Merlini* (shortly after 1216) contains a short mention of the episode:

Idem Kaerkeii circumdabit obsidione
Passeribusque domos et moenia trudet ad imum.³

Finally, a version of it is found in *Loher und Maller*, the German translation of a French prose romance composed at the beginning of the fifteenth century and going back to a lost *chanson de geste* on *Gormond et Isembard*.⁴ According to this version the city besieged is Gloucester (*sic*). The birds captured are crows, pigeons, and others, altogether two thousand in number. The fire is put in small glasses attached to the birds. As the version is late and doubtless contains spurious elements, I refrain from quoting it here.

It would be erroneous to suppose that the stratagem is invariably ascribed to Gormund at the siege of Cirencester. Geffrei Gaimar, in his *Estoire des Engles* (1147–51), attributes it to King Cerdig of

¹ *Layamon's Brut, or Chronicle of Britain* (ed. by Sir Frederic Madden), III (London, 1847), 170–74. I follow the translation of the editor.

² *Opera* (ed. by James F. Dimock [*Rerum Brit. Med. Aev. Script.*]), V (London, 1867), 184, *Distinctio* III, cap. XXXIX.

³ San-Marte, *Die Sagen von Merlin* (Halle, 1853), p. 290, vss. 593–94.

⁴ Rudolf Zenker, *Das Epos von Isembard und Gormund*, pp. 42 ff.

Wessex, who died in 534; but the scene is again the city of Cirencester. I quote the text:

Vint e quatre anz dura la guere,
ainz que Certiz poüst conquere
sur les Bretons gueres de chose:
idonc ert Cirecestre close,
mes par la mesgarde as Bretons
fust alumé par mussons,
ki feu e suffre dedenz porterent,
et des meissons mulz alumerent,
e li seges ki dehors fu,
firent l'asalt par grant vertu.¹

Saxo Grammaticus relates two similar episodes in his *Gesta Danorum*, attributing the stratagem to the Danish kings Hasting and Fridleif, respectively. I quote the passages:

Auicum a Lokero captus omnem perditionis euentum, certissimis rerum experimentis circa se peractum sensisset, Handwanum, Hellesponti regem, apud Dunam urbem, iniunctis murorum presidiis uallatum menibusque, non acie, resistantem, bello pertulat Auorum fastigio oppugnacionis aditum prohibente, diuersi generis aues loci illius domiciliis assuetas per aucupii peritos prendi iussit, earumque pennis accensos igne fungos suffigi curauit, quepropria nidorum hospicia repetentes, urbem incendio compleuere. Cuius extinguendi gracia concurrentibus oppidanis uacuas defensoribus portas reliquerunt. Adortus Handwanum cepit, eique redempcionis nomine corpus suum aneo rependendi potestatem fecit.²

And

Idem cum Dufflynum, Hybernie oppidum, obsideret, murorumque firmitate expugnacionis facultatem negari conspiceret, Hadingiani acuminis ingenium emulatus, hirundinum alis inclusum fungis ignem affigi precepit. Quibus propria nidificacione receptis, subito flammis texta luxerunt. Quas oppidanis restinguere concurrentibus, maioremque sopiendi ignis quam cauendi hostis curam prestantibus, Dufflyno potitur.³

In his *Heimskringla* Snorri Sturluson ascribes the trick to Harald Haardraade, then in the service of the Byzantine emperor and engaged in a war in Sicily. I give the English translation of the episode in question:

Now when Harald came to Sicily he plundered there also, and sat down with his army before a strong and populous castle. He surrounded the

¹ Rudolf Zenker, *Das Epos von Isebard und Gormund*, p. 107.

² Ed. A. Holder (Strassburg, 1886), p. 24.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 119.

castle; but the walls were so thick there was no possibility of breaking into it, and the people of the castle had enough of provisions, and all that was necessary for defence. Then Harald hit upon an expedient. He made his bird-catchers catch the small birds which had their nests within the castle, but flew into the woods by day to get food for their young. He had small splinters of tarred wood bound upon the backs of the birds, smeared these over with wax and sulphur, and set fire to them. As soon as the birds were loose they all flew at once to the castle to their young, and to their nests, which they had under the house roofs that were covered with reeds or straw. The fire from the birds seized upon the house roofs; and although each bird could only carry a small burden of fire, yet all at once there was a mighty flame, caused by so many birds carrying fire with them and spreading it widely among the house roofs. Thus one house after the other was set on fire, until the castle itself was in flames. Then the people came out of the castle and begged for mercy.¹

The same story is found in the Russian chronicle of Nestor, who gives the following account:

[Princess Olga, besieging the city of Korosthenes, induces the inhabitants to send her a number of doves and sparrows, promising to raise the siege.] ... Alors Olga fait distribuer à chacun de ses gens un pigeon et un moineau; elle leur ordonne de joindre ensemble ces deux oiseaux, de leur attacher sous la queue une allumette enflammée, garnie d'un morceau d'étoffe, et de les laisser ensuite s'envoler vers leurs demeures. L'ordre s'exécute: aussitôt qu'ils se voient libres, les pigeons se prennent à voler vers leur colombier, et les moineaux sous les toits qui leur servent de retraite. De sorte que cette volée d'oiseaux porte en un clin d'œil l'incendie partout, dans les granges, dans les greniers, et vers les principaux bâtimens. Il n'y eut pas une seule maison qui ne fût atteinte du feu, et il n'y eut pas moyen de l'éteindre, car ce n'était partout que flammes.²

The story penetrated into Hungary, where it has survived to the present day. It is attached to a ruined castle in the neighborhood of the city of Torda and is recorded in the following version:

Il y avait une fois un roi, riche comme la mer, et puissant comme pas un. Son fils adoptif lui demanda la permission de bâtir un château sur cette montagne. Le roi y consentit, et, au bout de sept ans, le château fut achevé. Alors le fils demanda à y demeurer sept ans, pour se reposer, ce à quoi le roi consentit aussi. Mais le jeune homme abusa de la bonté du roi, et employa les sept années à fortifier le château, et, le terme venu, il refusa tout net de rendre le château à son bienfaiteur.

¹ *The Heimskringla or The Sagas of the Norse Kings* (tr. by S. Laing), III (London, 1889), 354.

² *La Chronique de Nestor* (French tr. by Louis Paris), I (Paris, 1854), 77 ff.

Indigné de cette ingratitude, le roi assiégea le château. Le siège dura sept ans. Alors le roi voyant que tous ses efforts étaient inutiles, eut recours à la ruse. Il envoya demander aux défenseurs du château une paire de colombes en souvenir de leur courage. On accorda cette prière au roi, mais bientôt on eut lieu de s'en repentir. Un jour qu'il faisait un grand vent, le roi lâcha les colombes après les avoir chargées de matières enflammées. Le feu prit au château, et la garnison en fuite fut massacrée par les gens du roi.¹

Finally, a similar tale is reported by the Bohemian chronicler Hajek (sixteenth century), as having occurred in the year 1422, when Prince Henry of Plauen laid siege to the city of Saatz in Bohemia. But in this instance the inhabitants succeeded in averting a catastrophe.²

In 1876 J. C. H. R. Steenstrup pointed out that the stratagem was probably not attributed first to Fridleif and later to Hasting, but that the contrary is rather to be assumed. For inasmuch as the Irish chroniclers do not know anything about the trick on the occasion of a siege of Dublin, it is very likely that a confusion of Duna, the Baltic city besieged by Hasting, with Dufina, that is, Dublin, was responsible for its ever being ascribed to Fridleif.³ The Danish scholar believed the attribution of the stratagem to Harald Haardraade to be of later date.⁴ Zenker accepts this conclusion and furthermore proves that the story, localized in Gloucestershire, was originally attributed to the Anglo-Saxon king Ceawlin, who lived in the sixth century, and was later ascribed to Gormund and other Norse chiefs.⁵

There can be little doubt that Zenker is right in showing that the stratagem was known in Anglo-Saxon times and attributed to an Anglo-Saxon king. It is also certain that the Russian story of Princess Olga is due to Scandinavian influences, and likewise it can be taken for granted that Scandinavians who found the legend localized near Cirencester ascribed it to one of their own heroes. What is more subject to doubt is Zenker's hypothesis, according to which Saxo and Snorri, or their sources, ascribed this Anglo-Saxon legend to Scandinavian chiefs who had no transactions with Ciren-

¹ Michel Klimo, *Contes et Légendes de Hongrie* (Paris, 1898), p. 50.

² Zenker, p. 106.

³ Johannes C. H. R. Steenstrup, *Normannerne*, I (Kobenhavn, 1876), 26.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 24.

Op. cit., p. 108.

cester and may, for all we know, never have heard the name of that city.¹ Granting that all the versions enumerated have a common origin, it would be necessary to show how the legend ever reached Bohemia, where we find it in the fifteenth century. These doubts increase when we learn that according to an African legend a city was taken in the same manner, pigeons being used to set the houses on fire, precisely as in the chronicle of Nestor.²

The very fact that the stratagem is reported of so many different heroes and found in places so widely apart tends to indicate that it does not represent history but legend. The idea of birds being used to set a city on fire is, moreover, so improbable³ that the historical truth of the event is extremely doubtful. It would, however, be rash for the modern investigator to treat such legends as idle fictions. If they are not based on historical truth, they may be at least based on mythological truth, that is, on ancient customs or beliefs which crystallized into historical legends and entered the works of medieval chroniclers. To arrive at this mythological basis it will be necessary to examine non-Scandinavian parallels of incendiary birds.

One of the oldest of these is undoubtedly the fable contained in the Chinese collection *Avadanas*⁴ and narrating a war between the crows and owls. There a crow pretending to have deserted the army of her people gains the confidence of the owls and sets their nest on fire with a burning branch taken from the fire of a shepherd. This fable is a translation from the *Pantschatantra*,⁵ and Benfey gives reasons which make it very probable that the subject of the fable migrated from Europe to Persia and India. The episode of the crow burning the owls' nest is, however, not found in the Greek versions,⁶ where the nest of the wicked bird is destroyed by heavenly

¹ The rôle played by Othin—for he is the unknown stranger who carries out the stratagem—in Layamon does not prove Anglo-Saxon origin of the episode. The trait in question is rather typically Norse. Cf. Max Deutschbein, *Studien sur Sagengeschichte Englands. Teil I: Die Wikingersagen* (Cöthen, 1906), p. 243.

² F. Liebrecht, *Zur Volkskunde* (Heilbronn, 1879), p. 110.

³ A contemporary of Voltaire thought it necessary to prove the probability or improbability of the story by experiment. He came to the conclusion that it was all falsehood, but he could not escape the reproach of not having followed the version of Nestor closely enough. Cf. Zenker, *op. cit.*, p. 105, n. 1.

⁴ Stanislas Julien, *Les Avadanas: Contes et apologues indiens*, I (Paris, 1859), 31; cf. Liebrecht, *op. cit.*, p. 109.

⁵ Theodor Benfey, *Pantschatantra*, I (Leipzig, 1859), 382, and II, 543.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, I, 383.

vengeance. The episode under discussion is then an oriental addition.

A story somewhat resembling the former is found in the same Chinese collection¹. There a thievish ram is punished by a maid-servant. When he wants to revenge himself by butting her with his horns, she throws the fire she is carrying on him. He escapes and sets the whole village on fire. The story has undoubtedly an Indian model,² which has not been preserved in the extant versions of the *Pantschatantra*, though it is found in the *Sindibad-nameh*.³

Nor are ancient versions lacking in the Occident. The best-known of all is doubtless the story of Samson, who attaches fire to the tails of foxes and then lets them run across the fields of the Philistines, thus burning their corn.⁴

On the festival of Ceres, which fell in the month of April, it was the custom in Rome to chase foxes with burning torches through the circus. Toward the end of the republic the origin of this strange ceremony was forgotten, and Ovid narrates an aetiological myth.⁵ It has been suggested that originally the foxes were driven through the fields and finally burned in sacrifice. A law of Carseoli demanded the death of any captured fox, which, according to Liebrecht, likewise indicates an ancient sacrifice to the divinity of spring.⁶

Liebrecht quotes a passage from a Persian historian according to whom it was an ancient custom to celebrate a certain night in October by attaching burning grass and herbs to birds and animals and letting them fly or run, so that the whole earth and air were filled with light. Other writers report that this festival was held in November, December, or January. The English editor points out that the celebration was on the occasion of a solstice festival and quotes English analogues.⁷

Such analogues are indeed not lacking. According to an ancient English superstition the Cornish chough called *Pyrrhocorax* is an incendiary bird which sets houses on fire.⁸ German popular belief has

¹ Julien, *op. cit.*, I, 135; cf. Liebrecht, *op. cit.*, p. 113.

² Benfey, *op. cit.*, II, 549.

³ *Fasts* iv. 681 ff.

⁴ *Ibid.*, I, 503.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 261.

⁶ *Judg.* 15:4.

⁷ Liebrecht, *op. cit.*, pp. 262-63, who quotes the English text *in extenso*; cf. also Sir J. G. Frazer, *Balder the Beautiful*, I (London, 1913), 269. The account is found in the work of Thomas Hyde, entitled *Historia religionis veterum Persarum* (Oxford, 1700), pp. 255-57. It has not been accessible to me.

⁸ Liebrecht, *op. cit.*, p. 110.

it that the stag beetle sets houses on fire with glowing coal which it is carrying.¹ In times of drought, the Arabs attach fire to the tails of lean cattle and then let them run into the mountains to die.² An episode told by Dio Cassius as foreboding the death of Agrippa (12 B.C.) seems to belong to the same group of narratives. Here the hut of Romulus is set ablaze by crows which drop burning meat taken from some altars.³ A similar story is told by Rigord:

Corvi etiam quamplures cum hujusmodi tempestate visi sunt in aere, de loco ad locum volantes, et cum postris suis vivos carbonos portantes, et domos incendentes. . . .⁴

Finally, it should be mentioned that Pliny knows of certain birds to which like qualities were attributed.⁵

The frequent occurrence of incendiary birds in lands so far apart makes it fairly certain that a universal custom was at the basis of the legends. The Roman and Arabic parallels, as well as those discovered in modern Europe, would indicate that the custom was an agricultural ceremony probably designed to have a magical effect on the growth of the crops.⁶ This is the conclusion of Mannhardt⁷ and Gruppe.⁸ But the question must be answered, Why should birds be chosen to carry fire in a vegetation ritual? The sequel of this study will attempt to find an answer to that question.

There is a widespread belief in some connection between thunder and certain birds,⁹ generally distinguished by plumage partly or wholly red.¹⁰ Thus J. R. Harris pointed out that the woodpecker was the predecessor of Zeus and Zeus himself,¹¹ and that robin red-breast and the wren were probably in a similar manner identified with the Norse Thor.¹² Slightly differentiated from the thunder bird is the fire bird.¹³ The wren, according to legends collected in coun-

¹ Wuttke, *Der deutsche Volksaberglaube der Gegenwart* (Leipzig, 1869), p. 151.

² Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums* (Berlin, 1897), p. 167.

³ *Hist.* liv. 29.

⁴ *De gestis Philippi Augusti Francorum regis* (ed. Bouquet, *Recueil*), Vol. XVII, p. 41, an. 1194.

⁵ *Hist. Natur* x. 13 (17).

⁶ Frazer, *loc. cit.*

⁷ W. Mannhardt, *Mythologische Forschungen* (Strassburg, 1884), p. 108.

⁸ O. Gruppe, *Griechische Mythologie und Religionsgeschichte* (München, 1906), pp. 249 and 818.

⁹ J. R. Harris, *Boanerges* (Cambridge, 1913), pp. 20 ff.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 31 ff.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 38.

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 35 ff.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 35.

tries as far apart as Guernsey¹ and Queensland,² brought the fire to earth. It is therefore very likely that if certain birds were used in the above-mentioned ceremonies it was in their capacity of fire or lightning birds. This theory is further corroborated by the following facts: in a number of regions the wren is hunted at a certain time of the year; in the same countries the squirrel is hunted at Easter,³ and a dead fox is carried about by the village boys on Midsummer Day.⁴ But we have seen above that the fox played the part of the incendiary birds in the story of Samson and in the Old Italian ceremony recorded by Ovid. The reason is evident: The red color of both squirrel and fox made them appear as fire animals par excellence.

Summing up the main conclusions of this study, it may be said that the legend of the sparrows of Cirencester, though of Saxon origin, is found independently among the Scandinavians and in many other parts of the world never reached by Teutonic influences. It is based on a universal ceremony designed to quicken the growth of the crops. For this ritual certain birds and animals were chosen which, on account of certain peculiarities, were believed to be connected with thunder and fire.

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¹ Swainson, *Folklore of British Birds*, p. 16, quoted by Harris, p. 38.

² Sir J. G. Frazer, "Apollodorus," *The Library*, II (London, 1921), 328; cf. also pp. 348 and 349.

³ Harris, *op. cit.*, pp. 392-93.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 393.

TWO PROVENÇAL TENZONI

The two following *tenzos* have never been critically edited, with consideration of all the manuscripts. They are, however, not unknown to scholars, having been cited by authors of studies of this verse-form¹ and by those interested in the Italian relations of the troubadours.² They are, moreover, intrinsically interesting, though not of great literary merit.

Tenzone I (really a *partimen*) discusses one of the usual subtleties of the code of chivalric love. Should a lover, attracted by two ladies, court the one who will grant him favors, but for whom his own feeling is not so strong as that which he entertains for the other lady, who scorns him? Albert of Sisteron thinks that he should stick to the lady whom he really loves, while Aimeric of Péguilhan, who proposes the dilemma, defends the thesis that a man should take what comes to him.

In II, Aimeric challenges Albert to a debate about nothing. This appears to be the sole example of this sort of nonsense verse in the form of a *tenzone*. It was probably suggested by the "No sai que s'es" of Raimbaut of Orange.³ The earliest specimen of a song about "naught" is the *Farai un vers de dreyt nien* of William IX of Poitou.⁴ It must be admitted that the wit of our two debaters is not very brilliant.

These *tenzoni* were probably composed in Italy at the court of some prince where the troubadours were residing, that of the Este or the Malaspina, with both of whom Aimeric of Péguilhan⁵ was in

¹ For instance, Selbach, *Das Streitgedicht in der altprov. Lyrik*, pp. 70, 74; Zenker, *Die prov. Tenzone*, pp. 15, 52; Knoblauch, *Die Streitgedichte im Prov. und im Altfranz.*, p. 41.

² See especially Zingarelli, *Intorno a due trovatori in Italia*, pp. 48-49; Torraca, *Le donne italiane nella poesia provençale*, p. 17.

³ Published by Appel, *Prov. Chrestomathie*, No. 36, p. 77; cf. also Crescini in *Mélanges Chabaneau*, pp. 315-19.

⁴ No. IV, in Jeanroy's edition, p. 6.

⁵ On the relations of Aimeric of Péguilhan to these Italian courts, see De Bartholomæis, *Studi romanzi*, VII, 319-42. As to Albert's sojourn in Italy, see Schultz, "Die Lebensverhältnisse der ital. Trobadors," *ZFRP*, VII, 215.

close relationship. The two *tornadas* of I enable us to fix approximately the date of this piece. Beatrice of Este, chosen as judge of the debate by Aimeric, took the veil some time in the years 1218–20.¹ As a cloistered nun would hardly be called to decide a frivolous question of this sort, it is likely that the *tenzone* was written before 1218, but after Aimeric's arrival in Italy. The date of the latter event is still uncertain. His earliest poem in which he alludes to Italian affairs is probably the *planh*² for the death of Azzo VI of Este, father of Beatrice. Azzo died in 1212. As, however, the name of Emilia of Ravenna, the judge chosen by Albert of Sisteron, does not appear before 1212, it seems to me most likely that this *tenzone* was composed in the period 1214–18. No chronological data are to be found in II. But as both poets remained in Italy for many years and as the language in one respect shows marks of lateness,³ it is quite possible that it was written at a more recent date than the other.

TENZONE I: BARTSCH, "GRUNDRISS," 10, 3 AND 16, 3

Manuscripts⁴ and reprints: D^a 200 (Nalbertz en naimeries de piguillan); D^c 247 (Naimeris de pigillan; verses 23–24 only; Teulié et Rossi, *Annales du Midi*, XIII, 200); E p. 214 (Tenso; Mahn, *Gedichte*, No. 330); G 98 (De naimeric e dalbertet; Bertoni, *Il canzoniere provenzale della Biblioteca Ambrosiana R 71 sup.*, p. 315); I 152 (Nalbertetz e naimeries de piguillan; Mahn, *Gedichte*, No. 693); K 138 (Nalbertetz e naimeries de piguillan); a² p. 557 (La tenso den albert e den aimeric; Bertoni, *Il canzoniere provenzale di Bernart Amoros*, p. 394).⁵

These six manuscripts divide naturally into two groups, DIK_a and EG, as is shown by the verses 7, 12, 16, 21, 38. In the first group, DIK seem quite closely related (as is usually the case); *a* is more independent and once (vs. 38) appears to be contaminated by the other family,

¹ See Bergert, *Die von den Trobadors genannten oder gefeierten Damen*, p. 82; Zingarelli, *op. cit.*, pp. 27–49; Bertoni, *Rambertino Buvallesi*, pp. 6–7.

² "S'eu anc chantei alegres ni jauzens," Bartsch, *Grundriss*, 10, 48.

³ See note to vss. 23–24.

⁴ For explanation of these letters and description of the MSS see Jeanroy, *Bibliographie sommaire des chansonniers provençaux*. I have examined and collated myself the MSS DEIKMOR; for the others (Ga), I rely on the diplomatic editions due to Bertoni.

⁵ This *tenso* was once found in the MS R, among the leaves now missing, as is shown by the early table at the beginning.

although the change is of such nature as may well have suggested itself independently to the copyist of *a* (or of *a*'s original). I have adopted IK as base, modifying their readings only when D shows agreement with the other group. Orthography of I.¹

The metrical schema of this poem is as follows:

a b b a c c d d
8 8 8 8 8 8 10 10

The poem consists of six *coblas unissonans* of eight verses each, with two *tornadas* of four verses.

This schema (Maus, No. 535²) is very common in Provençal. The oldest example of this stanza is probably No. 9 of Pons de Capdueil (ed. Napolski, p. 61), "Miels qu'om no pot dir ni pensar." This piece is not indicated in Maus's enumeration.

I³

- N'Albertz, chausetz al vostre sen
D'un amic qu'enquier per amor
Doas domnas d'una valor;
4 E l'un' ama lui e ill consen
Lo plus, ab que de l'autra's lais,
Qu'el ama'l doble meillz e mais.
Et aquela no'l vol amar ni'l deingna.
8 Digatz ab cal d'ambas l'es mielz que's teingna.

II⁴

- N'Aimerics, pauc a d'escien
Qui no'n sap triar lo meillor.
A guissa de fin amador
12 Voill amar celei coralmen
De cui anc mos cors no s'estrais.
E vos voill c'amez en biais!
Qu'ieu non ai cor que fals guizardon preingna,
16 Anz voill servir tan c'al ric joi aveingna.

¹ I omit most of the merely orthographical variants in I. For II, however, I give practically all, on account of the less well-known orthography of the MSS MOR.

² In his list of strophic forms given as appendix to his *Peire Cardenal's Strophenbau in seinem Verhältnisse zu den anderen Trobadors*.

³ Variants. I. 1. Nalbertetz IK, Albertet G, Albert DE, Nalbert a. 2. Dunc amic qui enquer D. 3. de gran valor a. 4. el consen DEa. 6. Mels D, mells E; Qel ama e doble G. 7. Et (Ez G) aquela nol ama nil (ni nol G) delgna EG; ni delgna a. 8. d'ambas lacking E; que teigna a.

⁴ Variants. II. 9. Nalmeric DEGa; ensien IK, esien D, essien E. 10. no Ga. 12. amar lacking D; Amaral celei EG. 13. mon cor E. 14. came IK, comes Da. 15. cors G. 16. tan quel ricx iols (ric iol G) avelgna EG.

III¹

- N'Albertz, ben sai que 'l conoissen
 Tendran, e 'l bon entendedor,
 Vostra rason per sordejour;
 20 C'ab mej' amor sai qu'es plus gen
 C'om baizan jazen sia gais,
 C'ab tota sospir e pantais.
 Mais pres lo frug on ab las mans ateingna
 24 C'aisel qu'es autz on lansar mi coveingna.

IV²

- N'Aimerics, ges no m'es parven
 Que 'us entendatz en gran honor;
 E no s'eschai a preguador
 28 C'aissi s'an canjan ni volven,
 Anz deu esser fis e verais.
 E no voill c'aitals frugs m'engrais;
 Mais voill esser tot temps secs plus que leingna
 32 Que manje frug de que talanz no 'm veingna.

V³

- N'Albertz, quar son comunalmen
 D'engal beltat e de lausor,
 Fas a lei de bon partidor,
 36 Que 'ls mals vos las e 'ls bens eu pren;
 Qu'als bens taing c'om s'afraign' e 's lais
 E fuja 'ls mals a grant eslais;
 Qu'anz que s'arda ni que trop s'escompreingna
 40 Deu om gardar del foc ab que l'esteingna.

VI⁴

- N'Aimerics, li galiamen
 Que fan li fals e 'il trichador
 An tornat domnei en error;

¹ Variants. III. 17. Nalbertet DE, Nalbert Ga; sa D; que'l *lacking* E; qill G. 18. Ten-ran E, Teran G. 20. miei amor D; Ab miei amor E, Cab mega amor G, Car mei amor a. 21. Con Da; Com la se balsant E, Con lalsen balsan G. 22. Qab totz anz a; totas DEIK. 23. prez Ga; on ambas mans a on a la mains G; an las D^e. 24. Quaisses a; Que cel qes aut D^eEG.

² Variants. IV. 25. Nalmeric DEa, Nalmerit G. 26. Qeu Ga; grant DE, granz G. 27. non E; pregardon I, preiador G. 29. deeuesser G. 30. frug IK; aital frug E, aital fruiz G. 31. tos temps plus (puis D) secs (sec G) DEG. 32. Qe manges fruit dec qel G; mainjar a.

³ Variants. V. 33. Nalbertetz IK, Nalbert Da, Nalbertet EG; fason D; cominalmen E. 34. beutatz GI. 35. *lacking* D; Faltz E, Faç G, Falt a. 36. Qel mal vos lais el bes eu pren G; en pren Ia. 37. Qual DIK; Cal ben EG; e bais Ga. 38. E fuial (fugal G) mal EGa; granz EG. 39. ni trop D; Cans qe sarda trop sescompreingna E; Quainz qe sardi G; Qan que sarda a. 40. om *lacking* IK; sesteingna D.

⁴ Variants. VI. *lacking* G. 41. Nalmeric DEa; li gualimen D. 42. li fals trichador IK; oill a. 43. Aun E. 45. Quens I; delas E; daital fals DE; gardar daitals a.

- 44 Et a vos non es avinen
 Que 'us dejatz cargar d'aital fais;
 Qu'anc fis amics sidonz no trais;
 Et eu sui cel cui fin' amors enseingna,
 48 Que leialmen ves ma domna 'm capteingna.

VII¹

- N'Albertz, car es de beutat rais
 Na Biatritz d'Est, on pretz nais,
 Voill d'aquest plaig juge so que 's coveingna;
 52 Mais eu cre ben que ma rason manteingna.

VIII²

- N'Aimerics, a n'Emilla lais
 De Ravena, q'ades val mais
 En totz bons faitz c'a pro domna coveingna,
 56 Lo jujamen, e c'ab lo dreg s'en teingna.

TRANSLATION

I. Sir Albert, decide according to your mind about a lover who seeks in love two ladies of equal worth. One of them loves him and grants him the utmost (favours), provided only that he abandon the other lady, whom he loves twice as much or more. But the latter will not love him and deems him unworthy of her. Say to which of the two ladies it is better that he attach himself.

II. Sir Aimeric, the man who cannot choose the better side of this question has little wit. After the manner of a faithful lover, I wish to love sincerely her from whom my faithful heart never parted. But I am quite willing that you should love crookedly. I have not the heart to accept a false reward. On the contrary, I wish to serve (my lady) until I attain that great joy.

III. Sir Albert, I know well that the wise and well-informed will think your argument the worse; for I am sure that it is more fitting to be joyous with kisses and embraces over a half-love (love felt only on one side) than to sign and suffer over a whole one (unrequited). I prize more the fruit that I can reach with my hands than one high up at which I have to throw something.

IV. Sir Aimeric, it does not seem to me that you aspire to great honor, and it is not fitting that a suitor should be forever changing and shifting. And I don't wish any such fruit to fatten me. Rather should he (the suitor) be faithful and true. I would rather always be leaner than a stick of wood than eat a fruit of which no desire comes to me.

¹ Variants. VII. *lacking* G. 49. Nalbert D, Nalbertet E. 51. Voill iutge daquest plag so qes coveigna a. 52. *que lacking* a.

² Variants. VIII. 53. Nalmeric DEG; namilla a, nemilla E, nesmilla G. 54. ravena E. 55. En tot bon fait DE; En toz bes faiz G; pros EG; domnas a. 56. eteigna D; lo dregs E; Lo ulzamen G; lo dreit setegna Ga.

V. Sir Albert, since both ladies are of equal beauty and repute, I act like a good debater, since I leave to you the bad (arguments) and take the good ones for myself; for it is fitting that one should incline and bow to the good and flee the bad in all haste. One should be careful about fire,—have the means of putting it out before it catch or flame up too much.

VI. Sir Aimeric, the trickeries of the false and the deceitful have troubled lady-service; and it is not at all nice of you to take such a burden on yourself. Never did faithful lover betray his lady. And I am the pupil of true love, for I bear myself loyally toward my lady.

VII. Sir Albert, since Lady Beatrice of Este is a ray of beauty whence praise is born, I wish her to judge the merits of this debate, for I well believe that she will decide in my favor.

VIII. Sir Aimeric, I leave the decision to Lady Emilia of Ravenna, who is of surpassing worth in all good deeds that pertain to a worthy lady; and may she choose what is right!

NOTES

1. The measure proves that the correct form of this troubadour's name is *Albert*, not *Albertet*. This is true for all the other songs in which the name occurs, although the copyists frequently use the longer form.

5. For the locution *se laisser de*, "give up, forsake, abstain from," see Levy, *SW*, IV, 311.

6. Zingarelli (*op. cit.*, p. 30), citing the subject of this *tenzone*, translates as follows: "decidere se sia a preferire una donna che vi accordi i suoi piaceri senza amarvi, od una che non vi dia nulla, ma vi ami." To translate thus, Zingarelli, who does not give the Provençal text, must evidently read: *Que l'ama*. This punctuation and interpretation, it seems to me, are excluded by the general tenor of the *tenzone*, as well as by verses 4 and 7.

Examples of the adverbial accusative *lo doble*, "doubly," have not elsewhere been observed in Provençal, to my knowledge. One can compare in Old French: "E jo m'en duil pur duple Ysolt" ("Tristan" of Thomas, ed. Bédier, vs. 524); "Anz deus ne fist Sarrazins et paiens, Se plus estoient ou do doble ou do tiers, Que il doutassent vaillissant un dernier" ("Prise de Cordres et de Seville," vss. 1278–80).

14. In this verse it is evident that the MSS DEG have a reading preferable to that of IK. I suspect that the original had: *Et vos volez c'am en biais*; but I have not ventured to introduce this conjecture into the text.

20. The *mej' amor*, "half-love," that the poet feels for the first lady is contrasted with the *tota*, "whole love," that he has for the second.

21. *baizan jazen*. This asyndetic pairing of participles is not uncommon in Provençal. Cf. "Lo vers fo faitz als enflabotz A Puoich-vert tot jogan rizen," Peire of Auvergne (ed. Zenker), XII, 85–86.

23–24. This variation of the proverb "A bird in the hand is worth two in the bush" is cited by Cnyrim, *Sprichwörter, sprichwörtliche Redensarten und Sentenzen bei den prov. Lyrikern*, No. 688.

30. Cf. "Amar ses pro non es frugs que engrais," Guilhem of Berguedan, 16, 4 (Mahn, *Gedichte*, No. 167).

39-40. This again has the appearance of a proverb. It is not cited by Cnyrim.

50. As to Beatrice of Este, see Bergert, *Ueber die von den Trobadors genannten oder gefeierten Damen*, pp. 81-85, and Bertoni, *Rambertino Buvaletti*, pp. 3-4. She was the daughter of Azzo VI and was born in 1191. She became a nun 1218-20 and died in the cloister May 10, 1226. She is often mentioned by Aimeric and by other troubadours.

53-54. Emilia of Ravenna (see Bergert, *op. cit.*, pp. 76-77) was the wife of Count Pietro Traversara. Her name appears in various documents in the period 1212-25.

TENZONE II: BARTSCH, "GRUNDRISS," 10, 6 AND 16, 5

Manuscripts, reprints and edition: M 254 (Tenson); O p. 94 (*La tenzon dalbert et den aimeric*; De Lollis, "Il canzoniere provenzale O," in *Atti della R. Accad. dei Lincei*, Series IV, Vol. LXXXVIII, 102); R¹ 73 (Tenso); a² p. 544 (*La tenzon dalbert e den aimeric*; Bertoni, *Il canzoniere prov. di Bernart Amoros*, p. 375).

Raynouard, *Choix*, IV, 36 (after MR).

The manuscript tradition of this tenzone is more corrupt than that of I. Of the four MSS, O and a seem to be copies of the same original.² R is more closely related to Oa than to M: see especially verses 2, 10 (here M has inverted the rhyme order), 17, 19, 26, 27, 40, 41-45 (here M has replaced the original text by the words of the first *tornada*), 51, 55, 57, 58. On the other hand, R agrees with M in verses 8, 13, 39, 49. R goes its own way, as is often the case for this MS, in a number of instances: verses 3, 5, 14, 29, 32, 35, 36, 50, 56, 62. The three MSS (counting Oa as one) have each a different reading in verses 12, 15, 18, 47, 54, though most of these variants are unimportant.

I have adopted Oa as base, emending only when their text is manifestly inferior to that of the other MSS. Orthography of a.

The metrical scheme is as follows:

8 a b b a c c d d e.

The poem consists of six *coblas unissonans* of nine octosyllables each, all masculine, and two *tornadas* of five verses.

¹ The final lines of the piece in this MS are much worn. Several words are extremely difficult to decipher.

² The close relationship of O and a in the *tenzone* section has long been known. Cf. especially the remarks of Bertoni, *op. cit.*, pp. xvi-xxi.

This schema is likewise very common in Provençal: see Maus, *op. cit.*, No. 546. The oldest example is the *tenso* of the Dauphin of Auvergne with Perdigon ("Perdigon, ses vassalatge"),¹ of seven-syllable lines. The only other specimen in octosyllables is the song of Daude of Pradas, "El temps que 'l rossinhols s'esjau."²

I³

- Amics Albertz, tensos soven
 Fan assatz tuit li trobador;
 E partisson razon d'amor
 4 E d'als qan lur plaiz, eissamen.
 Mas ieu faz zo q'anc hom non fes,
 Tenson d'aizo qi res non es;
 Q'a razon pro'm respondrias,
 8 Mas a nien vueil respondatz,
 Et er la tenzos de non-re.

II⁴

- N'Aimerics, pueis del dreg nien
 Mi volez far respondedor,
 12 No'i voil autre razonador
 Mas mi meteus, mon escien.
 Be'm par c'a razon respondes
 Qi respon zo qe res non es.
 16 Us nienz es d'autre compratz;
 Per qu'al nien don m'apellatz
 Respondrai com? Calarai mel

III⁵

- Albertz, ges callan non enten
 20 Que'l respondres aia valor;
 Ni mutz no respon a segnor

¹ Bartsch, *Grundriß*, 119, 6.

² This piece is omitted by Bartsch; it is found, however, in the MSS ACDHMNRa.

³ Variants. I. 1. Amic a; albert Oa; nalbert R; nalbartz M; tenso MR; seven Oa. 2. assatz llautre trobador M; aras tug R. 3. parton se razos R. 4. plai MR. 5. fas MR; com mays no fes R. 6. Tenso daqo M; de so R; qe MR; ies non es O. 7. Car razo pron R; raçon pro M. 8. Mas a me Oa; al R. 9. E li tensos es de no re M; tenso R.

⁴ Variants. II. 10. Nalmeris M; Nalmeric ORa; pos respondedor M. 11. Me R; far dun dreg nien M. 12. Non voill Oa; Nol qier M. 13. Mas sol mon sen tan solamen M; Mas mon saber solamen R. 14. Ben Oa; Pron par carrazon responzes R; qai razon respozes M; respondetz O. 15. Qa so respon M; Salsous respon que non es res R. 16. Cus niens R. 17. E pos a nien mapellatz M. 18. Respondra a; qo M; cora calairai Oa; calayramen R.

⁵ Variants. III. 19. Nalbertet callar M; Nalbert R; Albert Oa. 20. Que dei aver nulha valor M; Qe respondres R. 21. Quar M; Que R; respont M. 22. Ni MR; di M. 23. Donc si callas con M; con Oa. 24. Ja parlli ieu qeus ai comes M; Jai parlei qeus Oa; Jaus parlieu R. 25. Nienz M; e sil nomatz M; doncs Oa; nomnatz R. 26. Respondres M; Parlairetz R. 27. E non dires ni mal ni be M; O non respondretz R.

- E mutz no diz vertat ni men.
 S'ades callatz, com respondres ?
 24 Ja parl ieu, qe'us ai escomes.
 Nient ha nom: donc, si'l nomatz,
 Parlare, mal grat que n'aiatz,
 O no i respondrez mal ni be.

IV¹

- 28 N'Aimerics, nuil essernimen
 No'us aug dir; anz parlatz error.
 Folia deu hom a follor
 Respondre, e saber a sen.
 32 Eu respon a "no sai qe s'es",
 Com cil q'en cisterna s'es mes,
 Qe mira sos oils e sa faz,
 E s'el sona, sera sonatz
 36 De si meteus, q'als non i ve.

V²

- Albertz, cel sui ieu veramen
 Qi son' e mira sa color,
 E aug la voz del sonador,
 40 Pueis eu vos son primeiramen;
 E'l resonz es nienz, so'm pes;
 Donc es vos—e no'us enoi ges—
 Nienz, s'aissi respondiatz;
 44 E si per tal vos razonatz,
 Ben es fols qi de ren vos cre.

VI³

- N'Aimerics, d'entrecimamen
 Sabetz, e fai vos hom lauzor;
 Si no'us entendon li pluzor

¹ Variants. IV. 28. Nalmeric ORa; eissarnimen M. eyssernimen R. 29. auch M; parllaz derror M; ans sembla derror R. 30. E folia Oa. 32. Eu respon e non sai Oa; Prous respon a R. 33. Con MOa; sell M; sisterna MR. 34. Qes R; hueilh M. 35. E si sona M; E ven autre qes fayssonatz R. 36. meçeus M; meteys cautre noy ve R.

² Variants. V. 37. Nalbertz M, Albert Oa, Nalbert R; yeu soy cel R. 38. Qe mir mos huelhs e ma color M; Qeus sen esmira sa color R. 39. E vos la votz H; E vos la vout del orador R. 40. lacking M; Pus ieu R; en a. 41. Si per aliso vos raçonatx M; El retint es nient R; penz Oa. 42. Doncs est vos nientz e nous pes M; Doncs e vos no vos enueg ges R. 43. Qar sil flum del alga gardatz M; Niens fatz sim respondiatz R. 44. Vostrhueilh diran no vos nanatz M. 45. E laigon plus cor si rete M. Ben es nessis qi de reus cre R.

³ Variants. VI. 46. Nalmeric ORa; lentresimamen R. 47. Sabes e portaus nom lausor M; per com vos fa lauzor R. 48. Et MR. 49. Ni (Neys R) vos meçels (meteys R) mon essien MR. 50. Et es en vos a; Ez M; pres R. 51. eissiral mas qeus pes M. 52. remanres M; eisseratz M, Issaratz R, essaiaatz a (with r expunctuated and surmounted by i). 53. mieus (?) matrassayatz R. 54. Respon vos eu M; Yeus respon mays nous vuehl dir que R; Qeu Oa.

- 48 Ni vos mezeus, so es parven.
 Et es vos en tal razon mes
 Don ieu issirai, mal qe'us pes,
 52 E vos remanretz eissaratz;
 E sitot mi matracejatz,
 Eu vos respon, mas no'us dic qe.

VII¹

- Albertz, so q'eu vos dic vers es.
 56 Doncs dic eu qe hom ve non-res;
 Qar s'un flum d'un pont fort gardatz,
 L'ueil vos diran q'ades annatz
 E l'aiga can cor si rete.

VIII²

- 60 Naimerics, non es mals ni bes
 Aizo de qe'us es entremes,
 Q'atrestan petit issigatz
 Qo'l molins q'a roda de latz,
 64 Qe's mou tot jorn e no vai re.

TRANSLATION

I. Friend Albert, all the troubadours compose *tenzoni* quite often and take sides in debates about love or something else also, when they like. But I am doing what no man ever did—a *tenzone* about what is naught. You would answer me a lot to a real subject, but I want you to answer to naught. So the *tenzone* is about naught.

II. Sir Aimeric, since you wish to make me answer to a real naught, I do not want any other debater but myself, assuredly. It seems to me that he would answer you reasonably who answers with what is naught. One naught is counterbalanced by the other. Wherefore to the naught to which you challenge me, how shall I answer? I'll keep silent!

III. Albert, I don't think that a silent answer is worth anything. A dumb man does not answer his lord; neither does he speak the truth nor lie. If you always keep silent, how will you answer? Anyway, I'll speak, for I have challenged you. Its name is naught; therefore, if you name it, you will speak in spite of yourself; or you won't answer either good or ill.

IV. Sir Aimeric, I do not hear you speak words of wisdom: you talk unwisely rather. One should reply with foolishness to folly, and with wisdom

¹ Variants. VII. 55. Albert MOa, Nalbert R; so qieu dic vezers es M; so cuelh (?) ditz R. 56. Per qieu dic que M; qel cove non res Oa. 57. sil flum dun aiga M; Calsi flum dun aut pon guaratz R. 58. Vostr hueilh M. 59. E laigon plus cor M; Elaygua qe cor R.

² Variants. VIII. 60. Nalmeric ORa. 61. Aisso M; est M. 62. Quatre tant petit es-gardatz M; petit petit O; Cans es un pauc escigatz (?) R. 64. Es mou M.

to sense. So I make answer to "I don't know what" like a man who has gotten himself into a cistern and who watches his own eyes and his own face. If he calls, he'll be called by himself, for he doesn't see anything else in it.

V. Albert, truly I am that man who speaks and watches his own face and hears the voice of the caller, since it was I who called you first. The echo (of the call) is naught, as I think. Therefore, you are—and please don't let that vex you!—naught, if you answer; and if you admit that that is what you are, he who believes you about anything is crazy.

VI. Sir Aimeric, you do know entangling arguments, and people give you praise therefor. But most of them don't understand you; and you don't understand yourself either, as it seems. And you have gotten yourself into a course of reasoning that I will get out of, much as that may vex you; but you will remain entangled. Even though you mishandle me, I'll answer you,—but I don't say anything.

VII. Albert, what I tell you is true. So I tell you that one can see naught; for if you watch closely a river from a bridge, your eyes will tell you that you are in motion all the time and that the running water is still.

VIII. Sir Aimeric, this thing that you have undertaken is neither bad nor good; and you accomplish just as little as the mill with a wheel beside it, which moves all day and doesn't go forward a bit.

NOTES

2. This line is good evidence of the popularity of the *tenzone* as a poetic form among the troubadours.

3. This meaning of *partir*, "takes sides in a debate," is not given by either Raynouard or Levy; but it arises easily from such expressions as *partir un joc*, *partir una tenso*.

8. The reading of MR, *nien*, as against *me* of Oa, is assured by the measure.

18. Again MR have the correct reading, as the measure shows.

23–24. The rhyme *respondretz: escomes* indicates that the reduction of *ts* to *s* had been accomplished. This reduction, though it took place early in many of the dialects, does not often appear in the poetry of the troubadours. See Grandgent, *An Outline of the Phonology and Morphology of Old Provençal*, p. 47; Schultz-Gora, *Provenzalische Studien*, I, 8, 28; and also Elias de Barjols (ed. Stronski), XV, 35. This reduction is frequently found in the MSS ORa, but is generally due to the copyists.

28. *essernimen*: Raynouard, *Lexique roman*, III, 28, cites this passage as the sole example of this word. Levy (SW, II, 337) adds one more. The word was evidently rare, though the meaning and derivation are quite evident.

32. I have here preferred the reading *a* of MR to *e* of Oa, though the latter would make good sense, because it seems to me that all through this piece Aimeric is thinking of the "No sai que s'es" of Raimbaut of Orange.

44. For *se razonar per*, "acknowledge oneself to be," see Bernart of Ventadorn (ed. Appel), 20, 48. This meaning is not given by Raynouard or Levy.

46. *entrecimamen*. Sole example of this word. Raynouard (*Lex. rom.*, II, 396) gives the meaning "entrelacement" and connects the word with *cima*. Levy (*SW*, III, 80) cites also this passage, but declines to define the word. The verb *tressimar*, *entressimar*, is used by Gavaudan (ed. Jeanroy, *Romania*, XXXIV, 497 ff.), VII, 21. Cf. the note of M. Jeanroy. Mistral (*Tresor dou Felibrige*, II, 1044) has the modern Provençal *tressimaci*, *trafimage*, "micmac, chose inextricable, trafic, agissement." The meaning here is evidently "entanglement, confusing reasoning." I am inclined to think that the word belongs to the family of OF *tresse*, *tresser*, Prov. *tressar*. The development of meaning is somewhat the same as in Ital. *intreccio*, "i fatti rappresentati o narrati in modo da eccitare vivamente la curiosità del lettore tenendone l'animo fino all' ultimo attento o sorpreso."

52. For *eissarat*, "embarassé, en peine," see Levy, *SW*, II, 329-30. This passage adds another example to those cited by him.

53. *matracejatz*. Apparently the sole example of this word in Old Provençal. Not cited by Levy in the *SW*, but given (with a sign of interrogation) in the *Petit Dictionnaire*. Raynouard, IV, 108. The word is evidently derived from *matras*, "levier, javelot." Mistral (*Tresor*, II, 297) gives *matrassa*, "frapper avec un matras, abîmer, maltraiter, froisser." Albert uses it here playfully.

57-59. This passage, if regarded seriously, might almost be considered as an anticipation of Einstein and the theory of relativity. Probably the same comparison was used in the schools. At least, a century later, the cardinal Nicolas of Cusa argued that a boat in rapid motion might seem at rest to a person seated in it. See Hobson, *The Domain of Natural Science*, Cambridge, 1923, p. 183.

62. For the verb *issigar*, *eisegar*, cf. "Flamenca," vs. 1044. P. Meyer translates "exécuter, parfaire," and this meaning fits well here. See also Levy, *SW*, II, 333.

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THE SOURCES OF LORENZO'S SACRA RAPPRESENTAZIONE

It is evident upon examination that the *Sacra rappresentazione*, by Lorenzo the Magnificent, *La rappresentazione di San Giovanni e Paolo*,¹ was largely drawn from some form of the following lives of saints:²

De S. Agnete Virgine et Martyre, Romae. Vita S. Agnetis, Auctore S. Ambrosio, Caput iii. ii. 717-18. (To be cited hereafter as A.)

De Sanctis Virginitibus Romanis Constantia Augusta, Attica et Armenia. Commentarius Historicus, Caput i. vi. 67. (To be cited as C.A.A.)

De Sancto Gallicano duce et consule Romano Martyre in Aegypto. Commentarius Praevius xxvii. 31. *Acta Praefixa Passioni SS. Joannis et Pauli* xxvii. 33. (To be cited as G.)

De Sanctis Fratribus Martyribus Joanne et Paulo, Romae in propria domo nunc ecclesia. Item Terentiano et Filio ejus ibidem. Commentarius Praevius xxvii. 138. *Passio Joannis et Pauli* xxvii. 140. (To be cited as J.P.)

De Basilio Magno, Episcopo Caesareae in Cappadocia. Vita, Caput vi. xxiii. 319. *Vita Apocrypha*. Interprete R. P. F. Franciscus Combeffis Ordinis Praedicatorum, Caput ii. xxiii. 423. (To be cited as B. and B.V.A., respectively.)

In showing here which stanzas give evidence of these sources, they are referred to by number, but as they are not numbered in the Simioni edition, a few indications may be convenient as a guide:

Stanza 25: Io son tornato a te, divo Augusto [Simioni, II, 80].

Stanza 50: Alto e degno signor, deh, perché vuoi [*ibid.*, II, 86].

Stanza 75: Da parte dello invitto capitano [*ibid.*, II, 94].

Stanza 100: Non pensi a util proprio o a piacere [*ibid.*, II, 100].

Stanza 125: Or va', Terenziano, e teco porta [*ibid.*, II, 108].

¹ Lorenzo de' Medici, *Il Magnifico*, Opere, a cura di Attilio Simioni (Bari, 1914), II, 71.

² *Acta Sanctorum quotquot toto orbe coluntur, vel a catholicis scriptoribus celebrantur quae ex Latinis et Graecis, aliarumque gentium antiquis monumentis collegit, aiegressit, notis illustravit Joannes Bollandus, Theologus, Societate Jesu, servata primigenia scriptorum phrasi. Operam et studium contulit Godefridus Henschenius, ejusdem Societatis Theologus. Editio novissima, curante Joanne Carnandet. Parisiis, apud Victor Palme, Bibliopolam (1867).*

The portions of the play derived from the various *Acta* are as follows:

| Stanzas | Source | References in <i>Acta</i> |
|---------|--------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 4-8. | A. | ii, 717, 14: Cum igitur . . . dilexit. |
| 10. | { A. C.A.A. | ii, 717, 15. Erat enim . . . remanisset vi, 68, 2: |
| 12-13. | { A. C.A.A. | ii, 717, 15. Haec visio . . . narraretur. vi, 68, 2: |
| 14. | { A. C.A.A. | ii, 717, 15. Accepto autem . . . nocte. vi, 68, 2. |
| 15. | { A. C.A.A. | ii, 717, 15. et licet . . . fundebat. vi, 68, 2. |
| 16. | { A. C.A.A. | ii, 717, 15. quod dum . . . sanitatem. vi, 68, 2. |
| 17. | { A. C.A.A. | ii, 717, 15. Ad hanc . . . remaneret. vi, 68, 2. |
| 18. | A. | ii, 717, 16. Perseveravit . . . virginitate. |
| 19. | A. | ii, 717, 16. per quam . . . susceperant. |
| | { A. C.A.A. | ii, 717, 16. Reversa . . . sanissima. vi, 68, 3. |
| 21. | { A. C.A.A. | ii, 717, 16. facit gaudium . . . Augusto. vi, 68, 3. |
| 24. | { A. C.A.A. | ii, 717, 16. Coronatur civitas . . . haec. vi, 68, 3. |
| 25-26. | { C.A.A. G. | vi, 68, 5. Sub Constantino . . . subjugata. xxvii, 33, 1. |
| 27. | { C.A.A. G. | vi, 68, 5. filiam ejus . . . flagitabat. xxvii, 33, 1. |
| 28-30. | { C.A.A. G. | vi, 68, 5. Acceptus esset . . . carus. xxvii, 33, 1. |
| 31-32. | { C.A.A. G. | vi, 68, 5. Constantinus vero . . . moestissimus. xxvii, 33, 1. |
| 32. | { C.A.A. G. | vi, 68, 5. tempore quo . . . occupaverat. xxvii, 33, 1. |
| 35-38. | { C.A.A. G. | vi, 68, 5. Quae cum . . . cognoscam. xxvii, 33, 2. |
| 42-50. | { C.A.A. G. | vi, 68, 5. Et velut . . . dicebatur. xxvii, 33, 2. |
| 52. | G. | xxvii, 33, 5. Insistebam sacrificiis . . . offerebam. |
| 53-55. | { C.A.A. G. C.A.A. G. | vi, 69, 9. et quomodo . . . susceperint. xxvii, 34, 6. vi, 68, 6. Quas Constantia . . . desiderent. xxvii, 33, 3. |

| Stanzas | Source | References in <i>Acta</i> |
|---------|---------------|--------------------------------------------------------|
| 56-58. | <i>C.A.A.</i> | {vi, 69, 7: Qualiter autem praetereo. |
| | <i>G.</i> | {xxvii, 33, 4: |
| 60. | <i>C.A.A.</i> | vi, 69, 8: Ad ultimum tradiderunt. |
| | <i>G.</i> | xxvii, 33, 5: |
| 61-62. | <i>C.A.A.</i> | vi, 69, 8: Cumque cupierem coeli. |
| | <i>G.</i> | xxvii, 33, 5: |
| 64. | <i>C.A.A.</i> | vi, 69, 8: Quod si fuisti. |
| | <i>G.</i> | xxvii, 33, 5: |
| 68-69. | <i>C.A.A.</i> | vi, 69, 8: Mox ut ipsorum. |
| | <i>G.</i> | xxvii, 33, 5: |
| 70. | <i>C.A.A.</i> | vi, 69, 8: Quem ego confirmantes. |
| | <i>G.</i> | xxvii, 33, 5: |
| 76. | <i>C.A.A.</i> | vi, 69, 8: Quo cum postulavit. |
| | <i>G.</i> | xxvii, 33, 5: |
| 79. | <i>C.A.A.</i> | vi, 69, 8: Cum duobus filiis. |
| | <i>G.</i> | xxvii, 33, 5: |
| 83. | <i>C.A.A.</i> | vi, 69, 8: Ita universae Scytharum. |
| | <i>G.</i> | xxvii, 34, 5: |
| 86-87. | <i>G.</i> | xxvii, 33, 4: Igitur veniens ordinem. |
| 89. | <i>C.A.A.</i> | vi, 69, 8: Meipsum futurum abstinendum. |
| | <i>G.</i> | xxvii, 34, 5: |
| 90. | <i>C.A.A.</i> | vi, 69, 9: Tunc Imperator ejus. |
| | <i>G.</i> | xxvii, 34, 6: |
| 91. | <i>C.A.A.</i> | vi, 69, 9: referens ei consecratae. |
| | <i>G.</i> | xxvii, 34, 6: |
| 92. | <i>C.A.A.</i> | vi, 69, 9: Et considerans florentes. |
| | <i>G.</i> | xxvii, 34, 6: |
| 94. | <i>C.A.A.</i> | vi, 69, 9: cum vellet abscedere. |
| | <i>G.</i> | xxvii, 34, 6: |
| | <i>C.A.A.</i> | vi, 69, 8: mihi vero didici. |
| | <i>G.</i> | xxvii, 34, 5: |
| 109-10. | <i>J.P.</i> | xxvii, 140, 1: Postquam vero Constantini. |
| 118-19. | <i>J.P.</i> | xxvii, 140, 1: cupiditate pecuniae discipulus. |
| | <i>G.</i> | xxvii, 34, 8: Dedit legem possiderent. |
| 120. | <i>J.P.</i> | xxvii, 140, 1: Pervenit namque adhaerere. |
| 121. | <i>J.P.</i> | xxvii, 140, 2: Quodsi contemptus possim. |
| 122. | <i>J.P.</i> | xxvii, 140, 1: nos famulabamur eorum. |
| | | 140, 2: Et vos nutritiv. |
| 124. | <i>J.P.</i> | xxvii, 140, 2: Quibus Julianus sponte. |
| 126. | <i>J.P.</i> | xxvii, 140, 1: Sumus enim veri. |
| 127. | <i>J.P.</i> | xxvii, 140, 2: ideo quod perfice. |
| | | 140, 1: Reliquisti religionem possideri. |
| | | 140, 2: Paulus et Joannes praeterisse. |

| Stanzas | Source | References in <i>Acta</i> |
|---------|---------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 129. | <i>J.P.</i> | xxvii, 140, 3: Non enim occidamini. |
| 130. | <i>J.P.</i> | xxvii, 140, 3: Quibus dixit feriemini. |
| 131. | <i>J.P.</i> | xxvii, 140, 4: Terentianus fecit. |
| 138-39. | <i>B.</i> | xxiii, 321, 82: Ridiculum neminem Usus mille. |
| 141-42. | <i>B.V.A.</i> | xxiii, 424, 36: videt in ivit. |
| 146. | <i>J.P.</i> | xxiii, 141, N. t.: Julianus autem testatum est. |

The *Interlocutori* are nearly all to be found in one or more of these *Acta*. The *Primo Parente*, *Secondo Parente*, and *Terzo Parente di Sant'Agnesa* appear in *A.* and *C.A.A.*; *Costanza* in *A.*, *C.A.A.*, *G.*, and *J.P.*; *Sant'Agnesa* in *A.* and *C.A.A.*; *Costantino, padre di Costanza*, in *A.*, *C.A.A.*, *G.*, and *J.P.*; *Gallicano* in *C.A.A.*, *G.*, and *J.P.*; *Una delle figliuole di Gallicano* and *Altra figliuola di Gallicano*, (whose names, *Attica* and *Armenia*, immediately follow in the list as if they were two new personages), in *C.A.A.*, *G.*, and *J.P.*; *Giovanni* and *Paolo* in *C.A.A.*, *G.*, and *J.P.*; *Un angelo che apparisce*, as *Juvenis*, in *C.A.A.* and *G.*; *Re* and *Principe* in *C.A.A.* and *G.*; *Costantino, figliuolo di Costantino imperatore*, in *J.P.*; *Costante, uno de' fratelli*, and *Costanzo, altro fratello*, in *G.* and *J.P.*, and, without their names, in *C.A.A.*; *Imperadore, il nuovo* [Julian], in *G.*, *J.P.*, *B.* and *B.V.A.*; *Terenziano*, in *J.P.*; *San Basilio, vescovo*, in *B.* and *B.V.A.*; *Maria Vergine*, in *B.V.A.*

This leaves the following unnamed characters which were added by *Lorenzo*: *Angelo annunziatore*, *Un servo di Costanza*, *Trombetto*, *Messo a Costantino*, *Un servo*, *Un fante*, *Un confortatore*, *Un accusatore*, *Tesoriere*, and *Astrologi*.

The following citations will illustrate the use *Lorenzo* made of his material:

Cum igitur parentes B. Agnetis assiduis pernoctationibus vigilarent ad tumultum ejus, vident in medio noctis silentio exercitum Virginum, quae omnes auro textis cycladibus indutae cum ingenti lumine praeteribant: inter quas vident beatissimam Agnetem simili veste fulgentem, et ad dextram ejus agnum stantem nive candidiorem. Haec itaque dum

Primo parente di Santa Agnesa

4. Forse, tacendo il ver, sarei più saggio, che, dicendolo a voi, parer bugiardo: ma, essendo parenti e d'un legnaggio, non arò nel parlar questo riguardo; perché, se pur parlando in error caggio, non erro: quando in viso ben riguardo, questa coniuizion di sangue stretta fa che tra noi ogni cosa è ben detta.
5. Il caso, che narrar vi voglio, è questo. In quest'ultima notte ch'è fuggita, io non dormivo e non ero ben desto:

viderent parentes ejus
quasi stuporem mentis incur-
runt. Sed B. Agnes stans
parentibus suis dixit: Videte
ne me mortuam lugeatis: sed
congaudete mihi; et congratu-
lamini, quia cum his omnibus
lucidas sedes accepi, et illi sum
juncta in coelis, quem in terris
posita, tota animi intentione
dilexi.

*la santa vergin morta m'è apparita,
Agnese, che morì, oggi è il dì sesto;
lieta, divota e di bianco vestita:
con lei era un umil candido agnello,
e di molte altre vergini un drappello.*

6. E., consolando con dolci parole
il dolor nostro di sua morte santa,
diceva:—*Il torto avete, se vi duole
ch'io sia venuta a gloria tale e tanta:*
fuor dell'ombra del mondo or veggio il
sole
e sento il coro angelico che canta:
però ponete fin, cari parenti,
se ancor me amate, al dolore e' lamenti.—

Secondo parente

7. Non dir più là: tu m'hai tratto di bocca
quel che volevo dir, ma con paura,
temendo di non dir qualcosa sciocca.
*Ancor a me, sendo alla sepoltura
per guardar che da altri non sia tocca,
apparve questa vergin santa e pura:
con l'agnel, con le vergini veniva.
Così la vidi come fussi viva.*

Terzo parente

8. *E' non si crederrà, e pur è vero.*
Io la vidi anche, e senti' quel che disse;
i' non dico dormendo o col pensiero,
ma tenendo le luci aperte e fisse.
I' cominciai, e non fornì l'intero:
—O vergin santa e bella. . . .—Allor si
misse
in via per ritornarsi al Regno santo:
io restai solo e lieto in dolce pianto.

Il primo parente un'altra volta

9. Benché a simil fallace visione
chi non è molto santo non de' credere
(ché spesso son del diavol tentazione),
questa potrebbe pur da Dio procedere,
essendo ella apparita a più persone.
Dobbiam Dio ringraziare, e merzé
chiedere,
e rallegrarci di questa beata;
che abbiamo in paradiso un'avvocata.

In this passage, it will be noted, when the vision comes to be dramatized, it is distributed among three of the *parentes B. Agnetis*; one of them narrates the details, and the other two corroborate from their own experience; there is nothing in the Latin account to suggest that the experience was not shared, but in *San Giovanni e Paolo* the first narrator apparently had his dream at home in his bed, while the second and third were evidently watching, *assiduis pernoctationibus*, at the tomb. The hint given in the words *stuporem mentis* is skilfully made use of. The deprecation in 4, the interpellation of the saint in 8, and the reflection in 9 upon the possible demonic nature of visions, with the reassurance to be had in this case from its repetition to several persons, are invented by Lorenzo.

Ad ultimo crevit obsidio, et
universi tribuni ac milites se
hostibus tradiderunt.

Cumque cuperem fugiendi
aditum reperire, Paulus et
Joannes dixerunt mihi:

Fac votum Deo coeli,

[GALLICANO] *Affrontasi con gli nimici, e
gli è rotto tutto l'esercito; e, restato solo
con Giovanni e Paolo, dice:*

60. Or ecco la vittoria ch'io riporto!
Ecco lo Stato dello imperadore!
Lasso! meglio era a me ch'io fussi morto
in Persia, ché morivo con onore!
Ma la Fortuna m'ha campato a torto,
acciò ch'io vegga tanto mio dolore.
Almanco fuss'io morto questo giorno!
ché non so come a Costantin ritorno.

GIOVANNI

61. Quando Fortuna le cose attraversa,
si vuol reputar sempre che sia bene.
Se tu hai oggi la tua gente persa,
ringrazia Dio, che questo da lui viene.
Non vincerà giamai la gente avversa
chi contra sé vittoria non ottiene;
né vincer altri ad alcuno è concesso,
se questo tal non sa vincer se stesso.
62. Forse t'ha Dio a questo oggi condotto.
perché te stesso riconoscer voglia.
E se l'altrui esercito hai già rotto,
sanza Dio non si volge in ramo foglia.
Quel che può l'uom da sé, mortal, cor-
rotto,
altro non è se non peccato e doglia.
Riconosciti adunque, ed abbi fede
in Dio, dal qual ciaschedun ben pro-
cede.

PAOLO

63. Non creder che la tua virtute e gloria,
la tua fortezza e ingegno, o Gallicano,
t'abbia con tanto onor dato vittoria:
Dio ha messo il poter nella tua mano.
Perché n'avevi troppo fumo e boria,
Dio t'ha tolto l'onore a mano a mano,
per mostrare alle tue gonfiate voglie
che lui è quel che 'l vincer dá e toglie.
- quod si te liberaverit, Chris-
ticola fias;
64. Ma, se tu vuoi far util questa rotta,
ritorna a Dio, al dolce Dio Gesúe:
l'idol di Marte ch'è cosa corrotta,
ferma il pensier, non adorar mai píde:
poi vedrai nuova gente qui condotta,
in numer grande e di maggior virtúe.
Umilia te a Gesu alto e forte,
ché lui sè umiliò fino alla morte.
- et eris victor melius quam
fuisti.

GALLICANO

65. Io non so come a Gesú fia accetto,
se a lui me umilio, come m'è proposto;
che da necessitá paio costretto
in questo miser stato che m'ha posto.
Io ho sentito alcun cristian, c'ha detto
che Dio ama colui, quale è disposto
dargli il cuor lietamente e volontario:
la mia miseria in me mostra il contrario.

GIOVANNI

66. In ogni luogo e tempo accetta Dio
nella sua vigna ciascun operaio;
e 'l padre di famiglia dolce e pio
a chi vien tardi ancor dá 'l suo danaio.
Dá' pur intero a lui il tuo disio,
poi cento ricorrai per uno staio:
inginocchiati a Dio col corpo e core:
e lui ti renderá gente ed onore.

GALLICANO *s'inginocchia e dice:*

67. O magno Dio, omai la tua potenza
adoro, e me un vil vermin confesso.
Se piace alla tua gran magnificenza,
fa' che vincer mi sia oggi concesso:
se non ti piace, io arò pazienza.
Nel tuo arbitrio, Dio, mi son rimesso:
disposto e fermo non adorar píde
altro che te, dolce signor Gesúe.

Mox ut hoc votum meo est
ore prolatum, apparuit mihi
Juvenis statura excelsus; ferens
in humero Crucem, dicens:
Sume gladium tuum et sequere
me.

Tu ingredere hostium cas-
tra, et dextra laevaue gladium
tenens evaginatum, ne respice,
quousque ad Regem ipsorum.

Quem ego dum sequerer
apparuerunt hinc inde milites
armati, confirmantes me.

GIOVANNI, *inginocchiati che sono
tutti e tre:*

68. O Dio che desti a Giosué l'ardire
e grazia ancor che 'l sol fermato sia,
e che facesti mille un sol fuggire
e diecimila due cacciassin via,
e che facesti della fromba uscire
il fatal sasso che ammazzò Golia;
concedi or forza e grazia a questa mano
del tuo umiliato Gallicano.

UN ANGELO *appareisce a GALLICANO
con una croce in collo, e dice:*

69. O umil Gallicano, il cor contrito
a Dio è sacrificio accetto molto;
e però ha li umil tuo' prieghi udito
ed è pietoso al tuo disio or volto:
va' di buon core in questa impresa
ardito,
ché 'l regno fia al re nimico tolto;
daratti grande esercito e gagliardo:
la croce fia per sempre il tuo stendardo.

GALLICANO *colle ginocchia in terra:*

70. Questo non meritava il cuor superbo
di Gallicano e la mia vanagloria:
tu m'hai dato speranza nel tuo verbo,
ond'io veggio già certa la vittoria.
O Dio, la mia sincera fé ti serbo,
sanza far più de' falsi dèi memoria.
Ma questa nuova gente onde ora viene?
Solo da Dio, autor d'ogni mio bene.

This long passage of eleven stanzas is dramatized from a few sentences of narrative spoken by Gallicanus on his return from this battle, in the presence of Constantinus. The story of Gallicano's conversion is spiritualized by Lorenzo, whose beauty of feeling is everywhere superior to that displayed in the *Acta*, though we cannot suppose his faith to have been as simple and entire. For example, in the *Acta* the conversion has a great deal of the character of a bargain; Joannes and Paulus advise Gallicanus to make a vow and a promise, whereas Lorenzo has them say merely (62): *abbi fede in Dio*; in the *Acta*, Gallicanus is advised to make his conversion conditional on the promise of aid,

whereas in 64 of the *Sacra rappresentazione* Paolo gives assurance simply that faith will bring victory, and that there can be no good success without it. And in the *Acta* there is no hint of the delicacy of feeling shown by Gallicano in 65, where he fears that a heart will not be acceptable to God which is offered only in the hope of favors to come. The angel's speech in the *Acta* is practical and bellicose; in Lorenzo's version, Gallicano is assured of the acceptability of his conversion; the advice as to strategy, on the other hand, is taken from the new soldiery and put into the mouth of the angel. Gallicano's humble and hearty thanks, with recognition of his unworthiness, are in Lorenzo's version only.

The degree of originality shown by Lorenzo in developing the material thus drawn from the *Acta Sanctorum* can best be indicated by noting where it was partial and where entire. Under partial originality we may note the following:

Dramatization of bare facts.—In stanzas 10 and 11, the historical statement of Constantia's ailment is turned into a pathetic monologue by the girl herself, in the tone of Jephthah's daughter, who "bewailed her virginity upon the mountains,"¹ or Iphigenia, who *pianse il suo bel volto*.² Likewise, in 17, the cold fact of her healing is recounted in her monologue of joy; and in 12-13, we hear the news of the vision (*haec visio vulgabatur*) brought to Costanza directly by her servant. The rather casual words, *Perseveravit autem Constantia in virginitate*, become Costanza's vow, in 18.

Expansion.—The use made of Gallicano's narrative, in the passage already quoted, is an excellent example of this; and in 15, the prayer which the historian merely mentions (*Pagana preces fundebat*) is written out in a stanza. In 21, three words of narrative (*facit gaudium patri*) are expanded into an octave of direct address. The words, *Facta sunt haec omnia sicut Virgo disposuit*, are the occasion of thirteen octaves (39-51); the words, *Qualiter autem ad Dominum Atticam Artemiamque converterit*, of six (53-58); the words, *duae sorores, Gallicani filiae, ipsi Augustae traduntur*, of five (46-50).

Altering of facts stated in the Acta.—In 12-13, the *alquantos annos* seem to have been greatly shortened. There is no hint in the *Acta* of Costantino's abdication, which takes place in 97. In *San Giovanni e*

¹ Judg. 11. 38.

² Par. x. 70.

Paolo, the emperor leaves three sons, whereas in the passage cited from *J.P.*, they are *Constantinus et Constans, et nepos eorum Constantius*; this error is corrected in footnotes to the accounts,¹ but we have no way of knowing where Lorenzo would have seen such notes, which later editors added to the records they found. The eldest son is elected by his brothers to the succession (102-4); there is no account in the *Acta* of how the younger Constantinus became emperor. The civil war within the Empire (105-8) is not in the *Acta*; and in this war the new emperor's brothers are killed, whereas in the *Acta* the only account of their end is thus given in *J.P.*: *mundus non dignus fuit tales habere Augustos, et coeli eos inter Angelos susceperunt*. Constantius is the survivor in the *Acta*, Costantino in *San Giovanni e Paolo*. In the play, Julian is elected emperor by the populace (115); in the *Acta* it is said² that he was made emperor by Constantius. In the *Acta*, Julian insists upon giving Joannes and Paulus the whole ten days he had offered them to repent in, even though they tell him it will be useless; Lorenzo has the emperor take them at their word, shortening the time so that the execution can take place within the play (128).

The entirely original matter is of two kinds—episodes or speeches, and psychological analysis or development of character.

Episodes and speeches.—There is a prologue, spoken by the *angelo annunziatore*; a messenger comes to announce the victory of Gallicano, which Costantino, for fear of being disappointed, refuses to believe until Gallicano shall come to confirm it himself (81-82); Costantino's discourse upon the pains and fatigues of lordship (97-101), and Julian's³ upon its duties and responsibilities (133-35) are new and of the utmost interest for Lorenzo's own character; the consolations of the *Confortatore* (111), which suggest that a ruler may after all be better off without envious brethren, are likewise new and very suggestive.

¹ *G.*, *Acta* xxvii. 34, N.g., and *J.P.* xxvii. 141, N.d.

² *G.*, xxvii. 34, 8, and *J.P.* 140, 1.

³ It seems possible that for this speech of Julian's Lorenzo may have taken a hint from the indications of Julian's character, and his dying speech, as given by Ammianus Marcellinus in his *Historiarum libri*, xv. viii. 11, 17, 20; xvi. v.; xxv. iii. 17, 18; iv. 17 (*Ammiani Marcellini gestarum qui supersunt de XXXI libri XVIII*, Paris, 1681; to be read also in the edition of C. U. Clark, Berlin, 1910, 1915). This work, although there is no copy listed in Piccolomini's inventory (v.u.) of the Medici library, was available to Lorenzo in print, as an edition of Books XIV-XXVI was published in 1474 at Rome, at the press of Sachsel von Reichenhal and Golsch von Hohenbart (Hain, *Repertorium bibliographicum*, Paris, 1826, I, 102). I hope to make this the subject of a separate note.

Development of character.—Lorenzo's St. Agnes (16) is more gracious to Costanza than she is in the *Acta*. Gallicano's greater delicacy about bargaining his conversion for help in battle has been noted. Constantinus in the *Acta*, on receiving Gallicanus' proposal for his daughter, is *moestissimus, sciens filiam suam positam in sancto proposito facilius occidi posse quam vinci*; but in the play his sorrow is hurt pride at having to give his daughter to a subject (31–32). In Costanza's advice to her father, in Lorenzo's version, there is a duplicity, a hint of *lunga promessa con l'attender corto*, worthy of a Renaissance princess; this is not to be found in the *Acta*, where it is only to her faith in God that she looks for protection of her vow. On the other hand, she betrays in the play a modest doubt of her own wisdom, in venturing to advise her father, which she is far from showing in the Latin version. Her father, in the play, is concerned for preserving his "honor" in this emergency, but it is clear that by that he means merely keeping up appearances and "saving face."

The question remains, In what form could Lorenzo have read these lives? In Bandini's catalogue of the books belonging to the Medici library,¹ there is no group of them in any one manuscript, but there are the following single biographies: *Agetis Virg. et Mart.*,² *Constantiae Virg. Antiochenae*,³ *Ioannis & Paulli Mart.*,⁴ *Iuliani, & Basilissae*,⁵ *Iuliani Italice*,⁶ and *Basilii Cappadocis*.⁷ Attica and Armenia are not listed here under Constantia, but their story is probably told as part of hers. Gallicanus, however, is absent too. In the *Acta*, indeed, the account of Gallicanus under C.A.A. is so full that we might almost think that Lorenzo need not have seen the separate life of him were it not for one important detail, which can best be shown by quotation.

[CONSTANTINO] *voltosi a Gallicano*:

Igitur veniens Gallicanus
ovans, a Constantino . . .
suscipitur. Qui non prius in-
gressus est Romam, nisi prius
ad sacra Petri Apostoli limina

86. O Gallican, quando tu torni a me,
sempre t'ho caro ancor senza vittoria:
or pensa adunque quanto car mi se',
tornando vincitor con tanta gloria;
veder legato innanzi agli occhi un re:

¹ *Catalogus codicum bibliothecae medicae laurentianae*, Florentiae, 1764–78.

² 1. 585. xxi; 597. xvi; 612. xvii. iv. 183. ix; 224. lxxxvii; 249. xxxii; 257. xxviii. *Italice* v. 328, § ii, No. ii.

³ *Italice* v. 19, § iii, No. xli.

⁴ 1. 588. liii and liv; 599. xlv; 607. xxix. iv. 251. lxii; 259. ii and iii.

⁵ iv. 324. xlix.

⁶ v. 337, § iii, No. v.

⁷ iv. 88. xlv; 300. xlv.

perrexisset. Cui Constantinus ait, Cum ad bellum pergeres Capitolium et templa ingressus immolasti; inde victor rediens, Christum et ejus Apostolos adoras. Unde cupienti mihi nosse quid rerum sit, pande per ordinem.

cosa che sempre arò nella memoria.
*Ma dimmi: questa croce, onde procede,
 che porti teco? hai tu mutato fede?*

Risponde GALLICANO a COSTANTINO:

87. Io non te posso negar cosa alcuna:
 or pensa se negar ti posso 'l vero;
 il ver, che mai a persona nessuna
 di negarlo uom gentil de' far pensiero.
 Di questa gloriosa mia fortuna
rendute ho grazie a Dio, or in San Piero.
 Perché 'l vincer da Cristo è sol venuto,
 porto il suo segno, e l'ho da Cristo
 avuto.

And earlier Gallicanus has said (what is not in C.A.A.): *Insistebam sacrificiis et Martianas victimas offerebam*, which apparently gave Lorenzo the suggestion for the closing lines of 52:

Ma facciam prima sacrificio a Marte,
 che sanza Dio val poco o forza o arte,

and for the stage directions which follow: *Detto questo, fa sacrificio*, etc. This likeness is too marked for us not to conclude that Lorenzo must have read such a passage. However, in the *Acta*, although there is a separate life of Gallicanus as listed at the beginning of this article, still its title, even though under his name, is: *Acta Praefixa Passioni SS. Joannis et Pauli. Ex Codicibus mss. sex*; so in the MSS it may very well have been always a part of *J.P.*, and only detached by the editor for the reader's convenience in finding a history of St. Gallicanus.

It remains doubtful where Lorenzo may have found the famous and picturesque words (with which he ends his play), *Vicisti, Galilae, vicisti*, since in the published *Acta* they appear only in the editor's footnote to *J.P.*¹ They are to be found in the *Golden Legend*² (Basil), Number 26, but under the name of "St. Julian," Number 30,³ the fifth name under that heading— "*alter Julianus, non quidem sanctus sed*

¹ *Acta* xxvii. 141, N.t.

² J. da Voragine, *Legenda aurea, vulgo historia Lombardica dicta, ad optimorum librorum fidem*. Recensuit Th. Graesse, Vratislav, 1890.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 143.

sceleratissimus." The words do occur under St. Basil, however, in a life of the two together, in a manuscript in the Biblioteca Strozzi-Magliabecchiana, described by W. Friedmann.¹ According to Friedmann,² the manuscript is Number 342: *Vite de Santi. Di Luigi il Senatore Carlo di Tommaso Strozzi*, 1679, and is the work of a fourteenth-century scribe, the miniatures suggesting North Italian work of the first half of the century. The eleventh life is entitled, *Questa sì è l'ystoria de san Basilio, el qual fo vescovo de Cesario*, and gives the story of Basil's vision, of St. Mercurius' intervention, and Julian's death with the phrase on his lips: *Vinto m'hai, Galileo*. So this detail was evidently traditional before Lorenzo's time.³

The answer to such questions may lie in a volume listed by E. Piccolomini in his inventory⁴ of books found in the villa at Careggi after Lorenzo's death. Under the heading,⁵ IV. *Note di libri, estratte da un inventario dei beni mobili ed immobili di casa Medici, compilato alla morte di Lorenzo il Magnifico*, and this further heading,⁶ (A c. 64 recto.) *Segue detto Inventario nel palazzo di Chareggi. (A c. 72 verso.) nello scrittoio*, appears this item:⁷ "80. *Uno libro di carta bambagina, vulghare, lettere di forma, legende di sancti et sancte; composta per m. Nicholò francese.*"

It has not been possible to examine either the works on Bandini's list or this one, which was evidently among the Magnifico's personal possessions. The only "French" Nicholas who wrote lives of saints at about the right period seems to have been an Englishman who wrote in Anglo-Norman, who is described in the *Histoire littéraire de France*⁸ as *le frère mineur Nicole Bozon, qui écrivait en Angleterre dans*

¹ *Altitalienische Heiligenlegende nach der Handschriften xxxviii. 110 der Biblioteca nazionale centrale in Florenz mit Einleitung und Anmerkungen zum ersten Male herausgegeben*, Dresden, 1908.

² P. 11.

³ It does not appear in Ammianus Marcellinus.

⁴ "Ricerche intorno alla condizione e alle vicende della libreria medicea privata dal 1494 al 1509. Appendice," in *Archivio storico italiano*, Ser. III, XXI (1875), 102 and 282.

⁵ P. 291.

⁶ P. 294.

⁷ P. 295.

⁸ *Histoire littéraire de France, Ouvrage commencé par des religieux Bénédictins de la Congrégation de Saint-Maur et continué par des Membres de l'Institut (Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres)*, Tome XXXIII, Suite du quatorzième siècle (Paris, 1906), pp. 336-37.

la première moitié du xiv^e siècle et auquel nous consacrerons une notice dans un de nos prochains volumes. The only saint listed here of whom this Nicholas wrote a life that is to the present purpose is St. Agnes; we could not feel sure that Nicole Bozon solved the riddle unless he were known to have written lives of all the five listed at the beginning of this article, and for fuller knowledge on this point we must await the promised study of him in the *Histoire littéraire*.

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

RUTH SHEPARD PHELPS

THE DATE OF THE *RACCOLTA ARAGONESE*

I

The dedicatory letter of the *Raccolta Aragonesa* shows that it was written the year following a meeting of Lorenzo de' Medici and Federigo d'Aragona at Pisa. The date formerly accepted for the meeting, 1465, has been shown by Bianca Maria Scanferla to be improbable.¹ She proposes in its stead the date 1476, upon the following evidence:

In the early part of the year 1476 Federigo, with a company of followers, was in France in the army of the Duke of Burgundy. On June 21 he left the Duke at Marot, and having spent some time in Gex and Saint Claude, set out toward Nice. On September 13 he entered Siena, with a company of 400 followers and 70 mules. On September 20 Luigi Pulci, then at Florence, wrote to Lorenzo, then at Pisa:

Harai riavuto il nostro messer Joanfrancesco, che l'ho caro, dipo' la partita di don Federigo tutto gentile habbi ancora qualche gentile compagno.²

Barbi shows that some of the poems of Lorenzo included in the *Raccolta Aragonesa* could hardly have been written before 1476, and gives still further evidence indicating that the date 1465 is improbable.³

II

There are, as a matter of fact, several occasions upon which Federigo and Lorenzo may possibly have met in Pisa, although the date suggested by Scanferla is the only one for which there is any considerable degree of probability. The other dates, possible

¹ "Per la data della Raccolta Aragonesa," *Rass. bib. della lett. ital.*, XXI (1913), 248.

² These data are obtained from F. De Gingins la Sarra, *Dépêches des ambassadeurs milanais sur les campagnes de Charles-le-Hardi, duc de Bourgogne*, I (Paris-Genève, 1858), 117, 378-79 and II, 279-80, 291, 293, 304, 321; Allegretti, "Diarium senense," in Muratori's *Rerum ital. script.*, XXIII, 776; and Luigi Pulci, *Lettere a Lorenzo il Magnifico e ad altri* (Lucca, 1886), p. 151.

³ M. Barbi, *Studi sul Canzoniere di Dante* (Firenze, 1915), pp. 220-25.

but improbable, are as follows (the references given in the footnotes provide evidence both of the possibility and the improbability):

1465, April, when Federigo was on his way to Milan.¹

1467, July, when he was on a campaign in the region of Bologna and later on his way back to Naples.²

1474, December, or 1475, January, when he was on his way to France to see the Duke of Burgundy.³

1478, summer, when he was on a campaign in southern Tuscany with the Duke of Calabria.⁴

1479, January or February, when he went to France to see Anne of Savoy.⁵

1482, or earlier, on a return to Naples from France.⁶

III

The evidence that Federigo was in Pisa for some time in 1476 is even stronger than Scanferla indicates. As Scanferla says, Federigo left Marot June 21 and went by way of Gex and Saint Claude toward Nice. Definite proof that he went by sea to Pisa and that he stayed there for some time while waiting for his troops to come by land appears in the following statement by Tummullillis (to whom Scanferla refers in another connection):

De mense etiam iulii subsequentis iterum fuit pungnatum inter predictos dominum ducem Burgundie et Sciviczeros, ut fuit relatum;⁷ . . . et sic dictus dominus Federicus regis filius capta licentia discessit ab eodem duce cum consociis et gentibus armigeris suis, et dicitur accessisse ad dominum

¹ Allegretti, *op. cit.*, XXIII, 771; Bandini, "Istor. senese," *RIS*, XX, 62; Ammirato, *Istor. flor.*, V (Firenze, 1848), 164; C. Cipolla, *Storia delle signorie italiane*, I (Milano, 1881), 455, 497.

² Ammirato, *op. cit.*, V, 177; Roscoe, *Life of Lorenzo de' Medici* (London, 1862), p. 89; Napier, *Florentine History*, III (London, 1846), 362-63.

³ A. de Tummullillis, "Notabilia temporum," *Ponti per la storia d'Italia*, VII, 211; "Diarium ferrariense," *RIS*, XXIV, 250; Gingins, *op. cit.*, pp. xvii (n. 2), 31, 34; Commynes, *Mémoires*, I (Paris, 1901), 359; De Acquinio, "Chronica," *Mon. hist. pat.*, III, 79; "Glor. nap.," *RIS*, XXI, 1135.

⁴ Allegretti, *op. cit.*, XXIII, 784, 785; Cipolla, *op. cit.*, II, 387; "Diarium parmensis," *RIS*, XXII, 289; Commynes, *op. cit.*, II, 31; Viterbo, "Cronica," *Doc. di storia italiana*, VI, 420; Malavolti, *Ist. di Siena* (Venezia, 1599), p. 74.

⁵ P. M. Perret, *Histoire des relations de la France avec Venise*, II (Paris, 1896), 139; O. P. Du Clos, "Histoire de Louis XI," *Œuvres*, II (Paris, 1820), 329; A. D'Aguel, *Comptes du roi René* (Paris, 1908), pp. 150, 152, 154, 163; Louis XI, *Lettres*, VIII (Paris, 1883-1909), 33, 79.

⁶ Ammirato, *op. cit.*, V, 260. The fact that Federigo was received in Pisa by Bernardo del Nero in the name of the Florentine republic is an indication that Lorenzo was not present.

⁷ This refers to the defeat at the hands of the Swiss, February 3, 1476.

regem Francie; cum quo mora facta aliquot diebus postea per mare recessit et venit ad portum Pisarum et alie sue gentes se condusserunt per terram ad illum.¹

IV

It may be noted that the frequently repeated statement that Federigo met Lorenzo in Naples, December 18, 1479, is incorrect. It rests solely upon Valori's statement that Federigo received Lorenzo when he disembarked.²

Two sorts of evidence, however, indicate that Federigo was not in Naples at this time.

1. In the items of expense listed by Alexandre Richardson, the general secretary for Yolande's court in Savoy, for the period from November, 1479, to March, 1480, there is the statement that money was sent to Philbert in Yssaudon, "le xiii jour du dit moys," that is, as the context shows, of December, to play at tambourins with Federigo and the Count of Dunois, his two guardians.³ If Federigo was in Yssaudon, in central France, December 14, he could not have received Lorenzo in Naples on December 18.

2. The silence of contemporary chronicles regarding Federigo's presence in Naples also indicates that Valori's statement is incorrect. Volterrani,⁴ the author of the *Diarium parmense*,⁵ and Allegretti⁶ all tell of Lorenzo's visit;⁷ and Filippo Strozzi, who was sent by Lorenzo to Naples November 24 to advise Ferdinand of Lorenzo's trip, has left a full account of the event. No one of these authors mentions Federigo as present.

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¹ Tammulillis, *op. cit.*, VII, 221.

² Laur. *Med. vita* (Florence, 1740), p. 34.

³ L. Ménabréa, "Chronique de Yolande de France ... documents inédits," *Académie des Sciences, belles-lettres et arts de Savoie*, Vol. I (Chambéry), Part I, p. 201.

⁴ "Diar. rom.," *RIS*, XXIII, 100.

⁵ *RIS*, XXII, 327, 332, 335.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, *RIS*, XXIII, 797.

⁷ The account is given in full in Appendix IV of Capponi's *Storia della repubblica di Firenze*, II (Firenze, 1875), 520-23.

THE EARLY WORK OF CHARLES FONTAINE

There exists in the library of the Vatican a manuscript containing some seventy-five poems by Charles Fontaine which has apparently escaped the notice of those who have occupied themselves with this poet.¹ So far as its purely literary value is concerned, this manuscript might well remain in oblivion, but the contribution of these verses to our knowledge of the life and times of their author gives them a claim to more consideration than their intrinsic merits.

The volume is entitled *Epistres, Chantz Royaulx, Ballades, Rondeaux et Dixains, faictz à l'honneur de Dieu*. Two of the poems are dated, the "Exhortation au peuple de France pour louer Dieu de la fertilité des biens" (fol. 25) in 1532, and the "Ballade faicte la vigile de la Pentecouste" (fol. 142) in 1533; three others can also be confidently dated, the "Epistre faicte quand la mortalité estoit à Paris" (fol. 32) and the "Rondeau à Dieu le père faict quand la cherté et mortalité regnoient" (fol. 143) in 1531-32,² and the "Deploration dessus le trespas de feu Monseigneur le Daulphin" (fol. 158) in 1536.³ Indeed, except for the dedicatory epistle to the Cardinal de Chastillon, a few lines at the beginning *ad lectorem*, and a translation of Antoine

¹ *Regina latina* 1630; in the old catalogue made by Montfaucon, Bib. Reg. 794. It is a paper MS of the sixteenth century. It measures 26.1×18.5 cm., but its 206 folios (one folio between 157r and 158r has been torn out), written in single columns of twenty lines to the column, are so ruled off by red lines that the writing field averages only 18×11 cm. A generous number of pages are blank. The text is carefully written in black ink; the citations from the Bible and various theological works which liberally dot the margins, as well as the titles of the poems, are in red with touches of gold. It will be observed that it is similar in many respects to the manuscript described as being in the author's own handwriting by Mr. R. L. Hawkins (*Maistre Charles Fontaine* [Cambridge, 1916], p. 268). The author's name occurs three times, twice spelled "Fontaine," once "Fontaine."

² The plague broke out in Paris toward the end of the year 1531 and continued well into 1532. Both Fontaine and his sister suffered from it (see the poem to his sister discussed, p. 49), as well as Calvin and Marot (Doumergue, *Jean Calvin*, I, 197; *Œuvres de Clément Marot*, I 162 [ed. Guiffrey]). Public life in the city was at a standstill, and in the autumn of 1532 a poor harvest added the terrors of famine to those of disease.

³ The sudden death of the dauphin, August 10, 1536, was thought by contemporaries to be due to poison administered by Montecuculli at the instigation of the Emperor Charles V. Montecuculli was put to death October 7. This poem was probably written between these dates since in it "La République française" says: "Pendez, noyez, brulez l'empoisonneur" (fol. 162). He was, in fact, *écartelé*. Cf. H. Hauser, *Sources de l'Histoire de France, XVI^e siècle*, II, 146 (this poem should be added to the sources), and Lavissee, *V^e*, 90, n. 3.

Pérard's eulogy *ad authorem* which follow these, most of the collection might well have been written between the extremes of these dates. In other words, we seem to have here the earliest verses of the poet that have survived, the greater part probably composed before his twenty-third year when he was still living in Paris and had not yet visited Italy or his future home, Lyons. It is not surprising, therefore, that they are cast in the earlier literary forms, the rondeau, ballade, and chant royal, which are not found in his later work, that there is little trace of his "deplorable facility," and that the influences of the Renaissance are almost entirely wanting.

Quite surprising, however, is the religious tone of this collection. Fontaine's printed works contain poems on almost every subject in vogue in his day, but, although he published a few *Odes et autres compositions pour inciter à la vertu* in 1588,¹ it has not hitherto been known that as quite a young man this precursor of the Pléiade wrote very serious meditations, exhortations, and complaints on such subjects as "l'Incarnation de Jesus Christ," "la Nativité de Nostre Sauveur," "l'Advent de Christ, sa vie et mort aussi," etc., that he translated parts of the Psalms, St. Paul's Epistles, the hymn "Veni creator spiritus," etc., and that into poems not directly biblical in subject he injected a wealth of pious reflections and moral injunctions. A few titles and citations will serve to illustrate the prevailing note in the latter: "Petite Exhortation de penser de bien faire en ce monde car il faut mourir" (fol. 6); "Epitre à ung homme de bonne vie" (fol. 11); "Que l'homme est peu de chose" (fol. 13); "Des inconstances et misères de ce monde" (fol. 16); "Petite complainte de la subjection du corps" (fol. 31), which begins:

N'est il possible estaindre la chaleur
De ce corps cy, en tout bien lasche aller ?
N'est il possible en toutes noz puissances
Mortifier toutes concupiscences ? ...
Laz, c'est pourquoy ainsi mon œuil ruisselle
Gectant des pleurs et larmes à foison
En esperant veoir le temps et saison,
Qu'ilz estaindront ceste tant aspre flamme,
Qui nous contrainct désirer fille ou femme ...

¹ R. L. Hawkins, *op. cit.*, pp. 206, 284. I am under the greatest obligation to this admirable work.

and concludes:

Mais, O que dy je ? Hélas, cent mille larmes [fol. 31v]
 Ne pourroient pas noyer tous ces allarmes. ...
 Tant seulement pour mon armeure forte
 Je pren espoir en Dieu qui me conforte:
 Mon Dieu sera (s'il luy plaist) mon armeure,
 Mon fort boucher et ma deffense seure.

A number of these youthful poems are concerned with this subject, for example, an "Epistre que l'auteur envoya à ung sien amy en recognoissance et desplaisance de leur fragilité" (fol. 52), the second stanza of which begins:

Hélas amy, j'ay bien ung souvenir
 Du temps auquel soulions aller, venir,
 Tousjours querans délices corporelles,
 Plaisirs, esbatz et joyes temporelles
 Dont n'avons rien sinon ung repentir,
 Qui jusqu'au ciel doit bruyre et retentir.
 Hélas, c'estoit, c'estoit ce corps fragile,
 C'estoit ce corps d'une matière vile, ...

and especially a "Response à une Dame, par laquelle l'auteur donne à entendre que l'on ne doit pas abuser de son corps, attendu que c'est le temple et domicile du Sainct Esprit, dedié par le sang de Jésuchrist" (fol. 55).¹

Now, in an "Epistre à ma sœur l'accouchée" (fol. 119), that is, to his sister Catherine, upon whose death about 1540 Fontaine wrote one of his best poems,² he says:

J'eue quelque fois la pensée douteuse, [fol. 120v]
 Si vous seriez ung jour religieuse,
 Car en l'estat vous y preniez plaisir,
 Et je croy bien qu'y aviez grand désir.
 Et moy qui suis à cela peu idoine,
 A Sainct Victor fuz presque rendu moyne.

¹ It begins:

"Je n'oseroy', je n'oseroy', Madame,
 Et m'en croyez que ce n'est de paour d'âme
 Sinon de Dieu à qui nous sommes tous,
 Voire à luy seul, non à aultre, ou à nous. ...
 Or ne pouvons octroyer à ung aultre
 Ne faire don de ce qui n'est pas nostre:
 Ce seroit donc présumption à moy
 Si de ce corps je vous falsoye octroy
 Qui est à Dieu mon Roy, espoux, et maistre. ..."

These sentiments are to be compared with those in the later poems influenced by platonic conceptions (see Hawkins, *op. cit.*, pp. 101, 104).

² See *ibid.*, pp. 53, 187.

From the asceticism permeating a number of these verses one can readily believe that Fontaine may have entertained thoughts of entering the church in his youth. He also addresses an "Epistre" (fol. 19) to "frère Mathurin Morin quand il estoit bachelier en théologie" and another (fol. 66) to "une abbesse," which sound as if they were written in the days when he was "presque rendu moyne." Unfortunately, of his connection with the famous Abbaye de Saint Victor, where Pantagruel found such a magnificent collection of questionable volumes (II, 7), nothing further is known; this is indeed the only place in which it is mentioned.¹

We do know, however, that he obtained the degree of *maistre ès arts* at the Collège du Plessis in 1530 and that about the same time he attended the lectures of Danès, one of the newly appointed *lecteurs royaux*.² It will be remembered that the *lecteurs royaux*, who insisted that a real insight into the Bible could not be gained without a knowledge of Greek and Hebrew, soon came to be suspected of heresy. The Sorbonne looked askance at them from the beginning and censured some of their doctrines as scandalous, false, impious, and tainted with Lutheranism. Their teaching influenced the development of Calvin, whom Fontaine probably met in their lecture-rooms,³ and it was one of their number, Vatable, who persuaded Fontaine's friend, Clément Marot, to translate the Psalms.⁴

It seems very probable from some of the poems in the Vatican collection that, for a time at least, Fontaine belonged to this group of *esprits éclairés*, who now began to think and speak of reforming the church. He, too, translated passages from the Psalms (fol. 134-35), from the gospels (fol. 156, two *dixains* "exposants ce que Jésuschrist dit en Saint Matthieu cinquesme chapitre"), and two of St. Paul's Epistles (that to the Colossians [fol. 174], and that to the Philippians [fol. 190], both in full).⁵ He, too, sought the favor of Marguerite

¹ F. Bonnard, *Histoire de l'Abbaye de Saint-Victor*, II, 32, mentions the fact that Marguerite de Navarre (to whom Fontaine, like most of the poets of the day, addressed many verses) was actively interested in St. Victor at this time.

² Cf. Hawkins, *op. cit.*, pp. 6, 7.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

⁴ Cf. A. Lefranc, *Histoire du Collège de France*, pp. 122, 148, and Doumergue, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 205, n. 4, and 209.

⁵ Cf. also fol. 97: "Une Méditation dessus la Nativité ... où sont traduites deux Epistres qui se lisent en l'église durant l'Advent, et trois Evangiles: c'est à sçavoir, celle de l'Annunciation, celle de Noel, et celle des Roys," and fol. 48: "C'est icy l'épistre qui se lit le dimanche de la septuagesime."

de Navarre and the Duchess of Ferrara, princesses of liberal tendencies who protected Calvin and Marot.¹ But Fontaine's attitude is most clearly revealed in his "Oraison à Jésuschrist pour la paix et union de l'église" (fol. 89-96).

From this poem it is evident that the poet subscribed to the moderate view of Le Fèvre d'Étaples and the earlier reformers rather than to the drastic changes later demanded by Calvin. Like Le Fèvre, "il n'attaque en rien l'existence de l'Eglise catholique; il insiste sur l'unité de l'Eglise, et ne veut pas qu'il y ait de séparation ni de sectes."² Fontaine commends the church to the attention of Jesus:

Ne voyez vous la manière et la guyse [fol. 89r]

Dont maintenant est troublée l'église ?

Sus bout, sus bout, il semble que dormez, [fol. 89v]

Tous les abus maintenant réformez,

Et secourez vostre amyable espouse:

Maint chevalier contre elle s'arme et houze,

Maint la ravit dessoubz peau de brebis,

Maint, pour pain blanc, luy baille le pain bis,³

Maint, à son gré, luy rompt, tranche, et détaille,

Maint la poursuyt, et d'estor, et de taille. ...

Voyez vous point tant de sortes de loups, [fol. 90r]

Loups affamez, loups ravissants et glouts,

Qui quelque part que les brebis advisent,

En mille pars les partent et divisent ? ...

Mitiguez donc vostre indignation, [fol. 91r]

Ja tant de mauix sur ceste nation

Ont tant regné, ja tant fortes tempestes

Ont amené contagieuses pestes. ...⁴

Ne permectez que nostre vitupère [fol. 91v]

Redonde aux Juifz, lesquelz iront disans:

¹ In offering Marguerite de Navarre his translation of the Epistle to the Colossians, he reveals the fact that he has sent her poems "plusieurs fois" without being repulsed. Should he not take courage and send her these verses ?

"Certes si fay: car vostre esprit bénig
Est plus viril qu'il n'est pas féminin."

² Doumergue, *op. cit.*, I, 545.

³ Cf. Marot's "Sermon du bon pasteur et du mauvais" (ed. Jannet, I, 85):

"Ilz nourrissoient leurs grans troupeaux de songes,
De *ergos*, d'*utrum*, de *quare*, de mensonges,
Et de cela ilz faisoient du pain bis,
Que bien amoyent leurs seduites brebis."

With Fontaine's poem is also to be compared Marot's "Complaincte d'un Pastoreau Chrétien," which is often very like it in tone.

⁴ See p. 47, n. 2. This poem was probably written in 1532 or 1533.

"Il y a ja plus de neuf ou dix ans
Qu'ilz n'ont que mauix, divisions, et sectes;
Mais sont ce là les voies tant directes
Pour parvenir à leur felicité? ..."

Venez, Seigneur, vostre eglise esveiller, [fol. 93r]
Ne la laissez en plain jour sommeiller.

Envoyez nous vostre esperit celeste,
Dedans noz cueurs chasser toute moleste,
Et mettre hors tous malings esperitz,
Par qui plusieurs sont au monde périz:
Hypocrisie, Envie, Ire, Avarice,
Des aveuglez, et terriens, nourrice;
Luxure aussi, Parresse, Ambition,
Aultres plusieurs qui font oppression
Sur les Chrestiens, c'est où gist leur bataille. ...

Parquoy, pasteur, qui avez cognoissance [fol. 94r]
De voz brebis, voire avant leur naissance,
Rassemblez or le fidèle troupeau,
Pour qui tant fut marquée vostre peau.
A celle fin de luy oster tout vice,
Gardez, gardez que le loup les ravisse,
Qui n'a pouvoir contre vous, vray berger.

Plaise vous donc les unir au verger,
Verger de paix, où pour chasse et relique
Est maintenue unité catholique:¹
Ung Dieu, ung Roy, ung Baptesme, une Loy,
Et une Foy de pur et bon aloi,
Ung esperit, ung cœur, une lumière,
Ainsi que fut en l'eglise première,²
Ung seul vouloir, une âme, une unité, [fol. 94v]
Ung seul espoir, une communauté.

A quoy convient que vous donnez aux princes
Crainte de vous, pour régir leurs provinces,

¹ Cop's famous address delivered November 1, 1533, ended with the words: "Heureux ceux qui concilient les âmes dans la paix, qui enlèvent les dissensions de l'Eglise. ... Ah! plutôt à Dieu, que dans notre siècle malheureux nous établissons la paix dans l'Eglise sur le fondement de la parole plutôt que sur celui du glaive" (Doumergue, *op. cit.*, I, 335). Marot, in the "Epître à Bouchart," declared:

"Brief, celui suy qui croit, honnore et prise
La sainte, vraye et catholique Eglise" [ed. Guiffrev, III, 73].

² Fontaine often reverts to this idea; cf., for example, his "Epistre en l'exaltation de l'amour de Dieu et detestation de celle du monde" (fol. 117v):

"Souvent je liz, et si pense, à la guyse
Des bons Chrestiens de primitive eglise,
Dont on voyoit les pensées ravir
Jusques au ciel sans jamais assouvir." ...

Et aux prélatz, qui tiennent vostre lieu,
 Bien enseigner la parolle de Dieu,
 Bien imprimer ez cueurs vostre Evangile
 Pour renforcer le cœur d'homme fragile,
 Bien exposer, non point selon leur sens. ...¹
 Si le Legat, ou si le Pape, y erre, [fol. 95r]
 Bien est requis que donnez ung seur ply
 Aux prebstres, clerics, qui portent le surply.
 Par qui j'entends innocence de vie,
 Ung cœur exempt d'Avarice et d'envie. ...
 J'auroy' espoir veoir cest ordre agréable
 Devant voz yeulx, Sire, s'ainsi estoit:
 Si ung chascun à ce son cœur prestoit,
 Si que trèsbien les princes presidassent,
 Et que prescheurs l'évangile preschassent,
 Et que le peuple obtemperast aussi; [fol. 95v]
 Tout iroit bien, tout viendrait bien ainsi,
 J'auroy' espoir veoir l'église reluyre
 En grand vertu, et la noblesse luyre
 En dignité et aussi le commun,
 Tout simplement ainsi vivre comme ung. ...

The emphasis is consistently upon unity of the church—but of a purified and reformed church.

In another poem, an "Oraison au Saint Esprit" (fol. 129), he suggests the impossibility of salvation by works:

Il [le sauveur] nous sauva, non point
 pour noz bienfaictz [fol. 130v]
 (Car nostre vie estoit par avant orde)
 Mais bien selon sa grand misericorde,
 Par ung baptesme et renovation,
 Ung lavement, regeneration. ...²

Extended passages in praise of faith, with no mention of works, occur in the "Epistre en l'exaltation de l'amour de Dieu et detestation de celle du monde" (fol. 113), in the "Deploration dessus le trespas de feu Monseigneur le Daulphin" (fol. 158), and in a "Dixain" (fol. 157), which ends:

Si prie à Dieu, qui le mien cueur vestit
 De ceste foy, qu'il me donne appétit,

¹ One of Le Fèvre's tenets, condemned by Bêda as heretical, was: "Nous devons croire simplement la parole de Dieu d'après l'intelligence du Saint-Esprit et non d'après la nôtre, et ne pas y mêler nos folles opinions" (Doumergue, *op. cit.*, I, 109).

² In this poem there is also a hint of the doctrine that we are reconciled to God by Jesus' death on the cross.

D'avoir tousjours ceste plume appliquée
 A revenger en mon stile petit
 Ceulx ausquelz est sa croix communicquée.

Possibly members of the group of *esprits éclairés* are referred to in a "Rondeau" (fol. 151v), which begins:

De jour en jour en trosne radieux
 On voit florir ung nombre spécieux
 De gens de bien, menans vie angélique,
 Ensemble uniz par loy évangélique,
 Ce qui est fort au Seigneur gracieux.

Hymnes sacrez, aux bons non odieux,
 Je oy résonner en chantz mélodieux,
 Exécutans le beau dict Davidique
 De jour en jour, ...

and in a "Dixain à quelque ami" (fol. 156v):

Depuis le jour de la bonne nouvelle
 Que j'ay receu de vostre amandement
 Spirituel et de vostre bon zelle,
 Je n'ay cessé louer Dieu grandement. ...

It is significant of their Protestant bias that throughout these poems there is no mention of the Virgin or of the saints; only God and His Word are invoked.

Of course, at the time when Fontaine was writing these verses the position of those who favored the new movement was uncertain. During the year 1533 the king vacillated in his attitude toward the reformers, and in 1534 the Sorbonne lost its case against the *lecteurs royaux*, but by 1535 the wind had veered and the prosecution of heretics was well under way. Later even Danès, "autrefois des premiers à condamner les abus de la papauté," as well as his colleague Vatable returned to the fold.¹ Discretion, therefore, would have been the order of the day for a poor and uninspired poet unless he were thirsting for martyrdom. It seems likely that Fontaine's early enthusiasm for the new movement either remained *in petto* or conveniently waned during the period of persecution. It is possible, of course, that his visit to the Duchess of Ferrara, who had offered a refuge to his friend Marot after the *affaire des placards*, was in some way connected with his religious views, but this we do not know. In any

¹ Cf. Bèze, *Hist. ecclés.*, I, 938; Doumergue, *op. cit.*, I, 209.

case, these youthful verses, touched as they are by the spirit of the Reformation, seem never to have been printed, and Fontaine's published works are silent with regard to his religious convictions.

This brings us to the question of when the collection was put together. Fontaine in his address to the reader refers to the poems as youthful works, and since, as we have seen, this is not the polite fiction that he uses elsewhere to excuse his imperfections,¹ it seems to imply that he was no longer very young when he collected them.² The book is dedicated (fol. 2r) to Monseigneur le Cardinal de Chastillon,³ to whom Fontaine wrote two poems published in 1555 and 1557, respectively, and to whose secretary, P. de la Saulx, he addressed four poems published in 1554 and 1555. Was our collection made about this time? Or was it offered before then? Chastillon is said to have secretly favored the Protestants as early as 1551, if not earlier, although he did not openly declare for the new faith until 1561. It is quite possible that Fontaine felt this to be an appropriate volume to offer to a protesting prelate. All one can say, however, is that from 1562 on Chastillon was in such disgrace that Fontaine would

¹ Cf. Hawkins, *op. cit.*, p. 184, n. 3.

² On fol. 1 are four Latin verses, followed by the statement: "L'auteur a traduit ses vers latins precedens en rime françoise admonnestant le lecteur de ce present livre:

"Devoir feras, Lecteur, si tu entends
Qu'en cecy fut mon jeune passetemps:
Maint homme au jeu de la paulme s'amuse,
Mais ces escriptz me plaisent quand j'en use."

References to his youthfulness in the poems themselves occur in the "Epistre à frère Mathurin Morin," which ends with the excuse:

"Que s'il n'est pas de matière haultaine,
Enfant n'a pas encores la voix plaine" [fol. 22r],

and in a "Dixain à Jesuschrist" (fol. 153r), beginning

"La larme en l'oeul, et au cuer la tristesse,
Je vien vers vous, Jesuschrist mon seigneur,
Pour vous prier que ma fraesle jeunesse,
Mon ame et corps, ne tire en deshonneur."

³ The dedicatory epistle begins:

"Si ce présent traictant de Jesuschrist
Estoit en Grec ou en Latin escript
Plus hardiment, O Révérendissime,
Vous l'offrirois, car je croy et estime
Qu'à vostre esprit seroit plus convenable."

He then proceeds to defend his use of French on three counts: he thinks "quelque degré de dignité est deu" the French language; his sources are Greek or Latin "ce qui appert par la collection/Des lieux qui sont mis en cotation" (I regret having to suppress reference to these sources, quotations from which fill the margins of the volume), and finally, why "taire une amour internelle/Qu'on a devers sa langue maternelle?" This well reveals Fontaine's attitude toward the French language, which Hawkins analyzes (pp. 164 ff., 236). On Odet de Coligny, Cardinal de Chastillon, cf. Haag, *France protestante*, and Lavisse, *Hist. de France*, V^e, 240.

probably not have ventured to address him—even in a volume not intended for publication. And that the poet had an eye on the possibility of circulation, if not publication, is apparent from the two poems addressed *ad lectorem*. See page 55, footnote 2, for the first; the second (fol. 4) begins:

Amy lecteur, quand ces petites œuvres
Lire voudras, je te pry que tu œuvres
Ton cueur à Dieu.

So much for the *terminus ad quem*. If Fontaine met Antoine Pérard for the first time when he was in Pavia about 1540,¹ then this date would be our *terminus a quo*, since the collection contains Latin verses ("traduictz en rime françoise par l'auteur") by Antonius Perardus *ad authorem*.²

Whenever the collection may have been made, its chief interest for us lies in the fact that it preserves the earliest verses of the poet that we have and in various ways supplements our former information regarding him. Besides giving us an insight into his religious views, it shows that Fontaine did not come too late, as has been thought,³ to compose verses in three of the forms ridiculed by Du Bellay—the rondeau, ballade, and chant royal—and it adds to the dozen or so familiar and domestic epistles known from his hand⁴ some two dozen more. It also reveals Fontaine writing dull dizains—there are fifteen in the volume—that are quite unlike the epigrams published in 1545, whose first nine lines merely serve as an introduction to a pithy tenth.⁵

Fontaine's brother, who is mentioned only once in the published works,⁶ appears in one of these early poems accompanying the poet on a visit to their cousin. The poem, despite its lugubrious title—"Epistre que l'auteur envoya à ung sien parent touchant qu'il fault endurer en ce monde" (fol. 71)—is a sort of schoolboy letter of thanks. The "parent" is probably Antoine Dugué, to whom Fon-

¹ Cf. Hawkins, *op. cit.*, p. 49.

² They may, of course, have met earlier. The poem begins (fol. 1v):

"Fonticulus fons es factus, fluviusque per illum
Qui siccam tollit, perpetuamque sitim. ...

Fontaine's translation expands the six-line eulogy to ten.

³ Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 170, 194.

⁴ Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 178; 177, n. 6.

⁵ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 172.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 131, n. 1.

taine wrote other letters, for he is presently called "Cousin amy" and "l'accueil béning et doux"

Que nous monstrez quand par bonne manière
Mon frère et moy en la feste dernière
De Nostre Dame avez bien festoyé,

was supplemented after dinner by the reading of a work

Que vostre père avoit escript en mètre.

"Vostre père," if my supposition is correct, is Jean Dugué, whose excellent advice—to eschew poetry—Fontaine unfortunately did not heed.

This brother, as well as his mother,¹ his father and two other children, evidently died early, for in the poem addressed to his sister mentioned above, which begins:

Epistre, va à ma sœur l'accouchée
Qu'ung garsonnet a rendu la couchée,

he says:

Souventesfois je pense à la mort fière [fol. 119v]
Qui longtemps à nous osta père et mère,
Parquoy nous fait cinq enfans orphelins,
Et puis des cinq les trois elle en a prins,
L'ung après l'autre, et les a dévorez,
Et vous et moy, nous sommes demourez. ...

Comment ce fait qu'il [Dieu] nous a reservez
Jusqu'à present, et de mort préservez ?
Mesme attendu (c'est chose merveilleuse) [fol. 120r]
Que nous avons eu peste dangereuse ? ...

Catherine was ill for five or six years before her death (ca. 1540), but her illness is not mentioned in this poem, which probably antedates it. Fontaine refers to her marriage as having taken place three years before the birth of this child. He states his aspirations for the *garsonnet* as follows:

Mais il en fault faire ung apprentif sage, [fol. 121v]
Béning, rassis, ou ung clerc bien sçavant,
Qui en raisons se fonde bien avant,
Qui ayt bon cœur et bonne conscience
Et ung esprit plein de toute science.

Il en aura le moyen mieulx que moy,
Car les espritz en mieulx florir je voy
Tant que l'on peult estimer heureux estre, [fol. 122r]
Celluy lequel aujourd'huy vient à naistre. ...

¹ Cf. Hawkins, *op. cit.*, pp. 5, 131.

The cheerful note in these last verses gives way to sadness in the next poem, "De la mort du petit enfant dont cy dessus est faicte mention" (fol. 123). Fontaine, too, longs for death:

O mon nepveu, je te promectz et jure [fol. 124r]
 Que ceste vie, elle m'est griefve et dure,
 Et si te dy qu'à l'exemple de toy
 Me tarde bien que mon Dieu je ne voy.
 Depuis trois ans plus de cent fois, ce sçay je,
 J'en ay baingné en larmes mon visaige ...

The cause of his unhappiness is not revealed, but there are frequent hints in these early poems that life held few pleasures for this gloomy and brooding young poet. In the "Ballade faicte la vigile de la Pentecouste," 1533, he cries:

Qui veit jamais ung plus ambigu temps, [fol. 142r]
 Suspeçonneux et remply de molestes?
 Qui veit jamais autant de disputans,
 Ce qui ne fait pour les choses celestes?
 L'ung va criant que fouldres et tempestes
 Cherront sur nous qui bien n'y pourvoira.
 L'autre maintient qu'en brief temps il voirra
 Maulx infiniz. Dieu le sçait! Somme toute,
 Nous le pryons, et il nous envoyra
 Le Saint Esprit à ceste Pentecouste. ...

There are references to some more personal *adversité* and *meschef* in two "Epistres consolatifves" (fols. 108 and 110). Fontaine apparently finds comfort in the thought that:

Le mal n'est pas tousjours punition [fol. 111r]
 Pour noz péchez, mais admonition
 De patience, et de persévérance
 En vraye foy avec ferme espérance. ...

As we have seen, Fontaine began very early to seek the favor of Marguerite de Navarre (see p. 51, n. 1). It is interesting to find that at this time he had also established relations with her nephew, the Duke of Orléans, a young prince who seems to have been more friendly to the poet than was his father, Francis I.¹ Two of the poems in this collection are addressed to the Duke of Orléans, one a conventional eulogy (fol. 125), the other a translation of St. Paul's Epistle to the Philippians (fol. 190), both early, since the prince who

¹ Cf. Hawkins, *op. cit.*, p. 46.

died in 1545 at the age of twenty-three is called "petit filz royal" and his "aage tant jeusne" is mentioned.

To his brother, who later became Henry II, Fontaine sent a poem of some historical interest. It is the "Deploration dessus le trespas de feu Monseigneur le Daulphin," which, as we noticed (see p. 47), is to be dated in 1536 when Francis, the king's oldest son, died and his second son, Henry, became dauphin. The poem is cast in dramatic form. The author,

Triste et pensif, en esprit tout confuz, [fol. 159r]

falls into a conventional slumber and presently beholds a woman lamenting. She is "La République françoise" who is grieving because of the death of "le beau fleuron d'excellente noblesse." To her comes "une dame moult belle," "Dame Foy," who asks why she weeps. "La République françoise" replies:

Je l'ay perdu [le vertueux Daulphin] en sa fleur
de jeunesse, [fol. 161v]

Je l'ay perdu dont j'ay dueil à foison,
Par lascheté et mauldicté finesse,
C'est à sçavoir, par hydeuse poyson.
Je l'ay perdu, hélas, en la saison
Que j'avoy' bien de sa prouesse affaire.
On ne l'eust peu que par poyson deffaïre.
Pendez, noyez, bruslez l'empoysonneur,
Lequel a fait pis que Oppianicus, ...

[fol. 162r]

and proceeds, despite her grief, to ransack the classics for instances of poisoning.¹ Dame Foy assures her that the ways of God are inscrutable, and attempts to comfort her. The king has been brave:

Car son filz mort, il a eu nonobstant [fol. 164r]

Ferme propos, délibéré courage
De batailler, et si a fait autant
En peu de temps avec main forte et sage
Comme si mort n'eust fait ce grand outrage. ...²
Tu as encor deux frères tant uniz
En bonne paix et amour fraternelle, ...

¹ Classical allusions are rare in the poems in this collection, for almost all the illustrations are furnished by the Bible or the theologians. In a "Rondeau des trois déesses fatales" (fol. 150v), however, Fontaine says we need not fear Lachesis, Clotho, and Atropos if only we have faith in God.

² Charles V, who had crossed the Alps July 25, 1536, began retreating September 14, and his general in the north, the Count of Nassau, who had crossed the frontier in July and attacked Péronne August 12, raised the siege of that town a month later.

and the true Christian need not fear death. "La République françoise" is at last somewhat comforted (fol. 172v), but not before she has defended her grief by citing many famous persons of the past who wept for their dead (beginning with Abraham, Jacob, and Joseph), or before Dame Foy has entered upon a long theological proof of her statement that to true Christians death is no evil.

This collection of poems thus reveals Charles Fontaine to us in something of a new light. It suggests that the obscure young poet sprang to the defense of the great Marot in the quarrel with Sagon not only because of his admiration for the most popular poet of the day but also because he shared the religious convictions for which Marot was in part being attacked. In any case, the friendship of the two men probably rested upon their common faith as well as upon the younger poet's respect for the older. These verses also picture for us the early years of Fontaine, a time apparently when he was a serious youth, inclined to asceticism, brooding much upon the evils of the world, and, despite a deep religious faith, far from happy. Famine and plague, dissensions in the church, war with the emperor, the poisoning of the young dauphin, various deaths in his own family, all cast their shadows upon these impressionable years. Not unnaturally, the *finesse dans la raillerie* for which Goujet admired him, and the grace and delicacy that characterize the best of his later work, are signally wanting; his early verses are indeed as heavy in style as in theme. Fortunately for his reputation, however, a visit to Italy and contact with the literary coterie of Lyons were in prospect, and these, as we know, were destined to leaven the verses, if not brighten the existence, of the gloomy young poet.

GRACE FRANK

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THE GENEALOGY OF THE GENEALOGICAL TREES OF THE *GENEALOGIA DEORUM*

The extant autograph MS of the *Genealogia deorum* of Boccaccio is illustrated by thirteen genealogical trees, designed certainly and drawn in all probability by Boccaccio himself. At the top of each tree is a large circle, in which is written the name of a divinity. From this circle descends a stem which now expands into other lesser circles, now sends forth leaves, and now branches, which in their turn expand into circles and send forth leaves and lesser branches. In the center of each circle or leaf a name is written. The circles are used for those divinities whose progeny is represented in the same tree; the leaves, for divinities whose progeny is not represented. In the circles the words *qui genuit* follow each masculine name, and the words *quae peperit* each feminine name. Similar trees certainly appeared in the earlier lost autograph, from which all the apograph MSS are derived; and similar trees appear in several apographs, and in the fourth and all later editions of the *Genealogia*.¹

So far as I can ascertain, Boccaccio's trees are the earliest secular genealogical trees properly so called: that is to say, the first non-biblical genealogical charts in which stems, branches, and leaves appear. They constitute also the first elaborate set of genealogical charts.

Their antecedents are the *arbor iuris* of medieval law, the circle-and-line genealogical charts found in historical and biblical manuscripts, and the Jesse-trees found in biblical manuscripts and elsewhere.²

¹ O. Hecker, *Boccaccio-Funde* (Brunswick, 1902), pp. 94-95 and Plate XIX; Wilkins, *The Trees of the "Genealogia deorum" of Boccaccio* (Chicago: Caxton Club, 1923), pp. 5-20 and Plates I-XX. The remainder of the present article is a reprint, for which permission has kindly been given by the Caxton Club, of the text of chap. vi ("The Antecedents of the Trees," pp. 25-29) of the latter monograph, which was printed in a limited edition, for members of the Club. The text is there illustrated by three plates (XXII-XXIV) showing, respectively, the *arbor iuris*, the chart of the Carolingian line in the *Chronicon universale* of Ekkehard, and a typical Jesse-tree. The text is here altered by slight omissions and changes made necessary by the separate printing and the absence of illustrations.

² O. Lorenz, *Lehrbuch der gesammten wissenschaftlichen Genealogie* (Berlin, 1898), pp. 88-100, 115-20.

All these were in point of time preceded by the Roman patrician *stemma*; but there is no apparent relationship between this *stemma* and the later charts and trees. The *stemma* was a genealogical exhibit of some sort located on an atrium wall. Upon the wall were gathered small shrines, each containing a painted wax mask of a deceased member of the family. The *stemma* seems to have been either a collection of such shrines, connected with each other by lines or bands; or else a chart, painted on the wall, in which the names of ancestors were connected by lines. The two most detailed classic references to the *stemma*, by Seneca and Pliny the Elder, are as follows:

Qui imagines in atrio exponunt et nomina familiae suae longo ordine ac multis stemmatum inligata flexuris in parte prima aedium conlocant, non noti magis quam nobiles sunt?¹

Aliter apud maiores in atriis haec erant, quae spectarentur; non signa externorum artificum nec aera aut marmora: expressi cera vultus singulis disponebantur armariis, ut essent imagines, quae comitarentur gentilia funera, semperque defuncto aliquo totus aderat familiae eius qui umquam fuerat populus. stemmata vero lineis discurrebant ad imagines pictas.²

The *arbor iuris* is a diagram of relationship in the abstract. Its typical form is shown in a study by Conrat.³ The central point of the diagram represents the status of the person with regard to whom the relatives are named. Above this point, in the two central columns, are the ancestors in direct line of ascent to the seventh degree; below the central point are the direct descendants to the seventh degree; to the right and left of the line of ancestors are collateral relatives, each horizontal line ending with the relatives of the seventh degree.

It is highly probable, as Conrat shows, that this diagram was first devised in the sixth or in the seventh century of our era to illustrate the eleventh chapter of Book IV of the *Sententiae* of Julius Paulus, a chapter entitled "De gradibus," in which the degrees of consanguinity

¹ *De beneficiis* III. 28. 2; ed. by C. Hoesius, Leipzig, 1914.

² *Naturalis Historia* xxxv. 2; ed. by C. Mayhoff, Vol. V, Leipzig, 1897. For further references and discussion see W. A. Becker, *Handbuch der römischen Alterthümer*, II (Leipzig, 1844), II, 220-23; H. Blümner, *Die römischen Privataltertümer* (Munich, 1911) (=I. von Müller, *Handbuch der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*, IV, 2 II.), pp. 493-95; Daremberg and Saglio, *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines*, articles "Imago" (p. 413) and "Stemma"; Pauly and Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*, article "Imagines maiorum" (col. 1102); W. T. Lendrum, "Fauset's *Pro Cluentio*," *Hermathena*, VI (1888), 360-61.

³ M. Conrat, "Arbor iuris des früheren Mittelalters mit eigenartiger Komputation," *Abhandlungen der königlichen preussischen Akademie* (Philosophische-historische Classe, 1909), Anhang, Abhandlung II. The illustration showing the typical *arbor iuris* faces p. 9.

are enumerated with reference to a discussion of inheritance. The diagram appears in MSS of this and other treatises on civil law.¹ It reappears in MSS of the *Etymologiae* of Isidore of Seville, in illustration of the sixth chapter of Book IX, a chapter entitled "De agnatis et cognatis," in which Isidore treats the terms of relationship.² It was adopted also by the canonists, and used by them in illustration of laws as to the degrees within which marriage was prohibited.³ In the first half of the fourteenth century it was discussed by the Bolognese canonist, Giovanni d'Andrea, in a special work, *Lectura super arboribus consanguinitatis et affinitatis*, which attained great popularity, and is included in the 1582 edition and in later editions of the *Corpus iuris canonici*.⁴

The diagram obviously suggests the shape of a tree. Whether its designer thought of it as a tree, we do not know. It received the name *arbor iuris* as early as 874 A.D.⁵ While the point of its relativity is at the center of the tree, the point of family origin, it will be seen, is at the top.⁶

The earliest extant genealogical charts to which I have found reference are the two which appear in the autograph MS of the *Chronicon universale* of Ekkehard, written about 1100. They are reproduced in the edition of the *Chronicon* in the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*.⁷ The first chart, illustrating the Carolingian line, consists of a series of circles, containing each a name and connected

¹ Conrat, pp. 35-39 and *passim*; *Ulpiani liber singularis Regularum, Pauli libri quinque Sententiarum*, ed. by P. Krueger (Berlin, 1878), pp. 104-5.

² Conrat, *passim*; *Etymologiae*, ed. by W. M. Lindsay (Oxford, 1911), Vol. I.

³ Conrat, *passim*; *Corpus iuris canonici*, ed. by A. Friedberg, Vol. I, Leipzig, 1879, *Decretum*, Pars II, Causa XXXV, Questio V.

⁴ R. Stintzing, *Geschichte der populären Literatur des römisch-kanonischen Rechts in Deutschland* (Leipzig, 1867), pp. 149-85; *Corpus iuris canonici*, ed. by Friedberg, Vol. I, cols. 1425-36. In the MSS of the *Lectura* the *arbor* appears simply in the diagrammatic form described above; see Stintzing, pp. 152-53. In the editions of the *Corpus iuris canonici* it appears as a tree bearing circular name plates. On Giovanni d'Andrea see G. Mazzuchelli, *Gli scrittori d'Italia*, Vol. I, Part II (Brescia, 1753), pp. 695-701.

⁵ Conrat, pp. 6-7. The *Theaurus linguae latinae*, s.v. "arbor," I B 2 f., has the following entry: "translate: arbor iuris Isid. orig. 9, 6, 28 tit. gradus cognationum significans prius aedificii formae vel scalarum comparatos." The title *arbor iuris* does not appear, however, in the critical edition of the *Etymologiae* by Lindsay, and is evidently an editorial title supplied in an early edition.

⁶ Other diagrams of relationship were current in the early Middle Ages; see Lorenz, *loc. cit.*, and Isidore, *ed. cit.*, *loc. cit.*

⁷ Vol. VIII (= *Scriptorum*, Vol. VI), Hanover, 1844, Plate I, and pp. 4, 176, 194. (In the Harvard set of the *Monumenta* the plates intended for Vol. VIII are in Vol. VII.)

by double lines. For each of the first seven generations only a single circle appears, containing the name of the head of the family. These seven circles form a vertical series. The three sons of Louis the Pious are then separately entered, in three circles on the same horizontal level. The chart then continues with the descendants of these three, the circles for those of the same generation being on the same horizontal level. To the left of the upper column of seven circles is a figure of a man, and to the right a figure of a woman, representing apparently the father and mother of St. Arnulphus. There is no suggestion of arboreal decoration. The second chart, illustrating the Saxon line, is of the same general character.

These are the only existing secular genealogical charts prior to Boccaccio to which I have found reference. Lorenz, however, implies the existence of other similar early charts.¹

A somewhat similar chart illustrating the genealogy of Christ appears in a thirteenth-century Bible, written in England, belonging now to Mr. W. M. Voynich, of London. The chart stands after the end of the text proper, with other tables. It consists of a stem which starts at the top of a page and continues down the middle of several successive pages, bearing a series of small circles, with other circles or groups of circles appearing here and there to the left or right, connected by straight lines with circles on the stem. The circles upon the stem contain the names of direct ancestors of Christ (except that the last contains the name of Christ himself); the circles to right and left are for collateral relatives.

Pictorial representations of the genealogy of Christ, known as Jesse-trees, appear in many biblical MSS of the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries, in illustration of the first chapter of Matthew, and appear also in other MSS, and in various decorative and monumental works in painting, sculpture, glass, and church furniture.²

The Jesse-tree consists of a reclining figure from whose side springs upward a foliated stem, the successive portions of which bear or

¹ P. 97: "*Einige der ältesten derartig gezeichneten Stammbäume finden sich in der Handschrift Ekkehard's in der Jenaer Universitätsbibliothek*" (*italics mine*).

² Abbé Corblet, "*Étude iconographique sur l'arbre de Jessé*," *Revue de l'art chrétien*, 1860 (I have not seen this study, which is referred to by Bonnell in the article mentioned below in this note); Lorenz, pp. 98-100; J. A. Herbert, *Illuminated Manuscripts* (London, 1911), pp. 182, 184, 196-97, 260; J. K. Bonnell, "The Source in Art of the So-called *Prophets Play* in the Hegge Collection," *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, XXIX (1914), 327-40.

inclose figures representing ancestors of Christ, and, at the top, a figure of Christ himself.¹

The *arbor iuris*, the circle-and-line genealogical charts, and the Jesse-trees are apparently not related to one another. The trees of Boccaccio are related apparently to all three. In Boccaccio's trees lines of descent branch downward from an ancestor as in the *arbor iuris*, and the use of pictorial stem, branches, and leaves may have been suggested or encouraged by knowledge of the figurative use of the term *arbor*. Boccaccio was, for some years, a student of canon law.² He was therefore surely familiar with the *arbor iuris*. It is interesting to note his sense of the conflict between the upward growth of an actual tree and the downward growth of his genealogical trees, as indicated by the words *uersa in celum radice* and *in celum uersa radice*, which occur in the first two tree rubrics of the *Genealogia*. Boccaccio's use of the circles indicates familiarity with the circle-and-line genealogical charts. The charts or trees of the genealogy of Christ may have suggested to Boccaccio the devising of trees for his pagan divinities. The use of pictorial stem, branches, and leaves may have been suggested or encouraged by the Jesse-trees.³

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¹ Reproductions of such trees appear in (British Museum): *Reproductions from Illuminated Manuscripts* (Series I, London, 1907), Plate 43; in R. E. Fry's "English Illuminated Manuscripts at the Burlington Fine Arts Club," *Burlington Magazine*, XIII (1908), plates facing pp. 267 and 268; and in *Illustrations from One Hundred Manuscripts in the Library of Henry Yates Thompson*, Vol. II (London, 1908), Plate XXI, and Vol. IV (1914), Plates XXIV, XLIV, and L.

² *Genealogia*, XV, 10.

³ It is possible that the immediate suggestion for the trees came to Boccaccio from the *Liber collectionum* of Paolo Perugino, librarian to the king of Naples at the time of Boccaccio's early residence in that city. From this work Boccaccio derived much mythological information. The book had been lost, however, before Boccaccio wrote the *Genealogia*. See A. Hortis, *Studi sulle opere latine del Boccaccio* (Trieste, 1879), pp. 494-98. Hortis, p. 497, says (after mentioning a brief minor work by Paolo): "Quanto più ricca non doveva essere l'opera delle *Collezioni*, dove, per quel che possiamo comprendere dalle citazioni del Boccaccio, non soltanto si vedevano gli alberi genealogici degli Dei, ma si discutevano altresì le differenti opinioni degli autori antichi e s'interpretavano le favole, non senza acutezza d'ingegno." No reference given by Hortis, however, justifies his inference that the *Liber collectionum* contained trees; nor does any statement justifying such an inference appear in any of the poems or in Books XIV and XV of the *Genealogia*.

SPENSER'S DEBT TO THE GREEK ROMANCES

John Upton indicated in 1758 that Spenser was indebted in the pastoral cantos of the sixth book of *The Faerie Queene* to Heliodorus, Longus, and Achilles Tatius. Serena's narrow escape from public sacrifice by a "savage nation,"¹ he pointed out, is related somehow to Achilles Tatius' melodramatic scene when the robbers of the Nile attempt the sacrifice of Leucippe on an altar built in full view of two contending armies.² The exposure of Pastorella³ has a strong family resemblance to the exposure of Chloe in Longus' story of *Daphnis and Chloe*,⁴ and the cave where she is confined by the robbers who carry her off after harrying her pastoral paradise⁵ is suspiciously like the cave where "the Egyptian Thyamis confines the beautiful Chariclea."⁶ Upton knew the Elizabethans too well not to be doubtful whether these resemblances proved that Spenser was imitating the Greek romances at first hand, or whether they indicated simply that he felt the contagion of prevalent literary convention. In his note on Pastorella's discovery by Meliboeus⁷ he wrote:

This story of Pastorella is founded on the old romance called *Dorastus and Fawnia*, from which Shakespeare borrowed the plan of the play called *The Winter's Tale*: or rather, Spenser might borrow from the original, viz., the pastoral of *Daphnis and Chloe* by Longus: which pastoral romance, if the reader consults, he will find corresponding passages and imitations.⁸

"This identification" by Upton, Mr. Greenlaw tells us in an able article on *Shakespeare's Pastorals*,⁹ "is untenable since the two plots differ in almost every respect save that a prince becomes a shepherd

¹ *The Faerie Queene*, Book VI, canto viii, stanzas 38 ff.

² *Clitophon and Leucippe* (Loeb Classical Library ed.), Book III, sec. 15, pp. 164-66.

³ *Op. cit.*, Book VI, canto xii, stanza 9.

⁴ *Op. cit.* (Loeb Classical Library ed.), Book I, secs. 6-7.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Book VI, canto xi, stanza 42.

⁶ Spenser, *Faerie Queene* (edited by John Upton, 1758), II, 653. The scene in the *Aethiopica* occurs in Book I. See the translation by Thomas Underdowne edited for "The Tudor Translations" by Charles Whibley, p. 38.

⁷ *Op. cit.* Book VI, canto ix, stanza 14.

⁸ Upton, *op. cit.*, II, 649-50.

⁹ *Studies in Philology*, XIII, 122-54.

to win the love of a maiden thought to be the daughter of an old shepherd." Without directly discussing the subject, Mr. Greenlaw implies that Longus' contribution to the pastoral cantos of *The Faerie Queene* was indirect, and that it was made through Sidney's *Arcadia*, which he conclusively shows to have been the paramount influence upon Spenser when he wrote his last three books. This indirect influence of Longus he does not assess. He considers *Daphnis and Chloe* the only true Greek pastoral which influenced English literature: other Greek romancers, such as Heliodorus and Achilles Tatius, stressed the wanderings of the lovers and introduced various other elements which are without significance in the present study.¹

In excluding Heliodorus and Achilles Tatius, Mr. Greenlaw is seemingly in sharp disagreement with Mr. Wolff's opinion that *The Aethiopian Historie* was Sidney's chief model in conceiving the *Arcadia*.² The relation of the Greek romances to *The Faerie Queene* has not been studied since Upton except by Mr. Greenlaw in the few pages which he devotes indirectly to it in this article, and since his treatment of the subject is so largely canceled by comparison with Mr. Wolff's thesis, we may approach it best with Upton's notes as our starting-point.

Upton's three notes exhaust the resemblances in concrete detail between *The Faerie Queene* and the Greek romances. A survey of them is quickly made. The uncompleted sacrifice of Serena by the "savage nation"³ resembles the scene in *Clitophon and Leucippe* in too many respects to disclaim all connection with it, but the relation has probably been transmitted through several intermediaries. Both girls are condemned to the same fate by barbaric captors against the will of the majority and in consequence of the influence of priests. Both are placed upon improvised altars and both escape their doom, the Sidonian maiden by a device of her pretended executioners who are really her friends, and Serena by the timely advent of her champion, Sir Calepine. The tone of Achilles Tatius' story is unmistakable in Spenser's episode, yet there are so many discrepancies between the two stories that it would be absurd to call *Clitophon and Leucippe* Spenser's source. The story in its Greek form is central and structural, while in

¹ *Studies in Philology*, XIII, 123.

² Mr. Greenlaw does not refer to Mr. Wolff's study, *The Greek Romances in Elizabethan Prose Fiction*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1912.

³ Spenser, *op. cit.*, Book VI, canto viii, stanzas 38 ff.

The Faerie Queene it is episodic. The treatment of character by the two narrators is utterly different. In Spenser's version the incident closes with the chivalrous rescue of the lady by her knight. In Achilles Tatius' version, Clitophon plays a passive and almost pusillanimous part as the heroes are inclined to do in all of the Greek romances, so bent were their authors upon pathetic effects.¹

In Pastorella's exposure Spenser handled a subject dear to the hearts of writers of romance in the sixteenth century. Upton's reference of it to *Dorastus and Fawnia* (i.e., *Pandosto*) had more justification than he suspected, for Greene's masterpiece appeared in 1589, just a year before Spenser visited England to put the first three books of *The Faerie Queene* into Ponsonby's hands and to collect material for the last three, to the composition of which he intended to devote the remaining years of his Irish exile. *Colin Clouts Come Home Again* indicates, it seems, that he came into contact with some of Greene's work during this English visit and rather admired it. Perhaps he paid Greene the compliment of appropriating one element of his latest and best story. Upton called Pastorella's exposure a parallel to that of Chloe in Longus' romance,² but in its circumstances of secrecy and compulsion it is more like Chariclea's exposure by her mother's servant in *The Aethiopian Historie*.³ Chloe was exposed by her father as a sordid matter of course because she was a superfluous baby. Her discovery by Dryas in the Cave of the Nymphs where one of his strayed ewes was giving her suck left no mark upon Spenser's story.

The third resemblance which Upton noticed between the story of Pastorella and various motifs in the Greek romances is the least significant of the three. He thought the cave where she was confined by her robber-captors very like that where the pirate Thyamis imprisoned Chariclea, and the whole incident of the pirates' incursion in the tenth and eleventh cantos of the sixth book of *The Faerie Queene* seemed to him rather definitely imitated from Heliodorus. But there are no detailed resemblances to identify Spenser's treatment with the suggested Greek source, and the common element of a pirate raid means nothing.

¹ Theagenes' defeat of the pirate captain in *The Aethiopian Historie* (Book V, p. 151, translation of Thomas Underdowne edited in "The Tudor Translations" by Charles Whibley) is the only instance of conspicuous courage in the hero of any of the Greek romances.

² *Op. cit.* Book I, secs. 6-7.

³ Underdowne, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

Pirates were the prime *devil ex machina* of Heliodorus and his successors. Leucippe is kidnapped by pirates in the neighborhood of the Pharos of Alexandria. Daphnis is shanghaied by sea-rovers, and his miraculous rescue leads to the first pathetic climax in his *education sentimentale* with Chloe. In the fifth book of *The Aethiopian Historie* (in quite a different situation from that in the first book where Chariclea is confined by robbers in a cave), the heroine is abducted by a pirate captain and saved by her lover, who worsts him in single combat.¹ Again she is saved from the lust of a pirate captain only by the device of stirring up his lieutenant to murder him.² The motif was widespread in fiction in the Renaissance.³ Like many of his contemporaries, Spenser made use of it, but he had too many models to copy any one of them closely.

The sixth book of *The Faerie Queene* contains one motif which is prominent in all of the Greek romances, but which Upton did not mention. It is the riddling prophecy. Spenser made use of it in the punning tradition about the heir of the childless Sir Bruin:

Yet was it sayd, there should to him a sonne
Be gotten, not begotten, which should drinke
And dry up all the water which doth ronne
In the next brooke, by whom that feend should be fordonne.⁴

This prophecy is introduced merely for the sake of providing a ready way for Sir Calepine to dispose of a foundling baby. The detail about drinking up all the water in a neighboring brook is forgotten by the poet as soon as written, but it may have had a remote structural intention. Had the twelfth book of *The Faerie Queene* been written, we should probably have the adventure of the brook. Prophecies akin to this were a part of the technique inherited from Heliodorus which made oracles about the lives of children exposed at birth a regular means to the dramatic solution of the plot. Shakespeare's oracle from Delphi in *The Winter's Tale* of the king who should live without an heir if the lost were not found⁵ is a typical example of the type. Ulti-

¹ Underdowne, *op. cit.*, p. 151.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 22-23.

³ Warton, *Observations*, p. 155, derived Pastorella's story from *Orlando Furioso*, canto xii ff., but Mr. Greenlaw (*op. cit.*, p. 126 n.) notes that Isabella's story is not a pastoral and differs from Spenser's story in every detail except captivity by robbers.

⁴ Book VI, Canto iv, stanza 32.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, Act III, scene ii.

mately its source should be sought in the New Comedy of Menander which Heliodorus was fond of mentioning as his model in many scenes of pathetic melodrama. It is a quite different thing from the prophecies of Merlin in the Arthurian legends and from the vaticinations sprinkled so generously through *Amadis de Gaul*. Their function is to consolidate the action by a sense of impending doom, the function that is illustrated for modern readers in Tennyson's *Passing of Arthur*. The nearest analogue of Heliodorus' type of prophecy Mr. Wolff has shown conclusively is found in Sidney's *Arcadia*, and in that instance it seems reasonably sure that the Greek romance was a genuine "source." At bottom the quibbling prophecy is a dramatic device, and it may very well have been in the most popular of Renaissance Italian pastoral plays, Guarini's *Il Pastor Fido*, that Spenser first became acquainted with it. There he found it assimilated to a poetic purpose which had much in common with his own. Perhaps, if his early "Nine Comedies" ever come to light, we may find in them a bond between this episode of the prophecy about Sir Bruin's heir and the oracle in Guarini's fantasy:

Non avrà prima fin quel che v'offende,
che duo semi del ciel congiunga Amore;
e de donna infedel l'antico errore
l'alta pietá d'un pastor fido ammende.¹

From what has been said it appears that there are only four motifs in *The Faerie Queene* which derive with significant immediacy from the Greek romances. None of them is developed by Spenser in a way to commit them with any certainty to a definite Greek source, and all of them had many analogues in the literature of the Renaissance. In the later cantos of the sixth book Spenser moves into a pastoral world for the first time in *The Faerie Queene* and quits the regions of chivalric romance and courtly love in which his story previously moves.² This world, as Mr. Greenlaw has suggested, is very like that of Longus' *Daphnis and Chloe* though it probably owes its creation to the prestige of Sidney's pastoral episode in the *Arcadia*. Virgil's idyl of Dido and Aeneas, interrupting a more heroic story, per-

¹ *Il Pastor Fido*, by Giambattista Guarini (a cura di Gioachino Brognolino, Bari, 1914), p. 27.

² See E. B. Fowler's *Spenser and the Courts of Love*. Menasha, Wisconsin, 1921.

haps justified such an intrusion of pastoral material to both Sidney and Spenser.¹

Outside of the sixth book I believe that it is impossible to find any concrete resemblances between *The Faerie Queene* and any Greek romance. But there are two broad features which Spenser's entire poem shares with the Greek romances, almost certainly fortuitously yet not altogether insignificantly. One of these is his extraordinarily pictorial quality. Many traditions, both medieval and contemporary, contributed to this quality in his work. It was an outstanding convention of the literary tradition centering in the poetry of courtly love which found an exemplification especially authoritative for Spenser in *The Knight's Tale* and in *The Parlement of Fowles*.² His initiation into authorship by way of van der Noodt's *Theatre for Worldlings* fitted him to share the confusion of the arts of poetry and painting so characteristic of his time. He went farther than any other poet of the first rank in the Renaissance in what seems like a naïve interpretation of the critical catch-phrase then so popular, *ut pictura poesis*. He seems to have made a working principle of the doctrine that the ideal in painting should be realistic illusion, and that poetry should be a literal transcript of painting. The best example of this occurs in the third book of *The Faerie Queene* where he devotes five stanzas to walls which

. . . . were round about appareiled
With costly clothes of Arras and of Toure,
In which with cunning hand was pourtrahed
The love of Venus and her paramoure.³

The whole story is recited on the tapestries with many hints of the dramatic power of Shakespeare in *Venus and Adonis*.

An obsession with pictures was more characteristic of the Greek romances than it was of any of the writers in the western romantic tradition. *Clitophon and Leucippe* opens with a young man gazing at a painting of the rape of Europa which has hypnotized him with memories of his own passionate history. That romance is filled with examples of this particular aesthetic hobby. In *Daphnis and Chloe* it

¹ Greenlaw, *op. cit.*, p. 129.

² For the Chaucerian influence on Spenser's work see W. P. Nadall's unpublished Harvard thesis on *The Influence of Chaucer on Spenser*.

³ *Op. cit.*, Book III, canto I, stanza 34.

is reduced to an agreeable absurdity in a scene where the shepherd Dryas imitates all the activities of his calling in an "expressionistic dance" so realistic that even his urban witnesses are carried away and throw themselves into the pantomime with the abandon of savages in a war-dance.¹ The literature of the Renaissance was so full of this mania that it is unnecessary to suppose that Spenser contracted it directly from Longus or Achilles Tatius, but it is remarkable that he always conceived his art as more or less a contest with the "life-resembling pencill" of Zeuxis and Praxiteles.² Sidney's *Arcadia* was a channel through which this peculiarity of the Greek romances probably affected Spenser. Descriptions such as Sidney's account of the paintings in Calendar's garden-house are closely akin to word-paintings in *The Faerie Queene*, on the one hand, and in *The Aethiopian Historie*, on the other. Sidney wrote in part:

There was Diana when Actaeon saw her bathing in whose cheeks the painter had set such a colour as was mixt betweene shame and disdaine. . . . In another table was *Atalanta*; the posture of whose limmes was so livelie expressed, that . . . one would have sworne the very picture had runne.

In one other respect *The Faerie Queene* as a whole resembles Heliodorus' *The Aethiopian Historie*, but here it is unsafe to claim more than a certain like-mindedness. Heliodorus was an exceptionally moral romancer, and Underdowne's translation (which Spenser may have known) laid much stress upon his author's moral purpose. Heliodorus was a preacher, and his gospel was composed of commonplaces not unlike Spenser's "Twelve Morall Virtues." Chastity, temperance, friendship, justice, and courtesy are all formal topics in his ethic. They are identical with the six moral virtues which Spenser actually allegorized, minus the first, holiness or courage, which he derived mainly from Christian and chivalrous sources. Spenser conceived temperance as the subordination of the passions to the mind, and was as much interested in the restraint of anger and grief as in that of the lust for pleasure. The conception was essentially stoic, and Upton's notes on the second book of *The Faerie Queene* leave no doubt that Cicero, Seneca, and Epictetus were Spenser's mentors. Heliodorus in a fashion infinitely less serious than Spenser tried to vulgarize the principles of

¹ Longus, *op. cit.*, Book II, pp. 117-19.

² Book III, Prologue, stanza 11, l. 2.

an eclectic ethic derived from classical and Christian sources. It is worth while to compare the comment of Guyon upon Amavia's suicidal grief for her husband with Calisiris' reprimand of Chariclea when she gives way to disappointment over Theagenes' loss. Guyon observes to the Palmer:

. . . . Old Syre,
Beholde the ymage of mortalitie,
And feeble nature cloth'd with fleshly tyre.
When raging passion with fierce tyranny
Robs reason of her due regalitie,
And makes it servaunt to her basest part,
The strong it weakens with infirmitie,
And with bold furie armes the weakest hart:
The strong through pleasure soonest falles, the weak
through smart.¹

Calisiris exclaims:

For shame, Chariclea, what aray is this? Why doo you vex yourself so sore without ceassing? Why yeelde you to all chaunces without reason?²

Chastity, Mr. Wolff has indicated, is "structural and essential to the main plot" in all of the Greek romances.³ In its intention Spenser's use of chastity in the third book of *The Faerie Queene* is structural, though its effect on the story is to work against suspense by investing Britomart with magic strength which leaves the issue of none of her struggles in doubt. A rather morbid devotion to chastity characterized the Greek romances from their first beginnings. The *Ninus Fragment*, dated by Gaselee between 50 and 100 A.D.,⁴ opens with an appeal by Ninus to his aunt for his cousin's hand on the ground that he has marvelously preserved his chastity until his seventeenth year. *Daphnis and Chloe* is a story of the self-restraint of lovers with which the legend of Britomart and Artegal bears no comparison. Britomart is a converted Angelica and too much of an aristocrat to suffer the temptations of the shepherdess, Chloe, or of the débutantes, Chariclea and Leucippe. Heliodorus, however, treated chastity in Spenser's lyric

¹ *Op. cit.*, Book II, canto i, stanza 57.

² Underdowne, *op. cit.*, p. 164. Cf. Melitta's appeal to the jealous Thersander in *Clitophon and Leucippe* (Loeb ed.), p. 320: ἐν οὖν σὺν δίομαι, γερὸς μοι δικαστὴς ἴσος, καὶ καθήρας μὲν σου τὰ ὤτα τῆς διαβολῆς ἐμβαλὼν δὲ τῆς καρδίας τὴν ὁρμήν, τὸν δὲ λογιζμὸν ἐπιστήσας κριτὴν ἀκέραιον, ἀκουσον.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 309.

⁴ Introduction to the *Ninus Fragment* (Loeb ed.), p. 283.

strain. "Chariclea, her worthie chastitie" is introduced at the outset.¹ She and Theagenes dedicate themselves again and again to chastity.² Violently tempted, they resolve "to dye chastly, and like men."³ They pray for dreams of each other, provided they be chaste dreams.⁴ Theagenes is ready to accept martyrdom for chastity's sake when Queene Arsace solicits his affection.⁵ At the end of the romance there is a public test of Chariclea's chastity like the theatrical test of the real and the false Florimel in the fourth book of *The Faerie Queene*.⁶ In general, a comparison of Heliodorus' treatment of chastity with that found in the third book of Spenser's romance leaves no doubt that the two stories belong to one ethical tradition, although there is not a single point of parallel contact between them.

Courtesy is a definitely recognized though little-stressed virtue in *The Aethiopian Historie*,⁷ and there is some speculation along vaguely Aristotelian lines about the nature of friendship. Theagenes rebuffs Cibeles overtures from Arsace because friendship ought to be "between such as are of one condition."⁸ We learn that "such is the nature of theeves, they esteeme more money than their owne lives, and make much of the name of friendship, and affinitie so farre as lucre, and gaine shall extende."⁹ There are many appeals to justice throughout Heliodorus' story, and the conception of the virtue is very much more speculative and "civil" than is that of the simple *lex talionis* so often invoked under the name of justice in *Amadis de Gaule*.¹⁰ Equity is distinguished from justice as it is in the fifth book of *The Faerie Queene*, but it does not mean justice tempered with mercy as definitely as it does in Spenser. All these virtues, it must be confessed, bear no very striking resemblance to the qualities which Spenser called by identical names, but Underdowne, in his marginal notes, lets us see

¹ Underdowne, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 116-17, 127, 142.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 143.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 163.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 195-215.

⁶ *The Faerie Queene*, canto v. Underdowne, *Aethiopica*, pp. 264-65.

⁷ Underdowne, *op. cit.*, p. 159.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 189.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 40. Cf. Cnemon's prayer for "pardon to the gods of friendshippe" when he abandons Callistis and Chariclea (p. 161).

¹⁰ Underdowne, *op. cit.*, pp. 226, 255, 267, etc.

that he understood them as being much the same as those exemplified in the moral "legends" of *The Faerie Queene*.¹ Like Spenser and Sidney, Underdowne was moved by the desire to give England an epic that would contribute to the education of gentlemen, and in the *Aethiopica* he felt that he had found such an epic.

To summarize: There is no evidence that Spenser derived any element of his poetry directly from any Greek romance. Four motifs in the story of Pastorella derive ultimately from Longus or Heliodorus, but all of them had become literary commonplaces when Spenser wrote. The use that he makes of them relates him as much to Ariosto, Tasso, Guarini, and Sidney as it does to the ancient romancers. Outside of these four motifs it is barely possible to trace the influence of Heliodorus through Sidney among the complex forces that made Spenser's treatment of the "moral virtues" what it was, and it may not be altogether fantastic to see in the fondness of the Greek romancers for word-painting a very minor force that helped to make *The Faerie Queene* the most pictorial of epics.

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¹ See Underdowne's marginal note on p. 255 for evidence that he regarded justice as a "civil" virtue in Spenser's sense.

WHO WAS LUCASTA?

When Lovelace issued his slender volume of poems in 1649, he called it *Lucasta: Epodes, Odes, Sonnets, Songs, etc.* It contains, besides commendatory verses, fifty-five poems. Of these, seventeen are addressed to Lucasta, or at least refer in some way to her. There are also four poems to Ellinda, and one each to Gratiana, Chloe, and Althea. Ten years later, after Lovelace's death, his brother collected and published another volume of his poems, which he entitled *Lucasta: Posthume Poems of Richard Lovelace, Esq.* In this second volume, Lucasta's name still appears most frequently: Lucasta figures in ten poems, Laura in two, and Chloris in one. Since most writers on Lovelace have been content to repeat Anthony à Wood's casual identification of Lucasta as Lucy Sacheverel, with little or no search for corroboration in the poetry concerned, it may not be amiss to give further study to the question of Lucasta's identity.

Before turning, however, to this problem, let us consider briefly an idea about Lucasta and Lovelace which has been several times advanced, but which may, I think, be safely dismissed as sentimental conjecture. We are asked to picture Lovelace pining away because his betrothed had married another man, and finally dying miserably in London of a broken heart. Thus Rev. J. H. B. Masterman, in his *Age of Milton* (p. 98), says: "According to tradition, his death was due to despair, caused by the unfaithfulness of the lady addressed as Lucasta, who married under the impression that he was dead." Mr. Edmund Gosse similarly remarks in *Ward's English Poets* (p. 182): "It being reported that he was killed, his betrothed married another man; and after wasting all his substance in the recklessness of despair, this darling of the graces died in extreme want, and in a cellar." The late Louise I. Guiney writes in an article in the *Catholic World* (XCV, 650): "Utter affliction and discouragement, due to the loss of his love, may have disabled him from profiting by such common measure of alleviation as fell to his colleagues."

I have been able to discover no evidence whatever for the idea here advanced. Of his early biographers neither Aubrey¹ nor Winstanley² throws any light on his love affair, and Wood, who is the chief source of our knowledge of Lovelace, distinctly says that he pined away, not because of disappointment in love, but because of poverty. "After the murder of King Charles I," writes Wood, "Lovelace was set at liberty, and having by that time consumed all his estate, grew very melancholy (which brought him at length into a consumption)," etc.³ Wood certainly did not attribute any of Lovelace's melancholy to the loss of Lucasta.

And yet I can think of nothing except an inattentive reading of Wood that could have occasioned these statements. In the preceding paragraph, Wood describes Lovelace's departure to France in 1646 to fight under Louis XIV, his being wounded at Dunkirk, and his return to England in 1648. Upon his return he was imprisoned, says Wood, in Lord Petre's house in Aldersgate Street, and there, to quote again, "he framed his poems for the press, entitled *Lucasta etc. . . .* The reason why he gave that title was because, some time before, he had made his amours to a gentlewoman of great beauty and fortune, named Lucy Sacheverel, whom he usually called *Lux casta*; but she upon a strong report that Lovelace was dead of his wound received at Dunkirk, soon after married." He lost his betrothed. He died of melancholy. What more natural than to connect the two facts? Very likely someone's careless reading of Wood is responsible for the tradition to which Mr. Masterman refers.

Certainly the contents of the poems to *Lucasta* could not have given rise to such a tradition. In none is there any hint of the loss of *Lucasta*, or of despair arising from this or any other cause; nor in the eight elegies on Lovelace written by his friends within two years of his death is there a single reference to *Lucasta's* faithlessness. We may, then, I think, free Lucy Sacheverel from any responsibility—even unintentional—for Lovelace's pitiful end.

But the main problem already proposed remains, namely, whether the *Lucasta* of the poems really does represent the woman to whom,

¹ *Brief Lives* (ed. Clark, 1898), II, 37.

² He says merely: "The one [Sir Phillip Sidney] Celebrated his Mistress under the bright name of *Stella*, the other the Lady Regent of his Affections, under the Banner of *Lucasta*" (*The Lives of the Most Famous English Poets* [1687], p. 170).

³ *Athenae Oxonienses* (ed. P. Bliss), III, 460-3.

according to Wood, Lovelace made his amours. Thomas Seecombe in his article on Lovelace in the *Dictionary of National Biography* remarks that Lucasta was possibly an imaginary personage, after whom, in accordance with the familiar practice of the time, he called his poems. My own examination of the poems to Lucasta has, in spite of Wood's statement, convinced me that this supposition is not merely possible, but in the highest degree probable. I do not believe that these poems can have been written about any woman whom Lovelace loved and sought in marriage.

The reasons that have led me to this conclusion are as follows:

1. With two or three exceptions the poems that concern Lucasta read like frigid exercises, not genuine love poems. It is of course a commonplace that much Elizabethan and Caroline love poetry is conventional; yet even beside the conventional poetry of that day, the love poems to Lucasta seem curiously lacking in feeling. They are almost completely devoid of ardor and tenderness, and are remarkable only for the utter lack of restraint shown in their conceits. One exception is "To Lucasta: Going beyond the Seas," which contains the fine passage:

Above the highest sphere we meet
Unseen, unknown, and greet as angels greet.

This poem, however, seems to be reminiscent of Donne's famous "Valediction Forbidding Mourning," a fact that makes at least questionable whether the apparent feeling as well as the matter may not be owing to Donne. A second exception is "To Lucasta: Going to the Wars." There is a distinct note of tenderness here; yet the primary devotion shown in this poem is of course to the king and to the king's cause. The third and last exception that I find is a poem entitled "Calling Lucasta from Her Retirement." In this poem Lovelace represents himself, seconded by trees, waters, air, and fire, as summoning her from the "dire monument" of her "black room." At the end he declares she comes, and that her coming makes him forget even the tragedy of civil war:

See! she obeys! By all obeyed thus
No storms, heats, colds, no souls contentious,
Nor civil war is found; I mean, to us.

Most of the poem is labored and obscure, and leaves the reader with the suspicion that Lucasta may here be no more than a symbol for the

clear light of truth. Is it not odd that Lovelace, even assuming he felt no tenderness, could not have simulated it more successfully in his love poems?

It may be objected that he was one of those men not gifted with the power of expressing their feelings in verse. Yet how genuinely his lines on Charles glow when in "To Althea: From Prison" he sings of the sweetness, mercy, and majesty of his king. So, too, in his little-known poem "To Lucasta: From Prison," there throbs a splendid devotion to Charles. In this poem Lovelace turns over in his mind the various things he might love, such as Peace, War, Religion, Parliament, Liberty, Property, etc. But he finds some impediment to his loving any of these. He ends his poem thus:

Since, then, none of these can be
Fit objects for my love and me;
What then remains but th' only spring
Of all our loves and joys, the King?

He who being the whole ball
Of day on earth, lends it to all;
When seeking to eclipse his right
Blinded we stand in our own light.

And now an universal mist
Of error is spread o'er each breast;
With such a fury edged as is
Not found in th' inwards of th' abyss.

Oh, from thy glorious starry wain
Dispense on me one sacred beam
To light me where I soon may see
How to serve you, and you trust me!

The "starry wain" mentioned in the last stanza is Charlemagne's Wain, or Wagon, the seven stars forming the Great Dipper, which during the seventeenth century was associated with the name of Charles I. The poem was pretty evidently written during Lovelace's second imprisonment, at a time when events were hurrying Charles toward his execution. It is addressed to Lucasta, but there is no real love in the poem for anyone but Charles. So also in certain of his occasional verses—especially in "The Grasshopper, To My Noble Friend, Mr. Charles Cotton," "The Lady A. L., My Asylum in a Great Extremity," and "To His Dear Brother, Colonel F. L."—a clear flame of affection warms and illumines the halting, obscure lines. Lovelace was certainly not a man devoid of feeling, nor incapable of

conveying that feeling into his poetry, facts that make the frigidity of his love poetry all the more noteworthy.

2. The poems to Lucasta contain no individualizing descriptive touches such as the thought of an actual woman would naturally give rise to. We do not learn whether she was fair or dark, tall or short, responsive, reserved, or proud.] We do not know where she lived, for I think we may quickly dismiss as of no significance the reference to Tunbridge in the poem "Lucasta, Taking the Waters at Tunbridge," on which Hazlitt comments as follows: "From this it might be conjectured, though the ground for doing so would be very slight, that Lucasta was a native of Kent or of one of the adjoining shires; but against this supposition we have to set the circumstance that elsewhere this lady is called a 'northern star.'" We do, to be sure, meet some conventional praise of her charms: her eyes rival the sun in brightness; and when she steps into a pool of water, it is purified by the touch of her body. But not one simple detail, such even as Herrick gives us of his probably imaginary Julia, or Carew of his enigmatical Celia, do we find in these poems. If ever a woman was less than a shadow, that woman is Lucasta.

3. The seventeen commendatory poems in English, Latin, and Greek, written for Lovelace's 1649 volume, and the eight elegies, collected and published in 1660 by his brother, Dudley Posthumus Lovelace, and reprinted by Hazlitt, furnish no indication that their authors supposed Lucasta had any identity. In one of the commendatory poems in particular, that of Colonel John Pinchbacke, the thought seems strongly to invite a reference to Lucasta, for the Celia (most likely of Carew) and the Sacharissa of Waller are both mentioned; but there is no word of Lucasta.

4. One poem among those in the first volume of *Lucasta* argues strongly against identifying Lucasta with any real woman. It has exactly the cynicism of Donne's early poems in which he insists on variety in love.] The opening phrase, "The beauteous star to which I first did bow," must surely refer to Lucasta, who again and again, in playful allusion to her name, is addressed as one of the heavenly bodies. The most significant lines of this poem (entitled "A Paradox") are as follows:

'Tis true the beauteous star
To which I first did bow

Burnt quicker, brighter far
Than that which leads me now;

So from the glorious sun
Who to his height hath got,
With what delight we run
To some black cave or grot!

The god that constant keeps
Unto his deities
Is poor in joys, and sleeps
Imprisoned in the skies.
This knew the wisest, who
From Juno stole, below
To love a bear or cow.

Can it be that Lovelace would have written in this way about a real woman whom he had loved or courted?

5. In composing witty love verses with no particular woman in mind, he would have been doing what many other poets of the age did. Cowley, for example, admits that his volume of love poems called *The Mistress* was written merely because "poets are scarce thought free-men of their company without paying some duties . . . to Love." So Vaughan, alluding in his poems to Amoret, assures us in the Preface that "the fire at highest is but Platonic." Recent critics feel pretty confident that classic models rather than real women inspired most of Herrick's poems to his "many dainty mistresses." There is no reason why Lovelace also should not have wished to prove himself a free-man of the company of poets by paying some duties to Love.

Perhaps no one of the arguments I have adduced would by itself be convincing. Taken together they lead me to a conclusion not indeed at variance with what Wood actually says, but at variance with the natural implication of his statement. Lovelace may have courted Lucy Sacheverel.¹ He may have loved her. He may even have named his book after her. But that he should have consistently identified her in his own mind with the person addressed as Lucasta in his poems seems to me, in view of the poems themselves, incredible.

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¹ Though the records of the Sacheverell family have been searched, the Lucy Sacheverel to whom Wood refers has not been discovered. Joseph Hunter conjectures, however, that she was "issue of the marriage of Ferdinando Sacheverel with Lucy, daughter of Sir Henry Hastings of Newark near Leicester. This Ferdinando was aged 20 in 1619, and was an illegitimate son of Henry Sacheverel of Morley in Derbyshire and of Newhall in Warwickshire." See *Chorus Vatum*, 1843 (Addl. MSS. 24, 488), II, 201.

BODMER'S INDEBTEDNESS TO VOLTAIRE

Though in matters of literary criticism Bodmer frequently took issue with Voltaire, he did not hesitate to draw upon at least one of the French author's dramas for some important literary loans. It was Voltaire's *Le fanatisme ou Mahomet le prophète* which, as we shall see, had to contribute its share of material to Bodmer's *Noah*. But before entering upon a consideration of the Bodmer-Voltaire parallels it will be helpful to present a brief summary of the plot of Voltaire's tragedy and then follow this with a survey of the borrowed situations in the *Noah*.

Voltaire's hero, Mohammed, has been banished from Mecca by the sheik, Zopire. Moreover, in a skirmish the sheik has succeeded in carrying off Mohammed's beautiful slave, Palmire, who now beseeches him to restore her to the worshiped prophet and also to her lover, the slave Séide. As Zopire learns in the course of the play, both slaves are his own children, though for fifteen years he has believed them dead.

At a time of truce Mohammed re-enters Mecca, and the price imposed upon Zopire as a ransom for his son is the surrender of the city and a proclamation of the Mohammedan faith, whereupon the prophet will deign to wed Palmire. Zopire, however, refuses to enslave his country and to renounce his religion for a false faith. The religious fanatic and spiritual leader, seeing his ambition thus crossed, determines on revenge. Zopire, however, happens to have the backing of the senate of Mecca, which now resolves upon Mohammed's doom. At this juncture Mohammed's lieutenant, Omar, proposes the plan of having the sheik done to death by Séide, who, unaware of his father's identity, is won over to the murderous design by his vow to obey implicitly all of heaven's decrees as enjoined upon him through Mohammed; and to make doubly sure of the success of the scheme, Mohammed suggests the plan of hinting at black designs on the part of the sheik upon Séide's life and his sweetheart's honor. Thus the detested infidel Zopire is doomed to die. Séide commits the bloody

deed only to learn that the man whom he has assassinated was his own father. Thereupon, snatching up the gory poniard, he vows vengeance upon Mohammed, but at this point is suddenly seized by the latter's lieutenant and cast into a dungeon.

There is now, however, a turn of fortune. The citizens of Mecca, aroused to deepest indignation by the death of their chief, bear upon a bier the body of Zopire as they enter upon the stage accompanied by Séide and Palmire. But Séide too is doomed, for he dies upon the dead body of his father, having been secretly poisoned at the behest of Mohammed, his jealous rival for the love of Palmire. Overcome by the sight, Palmire then stabs herself with Séide's weapon.

Turning now to the *Noah*¹ we find the following similar and, as we shall see, reminiscent situation. The prophet Selima, pretending to have received God's decrees before the very throne of the Almighty, who, as he further represents, has girded about him the two-edged sword and commanded him "die Völker zu schlagen," proceeds to execute his bloody mission. His victorious advance is stayed, however, by the city of Yarmouth, the eyes of whose inhabitants have been opened to the imposture. Fired by Zippor,² the citizens resist the false prophet in defense of their liberty and their ancient faith. The seductive promises of the prophet fail to swerve the leader of Yarmouth from his purpose, and even the promised restoration of his son, Asa, as a further inducement to surrender is met by a determined

Nein! lieber nicht Vater, als feiger Verräter.³

which resembles the sentiment of Zopire in Voltaire's tragedy

Mahomet, je suis père ...
 Mais s'il faut à ton culte asservir ma patrie,
 Ou de ma propre main les immoler tous deux,
 Connais-moi, Mahomet, mon choix n'est pas douteux.
 Adieu.⁴

Asa, as we learn, had been kidnapped when a child, and after having been brought up among the soldiery—quite the same feature that we find in the Voltairean tragedy⁵—had been turned over to the prophet. Thwarted in his ambitious design, Selima resolves upon Zippor's death, and after some resistance on the part of Asa succeeds in

¹ *Noah*, edition of 1765, pp. 62 ff.

² The character corresponding to Voltaire's Zopire.

³ *Noah*, p. 64.

⁴ *Le fanatisme*, II, v.

⁵ *Ibid.*

persuading him to perform the deed. As in Voltaire's drama, the assassin comes upon his victim near the altar and there plunges the fatal dagger into the breast of his own father. At this point Asa's kidnaper, Sua, discloses to him the identity of his victim, whereupon Asa attempts to take his own life with the same weapon, but is restrained by his father, who, again as in the Voltairean version, kisses his son and dies. But no need has the youth of the instrument of death, for even then the poison which Selima has secretly administered—recalling the murderous act of Voltaire's Mohammed—is coursing in his veins. And, resembling the death of the poisoned Séide in the French model, Bodmer's parricide, Asa, dies beside the lifeless body of his father.

Let us now consider one of the more important passages in the *Noah* dealing with the episode. Selima has just issued his bloody command to Asa to slay Zippor.

Er sprach. Der Jüngling betäubet und schwindelnd,
Wie wann ihm in die Ohren die Stimme Gottes gedonnert,
Dacht nicht länger, er fliegt, sieht Zippor bei einem Altare,
Reisst ihn zur Erd, und—Himmel! du kannst kein Unrecht befehlen,
Ruft er, und drückt ihm den Stahl in den Busen. Den Augenblick bebte
Sua daher, der den Knaben geraubt; er keuchte die Worte:
Asa, was hast du getan? Der hier im Staube verblutet,
War dein Vater; Elender, du schlugst den, der dich erzeugt hat!
Asa stand wie vom Blitz getroffen, er wirft die Augen
Wild auf den blutenden Vater, er tappt nach dem Dolch, er hätt' ihn
Wider sich selbst gewandt, wenn Zippor mit sterbender Hand es
Nicht gehindert; er küsst' ihn und starb.

The exceedingly close resemblance, feature for feature, between the Bodmerian and the Voltairean situations is apparent; it now remains to pass in review also some of the more significant verbal parallels between the German and the French versions of the story.

The following words of Voltaire's Mohammed to Séide when he endeavors to incite him to murder Zopire are paralleled by a passage in the *Noah* presenting the corresponding situation. In the French tragedy we read:

Téméraire,
On devient sacrilège alors qu'on délibère.
Loin de moi les mortels assez audacieux
Pour juger par eux-mêmes ...

Quiconque ose penser n'est pas né pour me croire.
 Obéir en silence est votre seule gloire.
 Savez-vous qui je suis? Savez-vous en quels lieux
 Ma voix vous a chargé des volontés des cieux?¹

The corresponding passage in the *Noah* reads:
 Selima schrie mit Grimm: Der sündigt wider den Tempel,
 Der mit sich überlegt, ob das Wort, das ich rede, gerecht ist;
 Wer sich erkühnt, für sich selbst zu denken, der ist nicht mein Jünger.
 Weissest du nicht, wer ich bin?
 Zittre mein Antlitz zu seh'n, etc.²

The following lines spoken by Palmire
 Et le dieu qu'il annonce avec tant de hauteur,
 Séide, est le vrai dieu, puisqu'il le rend vainqueur.³

are reflected in the Bodmerian passage:

Siege nach Siegen erfocht' der rasende Haufe, die Toren
 Nannten die Siege die Zeugnisse Gottes von seinem Propheten.⁴

The words spoken by the enraged Mohammed immediately after
 Zopire's firm refusal to do the prophet's bidding:

Fier citoyen, vieillard inexorable,
 Je serai plus que toi cruel, impitoyable⁵

seem to have suggested the lines:

Selima knirschte vor Wut, und sann auf Wege,
 Zippor zu töten, und Asas Hand zu dem Morde zu waffnen.⁶

To conclude our consideration of Voltaire's tragedy as a source of
 Bodmer's epic, I cite one more parallel:

Palmire. Ce vieillard va donc être immolé!
Séide. De ce grand sacrifice ainsi l'ordre est réglé

Palmire. Lui mourir par tes mains! tout mon sang s'est glacé.

Reminiscent of these lines is the following passage in the *Noah*:

Höre durch meinen Mund die Worte des ewigen Königs
 das Opfer, das Gott verlanget, ist Zippor.
 indem ich den Greuel spreche, so rinnet
 Mir durch die Adern Frost.⁷

¹ *Le fanatisme*, III, vi.

² *Noah*, p. 65. Cf. also p. 45:

"die Stirne, die zweifelt,
 Brütet Verrat, die denkt, wann ihr Herr . . .
 geredt hat."

³ *Le fanatisme*, IV, iii.

⁴ *Noah*, p. 64.

⁵ *Noah*, p. 63.

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁶ *Le fanatisme*, II, v.

As we proceed with our examination of the *Noah*, it becomes more and more obvious that Bodmer did not hesitate to appropriate from the writings of others whatever appealed to his fancy and happened to be available for his purpose.¹ Nor, as I have elsewhere pointed out, did he attempt to conceal the fact. Whatever one may be inclined to think of his singularly eclectic method as the author of the *Noah* and other works, one will at least have to admit that he displayed the utmost frankness in avowing and defending his own practice.² In a sense it may of course be maintained that no author is wholly free from literary influence; such differences in its manifestations as may be observed are, after all, primarily differences of degree. But Bodmer, it must be granted, represents the extreme type of deliberate borrower; indeed, if one were to undertake a search in the field of letters one would probably be somewhat hard put to it to find quite his equal.³

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¹ In various journals I have previously published a number of articles on the borrowed elements in the *Noah*.

² For Bodmer's defense of his practice see my article in the *Philological Quarterly*, I, No. 2, 115.

³ For a brief article on the subject of plagiarism cf. "Anatole France als Plagiator," by Friedrich von Oppeln-Bronikowski in *Die Literatur*, January, 1924, pp. 202-4. What arouses the author's particular disapprobation is the apparent attempt on the part of Anatole France to cover up his tracks by deliberately seeking to discredit certain authors to whom he was indebted in a literary way. I have seen the further statement—where, I do not recall—that d'Annunzio is a master-plagiarist, but in this matter I am not sufficiently informed to express an opinion.

WILHELM MEISTER'S INTERPRETATION OF HAMLET

From the appearance of Goethe's novel *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre* in 1796 to our own day, the popular Hamlet has been Wilhelm Meister's Hamlet and the majority of the innumerable critical theories are mere variations of Wilhelm Meister's interpretation.

But not one of the many critics and interpreters of Hamlet ever thought of going back to the novel *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre* and of studying the interpretation in its natural environment. Wilhelm Meister's views on Hamlet are scattered throughout the larger part of two books, or nineteen chapters of the novel. They belong to the atmosphere of the work, and should not be considered as independent opinions outside of the novel. Friedrich Gundolf, in his *Shakespeare und der Deutsche Geist*, writes in this connection:

The conversations on Hamlet must not be considered outside of *Wilhelm Meister* as an independent interpretation of Hamlet's character. They form part of the setting and belong to the action of the novel and are thoroughly adapted to its environment. Indeed, it is questionable whether they at all represent Goethe's views on Hamlet. Hamlet and the other characters of the play form, so to speak, a group of absent persons who take part in the action and with whom the chief characters of the novel enter into close relationship. They are used in the novel in the same way and for the same effect as Shakespeare uses his play within a play, that is, to deepen the background of the novel and to enlarge its perspective.¹

In Book III, chapter viii, of *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre* the hero is introduced by Jarno to the works of Shakespeare, and in the eleventh chapter of the same book we read: "Wilhelm had scarcely finished a few of Shakespeare's plays before he became so much affected by them that he could not continue their perusal. His whole soul was in a state of excitement." And when he next meets Jarno he tells him:

I do not think that any book, any man, or any occurrence of life, has ever produced so strong an effect upon me as the precious works to which by your

¹ *Op. cit.* (Berlin, 1920), p. 317. Professor Gundolf is one of the most eminent of living German critics and scholars, translator of Shakespeare's *Works*, author of one of the very best lives of Goethe and of *Shakespeare und der Deutsche Geist*.

kindness I have been introduced. They appear to be the productions of a heavenly genius who has descended to the abodes of men, to make them, by the gentlest of lessons, acquainted with themselves. One might think during the perusal that he stood before the open, solemn books of destiny, through which the whirlwind of impassioned life is breathing, whilst the leaves are agitated to and fro. I have been so astonished and overcome by the strength and tenderness, the power and repose of these works, that I long for the time when I shall be able to continue their perusal.¹

Wilhelm continues the reading of Shakespeare and especially of *Hamlet*, which becomes and remains his favorite. Later, when he joins Serlo's theatrical company, he persuades Serlo to present *Hamlet*, and he himself is to act the part of the prince. During the long preparations that follow, Wilhelm explains the play and the characters to the other actors. In this manner originates the famous interpretation of *Hamlet*.

The chief problem of the tragedy has always been connected with the question, Why does Hamlet not act? Why does he not carry out what the ghost of his father asked him and what he himself solemnly promised to do? Wilhelm's answer in the briefest form is: "*Aus Mangel an Tatkraft, an sinnlicher Heldenstärke.*" Wilhelm says:

To me it is evident that Shakespeare meant to describe a great duty imposed upon a soul unable to perform it. In this sense I find that the whole play is conceived and worked out. An oak-tree is planted in a costly vase, which should have borne beautiful flowers in its bosom. The roots spread out and the vase is shattered to pieces. . . . A beautiful, pure, noble and most moral nature, without the strength of mind which forms a hero, sinks beneath a burden which it cannot bear and which it must not renounce. He views every duty as holy, but this one is too much for him. He is called upon to do what is impossible, not impossible in itself, but impossible to him.²

Such is essentially Wilhelm's conception of Hamlet's character. It is still perhaps the most widely accepted theory, chiefly because of Goethe's dominating influence. It was accepted and elaborated by August Wilhelm Schlegel, Ludwig Tieck, and other Romanticists in Germany, and by Samuel Taylor Coleridge in England. More than any other cause, this influence of Goethe and Coleridge—mighty names to conjure with—has for the greater part of a century operated against a rational understanding of Hamlet's character, and has

¹ Goethe, *Sämtliche Werke, Jubiläum-Ausgabe*, XVII, 221.

² *Ibid.*, p. 286.

foisted upon the world a brain-sick craven in place of the real Hamlet of William Shakespeare.

But it can easily be shown that Wilhelm Meister does not explain the character of Shakespeare's Hamlet. There is too much evidence in the play to prove beyond a doubt that Hamlet does not lack courage and strength of will-power to act and to act quickly.¹ Indeed, a man who acts as Hamlet does in Shakespeare's play can hardly be characterized as inherently lacking in courage, energy, and will-power.

But, largely through the weight of his author's name, Wilhelm Meister's interpretation has been accepted without question. The critics, who generally prefer to lean on authorities and to conjure with great names, have failed almost without exception to note that it is not Goethe who interprets Hamlet, but Wilhelm Meister, the hero of the novel of the same name, and that other characters in the novel do not always agree with Wilhelm Meister.

It is true that Goethe appears in one form or another in all his works, and that he has given many of his own characteristics to his heroes, and that Wilhelm Meister to some extent is Goethe. But Wilhelm Meister is no more the whole of Goethe than is Weislingen, or Werther, or Clavigo, or Eduard, and he cannot and should not be regarded as the absolute mouthpiece of the author. Do we identify everything that Faust, Werther, Eduard, and others say and do with the views and actions of Goethe? Do we ever quote the words of David Copperfield as completely representing the views of Charles Dickens? And yet *David Copperfield* is more autobiographical than Wilhelm Meister!

¹ Cf. Professor Bradley's *Shakespearean Tragedy* (1916), p. 102: "This shrinking, flower-like youth—how could he possibly have done what we see Hamlet do? What likeness to him is there in Hamlet who, summoned by the Ghost, bursts from his terrified companions with the cry: 'Unhand me, gentlemen! By heaven, I'll make a ghost of him that lets me!' the Hamlet who scarcely once spoke to the King without insult, or Polonius without a gibe, the Hamlet who storms at Ophelia and speaks daggers to his mother; the Hamlet who, hearing a cry behind the arras, whips out his sword in an instant and runs the eavesdropper through; the Hamlet who sends his school-fellows to death and never troubles his head about them more; the Hamlet who is the first man to board a pirate ship, and who fights with Laertes in the grave; the Hamlet of the catastrophe, an omnipotent fate, before whom all the court stands helpless, who, as the truth breaks upon him, rushes upon the King, drives his foil through his body, then seizes the poisoned cup and forces it violently between the wretched man's lips, and in the throes of death has force and fire enough to wrest the drink from Horatio's hand ('By heaven, I'll have it!') lest he should drink and die? This man, the Hamlet of the play, is a heroic, terrible figure. He would have been formidable to Othello or Macbeth. If the sentimental Hamlet had crossed him, he would have hurled him from his path with one sweep of his arm."

Goethe was first and foremost a creative genius. He was not a literary critic. His critical writings, one may admit, are not pre-eminent. Friedrich Schlegel said of him as critic: "He revels too much in the enjoyment of his perfectly beautiful soul to be able to explain with the faithful impartiality of an unassuming investigator the work of another." And in Wilhelm Meister's picture of Hamlet we have not an impartial critical analysis of Shakespeare's Hamlet, but a creation that resembles more strikingly Wilhelm Meister himself than Shakespeare's Prince of Denmark. Thus Jarno tells Wilhelm:

A person who can play only himself is no player. Whoever cannot change himself, his temper and disposition into many forms does not deserve the name of actor. You have played the part of Hamlet most admirably because your own disposition, your appearance and temper of the time were adapted to the part.¹

Wilhelm's description of Hamlet as "a beautiful, pure, noble, and most moral nature, without the strength of mind which forms a hero, who sinks beneath a burden which he cannot bear and which he must not renounce," certainly describes himself and Werther rather than Shakespeare's Hamlet. Hamlet here becomes a typically Goethean hero, as much as Wilhelm Meister himself, and is treated as such. While Shakespeare's heroes act, Goethe's heroes discuss. Herein lies the great difference between Shakespeare's Hamlet and the Hamlet of Wilhelm Meister. Goethe's version of *Romeo and Juliet* shows that he misapprehended the most effective method of arousing interest in the drama by means of action rather than discussion.²

It is also a noteworthy fact that Goethe, unlike Shakespeare, could not create an energetic, powerfully active hero. His Werther, Clavigo, Egmont, Orestes, Tasso, Wilhelm Meister, Eduard, are all weak and lack volition and initiative, allowing themselves to be swayed entirely

¹ Goethe, *Sämtliche Werke*, XVIII, 325. Cf., also, *ibid.*, XVII, 243: "Sein [Wilhelm Meister's] Freund Shakespeare, den er mit grosser Freude auch als Paten anerkannte und sich nur um so lieber Wilhelm nennen liess, hatte ihm einen Prinzen bekannt gemacht, der sich unter geringer, ja sogar schlechter Gesellschaft eine Zeitlang aufhält und, ungeachtet seiner edeln Natur, an der Rohheit, Unschicklichkeit und Albernheit solcher ganz sinnlichen Burschen sich ergötzt. Höchst willkommen war ihm das Ideal, womit er seinen gegenwärtigen Zustand vergleichen konnte und der Selbstbetrug, wozu er eine fast unüberwindliche Neigung spürte, ward ihm dadurch ausserordentlich erleichtert."

² Wilhelm Meister's interpretation of Hamlet gives us a picture, in the words of Professor Bradley, of a graceful youth, sweet and sensitive, full of delicate sympathies and yearning aspirations, shrinking from the touch of everything gross and earthly, frail and weak, a kind of Werther, with a face like Shelley. Cf. *Shakespearean Tragedy*, p. 101.

by circumstances. With hardly an exception, his heroes answer to his own famous definition of a problematic character. He says in his *Sprüche in Prosa*:

There are problematic characters who are never equal to the situation into which they are placed and whom no situation ever satisfies. Therefrom arises the terrible conflict which, without allowing them enjoyment, consumes their life.

Goethe himself created the well-known problematic characters of Werther, Tasso, Eduard, and others less known. All his heroes are, more or less, problematic characters. Even Faust and Wilhelm Meister belong to this reflective, sentimental, and problematic type and think more of "shuffling off this mortal coil" than of seizing the occasion by the forelock. Goethe's finest and strongest characters are always his heroines. His Adelheid, Clärchen, Gretchen, Lotte, are women of will-power, energy, and resolution. But his heroes are fundamentally weak and irresolute, and have to be urged on to act, if they ever act at all. They lack initiative. Thus Wilhelm Meister says: "I feel content and reverence fate which knows so well what is good for me and for others."¹ And throughout the novel he hardly does anything of his own accord. When Theresa advises him to accept an invitation to visit Italy, it is characteristic of him to say: "I submit to the guidance of my friends. It is vain in this world to expect complete fulfilment of our individual wishes. I must abandon my former plans. I am overwhelmed with favors which I never deserved."² Or at the end of Book IV, when, through the favor of circumstance, he is about to accomplish all his wishes, we find him soliloquize:

Here I stand once more at the parting of the ways. . . . It is hard to decide. We desire an inducement from without to determine our choice. Outward circumstances alone incline us to the pursuits of trade, of labor, and of possession. . . . Should I not honor fate, which without any effort of mine has conducted me hither to accomplish all my wishes? Has not everything which I had previously contemplated or planned accidentally occurred without my cooperation?³

¹ Goethe, *Sämtliche Werke*, XVII, 77.

² *Ibid.*, XVIII, 377.

³ *Ibid.*, XVII, 324. Cf., also, Hume Brown, *Life of Goethe*, p. 687: "It was an irresistible impulse of Goethe to make his heroes weaklings: we have a long succession of Weislingen in *Götz*, Werther, Tasso, Wilhelm Meister, and Eduard in the *Wahlverwandtschaften*, all more or less the slaves of their emotions. . . . In making Wilhelm the characterless figure he is, Goethe seriously marred the interest of the novel. Wilhelm von Humboldt called him 'an insignificant and senseless creature,' and he has the general opinion with him." Or again: "With all his idealism and generous impulses the hero is so much of a simpleton that we at times become impatient with him" (p. 319).

Wilhelm Meister has, thus, much in common with the typical heroes of the Romantic movement in Germany; in fact, he is the father of them all. Without any effort or special merit of their own, everything is beautifully and happily arranged for them. The extreme example would be perhaps Eichendorff's *Taugenichts*. Like the latter, Wilhelm is born with a silver spoon in his mouth, and without any effort *fliegen ihm die gebratenen Tauben in den Mund*. At the end of the novel when he is to be united with Natalia, one of the characters remarks to him: "You remind me of Saul, the son of Kish, who went forth to seek his father's asses and found a kingdom." And Wilhelm answers: "I don't know the value of a kingdom, but I know that I found a happiness of which I am not worthy." True enough!¹

It is natural, then, that when Wilhelm Meister undertakes to interpret Hamlet's character, he should conceive him as the *Gefühlsmensch*, as the problematic character, endowed with his own sentimentality and irresolution—traits so common during the last half of the eighteenth century. But this sentimentality which had begun in England with *Pamela*, *Clarissa Harlowe*, *Tristram Shandy*, *The Sentimental Journey*, and culminated in Germany with *Die Leiden des jungen Werthers*, was wholly foreign to the authors of *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay*, *The Spanish Tragedy*, *The Jew of Malta*, *Richard III*, *Macbeth*, *Othello*. The age of Queen Elizabeth was anything but sentimental. Wilhelm Meister's interpretation of Hamlet is more an interpretation of himself, of Werther, of Weislingen, of Eduard. Hamlet becomes more a creation of Goethe's William Meister than of Shakespeare.²

It will have been noticed that Wilhelm Meister is a hopeless fatalist, consequently he cannot believe in initiative. Goethe, too, was

¹ Speaking of Wilhelm Meister and his romantic successors, Donner says: "Sie wünschen wohl das eine oder das andere, aber in der Tat tun sie gar nichts, sondern lassen die Welt mit sich herumspielen, wie es ihr eben gefällt. Und dieses Nichtstun kommt ihnen auch nicht schlecht. Sie brauchen nur den Augenblick abzuwarten, wo ihnen der Leckerbissen in den Mund fliegt. . . . Trotz ihrer subjectiven Forderung kommen die Helden alle wie Wilhelm Meister ans Ziel" (J. O. R. Donner, *Der Einfluss Wilhelm Meisters auf den Roman der Romantiker* [1893], pp. 20 f.).

² Cf. Kuno Fischer, *Shakespeares Hamlet* (1896), p. 27: "Freilich hat uns Goethe einen Hamlet gezeichnet, der seinem Werther erstaunlich ähnlich sah. . . . Wäre der junge Werther in einer ähnlichen Lage gewesen, als in welcher Hamlet ist, so würde dieses Wort genau auf ihn passen: eine grosse Tat auf eine Seele gelegt, die der Tat nicht gewachsen ist. Was Goethe von dem Helden unserer Tragödie sagt, passt vollkommen auf den Helden seines Romans und den Gang seiner Schicksale."

fatalistically inclined, especially during the period when he wrote *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre* and *Die Wahlverwandtschaften*.¹ In *Dichtung und Wahrheit* Goethe writes:

Our will is a prediction of what we shall do under all circumstances. But these circumstances lay hold of us in their own fashion. The *what* lies in us, the *how* seldom depends on us, after the *wherefore* we dare not ask, and on this account we are rightly referred to the *quia*.²

Accordingly, Wilhelm Meister finds it necessary to explain with regard to his own view of Hamlet:

It pleases and flatters us to see a hero relying upon his own resources, loving and hating, combating and overcoming every obstacle and finally attaining his desired end. Historians and poets would fain persuade us that this may be the proud lot of man. But in this play we are taught a different lesson. . . . From the flames of another world comes forth a spirit demanding revenge, but in vain. Everything conspires to invoke revenge, but in vain. Neither earthly nor unearthly influences can execute what is reserved for fate alone. The hour of judgment comes and the wicked fall together with the good.³

Here, again, Wilhelm is describing himself and giving his own views. Shakespeare was not a fatalist. He believed that man is master of his own destiny, or can be master of it. One easily recalls such lines as those of Brutus:

There is a tide in the affairs of men
Which taken at the flood leads on to fortune;
Omitted, all the voyage of their life
Is bound in shallows and in miseries.

And Professor Bradley says in this connection:

In Shakespeare's tragedies we find no trace of fatalism in the more primitive, crude and obvious forms. Nothing that makes us think of the actions and sufferings of the persons as somehow arbitrarily fixed beforehand and without regard to their feelings, thoughts and resolutions.

Again: "Human action is represented to us as the central fact of tragedy, and also as the main cause of the catastrophe."⁴

Coming to the characterization of Ophelia, we also find that Wilhelm Meister is thinking more of Goethe's heroines than of Shakespeare's Ophelia. Wilhelm says:

Have we not an intimation from the very beginning of the play of the subject with which the thoughts of the maiden are engaged? She pursues her

¹ Cf. Schütze's Introduction to his edition of *Goethe's Poems*, pp. liv f. Boston: Ginn & Co., 1916.

² Goethe, *Sämliche Werke*, XXIV, 38.

³ *Ibid.*, XVII, 297.

⁴ Professor Bradley, *Shakespearean Tragedy*, pp. 29 and 31, respectively.

course in silent secrecy, but without being able wholly to conceal her wishes and her longings. The voice of desire has echoed within her soul and she has often tried, like an unskilled nurse, to lull her senses to repose with ballads, which have only kept her more awake. But at length when all self-control is at an end, and the secrets of her heart appear upon her tongue, that tongue betrays her. And in the innocence of her madness, even in the presence of royalty, she takes delight in the echo of her loose but dearly loved songs of "The Maiden Whose Heart Was Won," "The Maid Who Stole to Meet the Youth," and so forth.¹

This explanation is far-fetched, as far as Shakespeare's Ophelia is concerned. There is no such intimation in Shakespeare's tragedy. Here again Wilhelm Meister's description of Ophelia fits Aurelia, one of the characters in the novel who is to act Ophelia's part, rather than Shakespeare's heroine. Later Ludwig Tieck elaborated this hint of Wilhelm Meister regarding Ophelia. In his *Dramatische Blätter* (1824) Tieck writes:

How much of fine observation is there in what is said of Ophelia in Goethe's *Wilhelm Meister*! But if I do not entirely misunderstand Shakespeare, the poet meant to intimate throughout the piece that the poor girl, in the ardor of her passion for the fair prince, has yielded to him all. The hints and warnings of Laertes come too late. It is tender and worthy of the great poet to leave the relation of Hamlet and Ophelia, like much else in the piece, a riddle. But it is from this point of view alone that Hamlet's behaviour, his bitterness, and Ophelia's suffering and madness, find connection and consistency.

But Tieck here "entirely misunderstood Shakespeare," and "the poet meant to intimate" no such thing. Tieck would hardly have thought of such an interpretation if Wilhelm Meister had not given him the clew. The large majority of readers of the play will agree with neither Wilhelm Meister nor Tieck in their conception of Shakespeare's Ophelia. "So Ophelia likewise," writes Friedrich Gundolf, "is characterized after the manner of Gretchen in *Faust* and breathes in the sensually sweet and sentimentally soft atmosphere in which Goethe's own fair sinners and sufferers move."²

Wilhelm Meister's interpretation of Hamlet was at once accepted by the Romanticists August Wilhelm Schlegel, Ludwig Tieck, and others in Germany, and by Samuel Taylor Coleridge in England. And

¹ Goethe, *Sämliche Werke*, XVII, 299.

² Friedrich Gundolf, *Shakespeare und der Deutsche Geist*, p. 319.

no wonder! For the novel *Wilhelm Meister* soon after its appearance became the fountainhead of all prose-fiction of the Romantic school. "To Goethe, the author of *Wilhelm Meister*, the new school looked up with reverence as its master."¹ Perhaps no other single work had such a far-reaching influence on the whole movement. Donner writes:

Although the Romanticists turned for guidance and inspiration to the whole preceding period, to the Storm and Stress, to Lessing, Herder, Goethe and Schiller, yet Goethe very soon became their deity, so to speak, and *Wilhelm Meister* their Bible.²

Accordingly, by the end of the first quarter of the nineteenth century the conception of Hamlet as a hopelessly sentimental weakling and speculative philosopher, without the heroic strength of mind and ability to act, became general in Germany. Hamlet's character became synonymous with irresolution, weakness, cowardice. Thus Ludwig Börne, one of the leaders of *Das Junge Deutschland*, a movement that arose as a reaction to the unpractical Romantic school of the first quarter of the nineteenth century, ridiculed the German people of his day by comparing them to Hamlet. Börne identifies the dreamy Germans of his day, who submitted to the disgraceful tyranny of the princes, with Hamlet: "Had a German written *Hamlet*, I should not have wondered at the work. A German needs but a legible hand. He makes a copy of himself, and Hamlet is done."³

¹ John G. Robertson, *A History of German Literature* (1902), p. 415.

² J. O. R. Donner, *Der Einfluss Wilhelm Meisters auf den Roman der Romantiker*, p. 14. Cf., also, W. Dilthey, *Leben Schleiermachers* (1870), p. 282: "Solchen Einfluss auf die damalige junge Dichtergeneration gewann von allen Schöpfungen Lessings, Goethes, Schillers allein Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre; ja bis auf diesen Tag hat auf die dichterische Phantasie unserer Nation keine andere Schöpfung unserer grossen Epoche so tiefgreifend eingewirkt als dieser Roman." Rudolf Haym, *Die Romantische Schule* (1870), p. 133: "Still und allmählich, aber unwiderstehlich zwang Wilhelm Meister die Phantasie der ganzen Epoche unter seinen Bann." Friedrich Gundolf, *Shakespeare und der Deutsche Geist*, p. 327: "Als die vollkommenste Darstellung der bewegten Seele und des bewegten Lebens, der Suche und der Bildung, musste Wilhelm Meister den Romantikern eine Offenbarung, ja ein Evangelium sein. Es gab ja kein Werk der Weltliteratur, worin ihre eigenste Richtung, das Leben als Bewegung an sich zu fassen, so rein, einfach und umfassend Symbol geworden war. . . . Alles, was die Frühromantik in sich verdichtet als Trieb und Schicksal fühlte, war hier in hundert Farben und Formen gebrochen, angewandt auf die verschiedenen Gestaltungen des äusseren Lebens. Ihre eigene Innerlichkeit war sinnbildlich geworden."

³ Cf. Kuno Fischer, *Shakespeares Hamlet*, p. 36: "Wass kümmert es den Kritiker [Börne], dass der Hamlet Shakespeares in der Scene mit dem Geist, in dem Gefecht mit den Seeräubern, im Ringkampf mit Laertes Mut und sinnliche Stärke genug an den Tag legt? Unser Kritiker hat ja nicht mit dem englischen, sondern mit dem deutschen Hamlet zu tun, wie sich die Zeitphilosophie oder Zeitstimmung denselben in den Kopf gesetzt hat."

How far-reaching the conception of Hamlet as a weak, irresolute, and cowardly character was in Germany during the second quarter of the nineteenth century may be gathered from such a stirring poem as Freiligrath's *Hamlet* (1844). Freiligrath's purpose in writing this poem was similar to that of Börne, that is, to rouse the German people to action against their oppressors.¹ The poet describes, as only a poet can describe, the state of irresolution into which the German people had sunk. The dramatic opening sounds like a trumpet call:

Deutschland ist Hamlet! Ernst und stumm
In seinen Toren jede Nacht
Geht die begrabne Freiheit um
Und winkt den Männern auf der Wacht.

Not until the middle of the last century did a more critical and more rational interpretation begin gradually to take the place of the subjective interpretation of Wilhelm Meister. There appears in some quarters a growing dissatisfaction with the view that Hamlet is guilty of indecision and procrastination resulting from inherent deficiencies of character. A new theory is advanced which maintains that Hamlet's delay in carrying out the injunctions of the ghost is occasioned by *objective* rather than *subjective* causes. This new conception, known as the Klein-Werder theory from the names of its authors, repudiates the view that regards Hamlet as an incapable weakling, points out that the difficulties of the prince are external rather than internal, and explains the delay as necessary in order to procure adequate corroboration of the revelations of the ghost. Hamlet has suspicions which are verified only by the disclosures of the ghost; but then, the ghost he has seen may have been the devil! This uncertainty hampers him in the execution of the task.

Although the question here is not whether this is the best interpretation of Hamlet, the Klein-Werder conception does come nearer, in my opinion, to a true explanation of Shakespeare's idea of Hamlet than Wilhelm Meister's exposition. And the chief reason, perhaps, that it is not yet more universally accepted is that scholars and critics

¹ Börne himself took an active part in the revolution of 1832 and was exiled by the reactionary forces soon thereafter. His *Briefe aus Paris*, under the guise of reports, were glowing pleas for reform at home and determined attempts to make Germany feel ashamed of the condition of slavery to which her rulers had reduced her, and Börne's criticism of Hamlet is another effort to rouse the German people from their irresolution and meek submissiveness and to inspire them to throw off the tyrants' rule.

cannot easily rid themselves of the view created by Goethe in *Wilhelm Meister* and repeated by Schlegel, Tieck, and others in Germany, and by Coleridge in England, until it became traditional. The influence of Goethe's great name completely dominated the critics, and Wilhelm Meister's interpretation of Hamlet has been generally accepted as the last word on the subject. For a long time the Shakespeare scholars regarded the Klein-Werder view as being unworthy of their consideration, and consequently they ignored it as much as possible. The line of argument was and is: Goethe and Coleridge are great men. Great men are infallible. The views of Goethe's Wilhelm Meister and Coleridge must be infallible.¹

Another chief cause, perhaps, that prevents the acceptance of the Klein-Werder theory is that its acceptance would make waste paper of many finely written commentaries and interpretations by eminent dead and living critics. And so books without number have been written and are still being written to prove Wilhelm Meister's contention.

But the impartial reader cannot help saying with Professor Alexander W. Crawford² that the Coleridge-Goethe theory has become an obstacle to proper interpretation of the play; or with Professor Corson:

Coleridge and Goethe, by substantially similar theories they advanced in regard to the man Hamlet, contributed more, especially Goethe (as he exercised a wider authority than Coleridge), toward shutting off a sound criticism of the play than any other critic or any other cause. Their *dicta* were generally accepted as quite final.³

On the other hand, the impartial reader will perhaps find unsatisfactory and unconvincing such an argument, for example, as that of Professor Tolman, which is typical of the large majority. In his *Views about Hamlet* Professor Albert H. Tolman writes:

There is a strong presumption against a theory [Klein-Werder theory] which asks us to believe that Goethe and Coleridge misunderstood this play

¹ Cf. W. J. Rolfe, Introduction to Werder's *The Heart of Hamlet's Mystery* (1907), p. 20: "Goethe and Coleridge, as Corson suggests, had the advantage of being the first critics of note in the field. Their interpretations were plausible, and were generally accepted, partly on that account and partly because of the reputation of their authors. But Goethe was a young man when he wrote his comments on the play and did not review them later; and Coleridge, as Corson remarks, gave 'an admirable description of himself' in ascribing to Hamlet 'an overbalance of contemplative faculty' on account of which he 'became creature of mere meditation, and lost his natural power of action.'"

² *Hamlet an Ideal Prince* (1916), p. 23.

³ *Introduction to the Study of Shakespeare* (1893), p. 213.

completely, and that they have been followed in their error by the great mass of the students of Shakespeare.¹

Here is the crux of the traditional view: Goethe and Coleridge and the *great mass* of students of Shakespeare!

Professor Tolman would have us accept, then, the words of Wilhelm Meister (not of Goethe, but of the susceptible, sentimental, weak, happy-go-lucky, and quixotic hero of a novel by Goethe) and of Coleridge as oracles!² This lack of initiative on the part of the large majority of critics has been the drawback of an intelligent interpretation of Hamlet, for constant leaning on authorities usually weakens the power of direct perception which is, after all, the absolute requirement for all real advance.

It may be well to remark here that Coleridge appropriated his dramatic criticism wholesale from the German critics, especially from August Wilhelm Schlegel, and frequently almost verbatim.³ And it has been asserted elsewhere that the Romanticists regarded Goethe's novel *Wilhelm Meister* as their Bible. August Wilhelm Schlegel, after reading it, exclaims: "But let us say nothing further regarding Hamlet's character after what Wilhelm Meister has said. Let us write no *Iliad* after Homer!"⁴ Thus Schlegel accepted Wilhelm Meister's view as gospel truth, Coleridge took it over from Schlegel, and "the *great mass* of students of Shakespeare" in turn from Wilhelm Meister and Coleridge. And if Wilhelm Meister's interpretation is wrong, that of Schlegel-Coleridge is necessarily also wrong.

And as far as Goethe is concerned, even if the views of his hero Wilhelm Meister are to be identified with those of the great poet, it must be pointed out that Goethe's great reputation by no means rests on his critical writings. With hardly an exception, his literary criticisms lack intrinsic excellence. Most of them have merely extrinsic value because Goethe wrote them. This does not imply that Goethe is to be depreciated because he is not a great literary critic. He was first

¹ *Op. cit.* (1906), p. 30.

² But Professor Tolman himself is not consistent. On p. 12 of the same work he aptly remarks regarding Wilhelm Meister's interpretation of Ophelia: "Goethe's evil interpretation of the character of Ophelia seems to me entirely uncalled for; and some other German critics have been eager to outdo their master. It may be that Goethe's explanations prove some impurity of mind—but not in Ophelia. For us as for Laertes—'from her fair and unpolluted flesh' the 'violets spring.' "

³ Cf. Anna A. Helmholtz, *The Indebtedness of Coleridge to Schlegel*, Wisconsin, 1907.

⁴ A. W. Schlegel, *Sämliche Werke*, VII (hgg. von Böckling, 1844), 32.

and foremost a creative genius, and in his novel *Wilhelm Meister* he did not so much interpret Shakespeare's Hamlet as create a new Hamlet, bone of his bone and flesh of his flesh, a Hamlet in accordance with the requirements of the novel and the conception of its hero.¹ Hence the striking family resemblance to Wilhelm Meister himself, Werther, Faust, Eduard, and the rest. Literary criticism was not Goethe's forte. I repeat Friedrich Schlegel's words: "Goethe schwelgt viel zu sehr im Genusse seines vollendet schönen Selbsts, als dass er mit treuer Enthaltensamkeit eines bescheidenen Forschers die Werke eines anderen Dichters erklären könnte."²

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¹ "Goethes sächliche Auffassung des Hamlet ist daneben nicht so wichtig, nur kann man sagen, dass Goethe, indem er sie abstimmt auf das Milieu des Romans und auf die Fassungskraft ihres Erklärers Wilhelm, die Hamletgestalt aus dem Renaissancemässigen ins Humane übersetzt, ja abgeschwächt hat." (Friedrich Gundolf, *Shakespeare und der Deutsche Geist*, p. 329).

² In a paper entitled "Does Emilia Love the Prince?" *Modern Philology*, XIX (November, 1921), 199 f., I have endeavored to show how by a casual remark Goethe misinterpreted the character of Lessing's Emilia Galotti, and, as in the case of Wilhelm Meister's Hamlet interpretation, he "was followed in his error by the whole mass of students" of Lessing.

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ARABIC-SPANISH ETYMOLOGIES

CADAMAÑAS, ABROCHAMIENTO

There is a passage in the *Crónica general*, § 1084, quoted in Menéndez Pidal's *Antología de prosistas castellanos*, Madrid, 1917, where Garçi Pérez de Vargas passes seven Moorish horsemen who obstruct his way, without paying any attention to them:

Los moros connoſciéronle en las armas commo era Garçi Pérez, ca muchas vezes gelas vieran traer et bien las conoſcien, et nol osaron cometer; mas fueron a par dél, de la una parte et de la otra, faziéndol cadamañas et sus abrochamientos una grant pieça, et quando vieron que se non bolbïe a ninguna parte nin se querïe desviar por cosa que ellos feziesen, tornáronse. . . .

Menéndez Pidal has a note on the two words saying: *Dos voces que me son desconocidas, y que sólo el contexto puede explicar.*

Judging from the situation described, I take these two words to mean obsequious Arabic salutations, which would be in order under the circumstances. The first word I take to be connected with the root *sa'ada* (سعد), "to be happy," "auspicious," the second with the root *baraka* (برك), "to bless."

The most common salutations, used every day by the Arabic-speaking peoples, connected with *sa'ada* are: *nehārak sa'id*, *lēlak sa'ida*, "good day," "good evening," *as'adak Allāh*, "may God give you happiness." The greeting which would correspond to our case would be *sa'ada iaumnā* (cp. Lane's *Lexicon*, I, 3, p. 1360, col. 3), "may our day be happy." In popular Maghrebī this would be pronounced *sa'da iumna*, and if transcribed in OSp. *çadaiumna*, could easily be misread for *cadamanna*.¹

The other root is used in such phrases as *bārak Allāh fīk*, *Allāh yubārak fīk*, *tabāraka wa ta'ālā*, *mā abrakak*, etc. (cp. Lane, I, 194, cols. 2 and 3). As a phrase of congratulation, *mabrūk* is the most frequent, corresponding to the Spanish *felicitaciones*. In Spanish transcription this would be spelled *mabróc*, and with the *m* almost inaudible, would

¹ Sr. Américo Castro called my attention to a similar case which he dealt with in *Revista de Filología española*, I (1914), 402, that of *aïumados*.

give *abroc*. From that, *abrochamiento* would be a usual noun formation as found in the *aljamiado* texts (cp. *jalec-amiento*, from *khalaga*, "to create"), etc.¹

ZOCODOVER

The etymology of this word still appears in textbook notes² as conjectural. Amador de los Ríos has settled it definitely on the basis of the archives of the Toledo Cathedral, as derived from *sūq-ad-dawābb* (سوق الدواب), *mercado de caballerías*.³ He gives various old spellings of the word, such as *çoquadoué*, *zocadoué*.⁴ The substitution of *r* for the weak *b* at the end did not imply great change in the actual pronunciation of the word in the mouth of the people used to pronouncing infinitives as *amá*, *mové*, *vení*.

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¹ Sr. Menéndez Pidal was kind enough to go over my suggestions and make the following comment: [*estas etimologías*] *son una explicación donde falta toda otra.*

² *Amar sin saber a quién* (Buchanan-Swedelius ed., Henry Holt & Co.) p. 165: "The word is said to be derived from the Arabic *soukh*, meaning *market place*."

Becquer's Tales and Legends (Olmsted ed., Ginn and Company) p. 64, note: "said to be Arabian, and to signify Place of the Beasts."

³ *Revista de Archivos*, X (1904), 356; *ibid.*, p. 347, *Soc-ad-Duáb*.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 362: "lugar á que concurrían los tratantes de caballerías y animales de todo género."

REVIEWS AND NOTICES

La Chanson de Roland. Oxford Version. Edited with Notes and Glossary by T. ATKINSON JENKINS. Boston: D. C. Heath & Co., 1924. Pp. cl+378.

This volume is a distinct achievement. The first edition in English of the *Chanson de Roland*, it contains practically all the results of the studies and discussions of the last fifty years. Those who, like myself, were first guided into the pleasant paths of Old French literature by means of the small edition of Léon Gautier will welcome Professor Jenkins' book heartily. The scholarly care displayed everywhere, the evident enthusiasm of the editor for his task, the abundance and accuracy of the commentary, are all traits which will commend this work to scholars and students alike. Here, for the first time, the English reader has an opportunity of getting an adequate idea of the great French epic.

It is impossible for me here to discuss in detail the many admirable features of Professor Jenkins' edition. It shows everywhere traces of long and loving study, and will, I feel sure, be used extensively in college and university courses and as a basis of future research. My purpose in this review is to indicate a few debatable points wherein my opinion does not entirely coincide with that of the editor, and to suggest a few minor corrections.

First comes a long and elaborate Introduction (pp. ix-cxliv), in which is to be found practically all that is known or surmised in regard to the name, analysis, literary criticism, date, authorship, sources, language, and versification of the poem, to which is added a Bibliography and Table of Abbreviations (pp. cxlv-cl). Parts 7, 8, and 9 of this Introduction contain much that is new concerning the question of authorship and the models and materials, and will be read with interest by all students of the Old French epic. Much of it will, no doubt, arouse dissent; but all deserves very careful consideration. Whether American undergraduates, considering their ignorance of the medieval mind and medieval methods, will get much from these pages seems, however, doubtful. I should have liked to find in this introduction a table of assonances and a longer description of the other versions; but one can hardly complain of the absence of one or two morsels in the midst of such abundance. Then come the text and notes (pp. 3-289) and a complete and accurate Glossary (pp. 283-378), which contains not only all the words and forms, carefully classified as to meanings and uses, but also the etymologies

when known.¹ The use of German script to distinguish the Teutonic etyma is a happy innovation.

It is in the matter of textual reconstruction that Professor Jenkins will find most dissent. His endeavor² has evidently been to provide a text clear as to meaning and standardized as to orthography, grammar, and versification, while keeping as close to the Oxford manuscript as these preoccupations will permit. In general, his text resembles that of Gaston Paris in the *Extraits*; but he does not go as far in emendation and alteration as the French scholar did. For a text intended for use in classes as an introduction to Old French, this procedure may be approved, though it is evident that there is room for great diversity of opinion as to the extent and character of the emendations. Almost every scholar has his own system. It will, however, be admitted that this text meets the requirements of the situation so far as instruction is concerned. The instructor should bear in mind, of course, that what Professor Jenkins offers the student is not so much the Oxford version pure and simple as a standardized and generalized re-editing of the Oxford manuscript. It seems to me exceedingly doubtful if any Old French author was ever so consistent and uniform in orthography, dialect,³ grammar, and versification as this text is. And it is impossible for any editor to be absolutely consistent. Professor Jenkins, for example, generally emends all cases of confusion of *e* and *ie*. But he keeps *chevalier*, 359, and *osteier*, 528, in *e*-laisses.

I have compared the first thousand lines of this edition with the text of "Digby 23" (Stengel's reprint), to ascertain exactly how extensive the editor's alterations are. Omitting the changes due to the principle of uniformity in spelling and inflection,⁴ the total number of changes in these lines is 194. Of these, the editor discusses and justifies 51 in the notes, giving the readings of O. This leaves 143 instances of variation from O not specifically mentioned nor explained. Most of these seem self-evident, pertaining to matters of versification, false assonance, or inflection. The change which will excite most dissent is the alteration of the word order in lines where adverbial *i* is found in a strong position: *n'i ad chastel* to *chastel n'i ad*.⁵ The position of the corresponding adverb *en* is not altered in verse 810: *N'en descendrat*. Is it not safer, on the whole, to admit the possibility of a mixture of earlier and later usage in such cases? There follow here a small number of lines which seem to me specially worthy of more discussion.⁶

¹ Under the much-discussed *trover*, Professor Jenkins gives as etymon only VL. *TRO-PARE*. I agree with him; but would it not have been well to mention the other etymology, with a possible reference to Schuchardt's studies?

² He states (p. xcvii) that he has followed in textual readings the formulas already approved by T. Müller and Luquiens.

³ As to dialect mixture, see especially G. Wacker, *Ueber das Verhältniss von Dialekt und Schriftsprache im Altfranzösischen*, Halle, 1916.

⁴ Such are: restitution of close *o* for the usual *u* of the MS; restitution of *ie* for *e*; restitution of the dental spirants *f* and *ð*; restitution of the correct inflectional forms in nouns and adjectives.

⁵ See Sheldon's important article, *Modern Philology*, XVIII, 143-45.—EDS.

⁶ I had at first prepared a long list of emended verses which I planned to discuss. After accepting, however, the principle of a uniform text, reflection has led me to admit in nearly every case the justice of Professor Jenkins' alterations.

395. *Par quele gent quiet espleitier tant.* The editor keeps here the secondary form *quele* of the MS, which he corrects to *quel* in 927. Müller's correction, *E per quel gent*, seems to me preferable.

427. O here reads *Cume celui*, which the editor changes to *Comē icil*, probably justly. There are, however, some early examples of *celui* with *come*, for example, *Troie* (ed. Constans), v. 28006.

485. O reads, *Marsilies fut esculurez del ire*, which is here emended to *Li reis M. fut escolez de lire*, which is extremely ingenious but not entirely convincing. The editor discredits the *esculurez* of O as not existing elsewhere in Old French. Provençal has, however, a verb *escolorir*, amply attested, which might tend to confirm by analogy O's form.¹

708. Here the *cuntre le ciel* of O is changed to *encontre'l ciel*. Is the tendency to enclisis in the *Roland* sufficiently strong to justify this?

726. O: *Qil en France ert*, changed to *Qu'eret en France*. The form *ert* is kept in other places. Why not here?

837. Read *Qu'entre* and not *Que entre*.

2283. The editor corrects *tireres* of O to *termnie*, and rejects the line of V⁴ inserted by G. Paris and Stengel. I have vainly sought for another example of *cel* or *cest* with the substantive infinitive in Old French and Provençal and am now inclined to accept the emendation.²

2495. The text keeps the form *escalguaite* of O, which appears as *eschalguait* in the glossary.

2517. I do not understand the note, and see no difficulty in O's reading.

2631. The proposed interpretation of this line is original and convincing.

3158. I see no reason for changing O's reading *es flances*.

3394. If the editor keeps here the false assonance *jostede*, why not elsewhere?

3758. The conjecture makes clear an otherwise difficult line, and also sheds light on other passages of the poem.

3812. Another excellent conjecture.

The section on authorship in the Introduction is evidently one on which Professor Jenkins has spent much labor and thought. It contains some hitherto unpublished material, and is otherwise of great interest to scholars. Professor Jenkins thinks that the non-Baligant portions of the poem were composed in the royal domain and were "later rewritten and notably enlarged by the Norman Tuoldus, who was, almost certainly, Thorold of Envermeu" (p. lxxv). Of all the candidates for the Tuoldus position hitherto proposed, this man does in fact seem to have the strongest claims. Personally, I have never been able to convince myself that the Tuoldus of verse 4002 was any-

¹ See Raynouard, *Lezique roman*, II, 441, and Bernart de Ventadorn, ed. Appel, p. 367. [See also *Modern Philology*, XXI, 108.—EDS.]

² [Cases are indeed rare, as stated by the editor in the note to this line. E. C. Armstrong has, however, noted the following: "Icl venirs, icl alers, icl veilliers, icl parlers, Falt as amanz soz les draplaus Durement amaigrir les plaus," *Rose* (ed. Langlois), vss. 2543-46; "Avis li fu, par cel cumbatre N'en pooit nul li rois abatre," *M Brut*, vss. 3963-64.—EDS.]

thing more than a copyist. In the fourteen signed *chansons de geste* that we possess,¹ the author almost invariably names himself at the beginning, not at the end, of the poem. This is the case also for most of the chronicles, whether in Latin or French; though there are some instances of a signature at the end. Again, accepting the interpretation of O 4002 proposed by Professors Holbrook and Jenkins, it produces on me the impression, not of a creative poet who is becoming increasingly infirm, but of a scribe who is tiring of his task. It reminds me—and has always done so—of the sad case of the scribe Jehan Madot, of Arras,² who was barely able to finish³ his copy of the *Roman de Troie* because he suffered terribly from the cold.⁴ These are, of course, subjective impressions; but I doubt if we shall ever be able to bring proof as to who or what "Turolodus" was—poet, source, minstrel, or copyist.

I subjoin here a few scattered notes on different points of the Introduction or notes, which the editor may or may not find useful in case of another edition.

P. xxvii. Again the attempt to explain personal characteristics by racial traits. Why is Roland of the North, Oliver a Hellene and Roman? Is Roland more impetuous than Achilles or Leonidas? or Oliver more prudent than Odysseus or Themistocles?

P. ci. For *deduced* read *reduced*.

P. cxxiii. Cases like *piez et poinz*, being enumerations, hardly come under this general heading.

P. cxxxi. The agreement of *tot* in adverbial function persisted much later than the time of Antoine de la Sale; see Haase, *Syntaxe française du XVII^e siècle*, p. 104.

V. 600, note. Several other examples of the locution *terra major* are found in Provençal. See Levy, *Prov. Supplement Wörterbuch*, VIII, 183. A clear definition of the meaning is given in the *Vie de St.-Trophime*: "De riva mar c'om apela menor Tro otra Fransa c'om apela major."

V. 1390, note. The editor evidently thinks that the view of early French poets in regard to the gods of the heathen is merely due to lack of information. But was it not the deliberate teaching of the early church that the pagan gods were demons?

V. 1519. Read *ad itant*.

V. 1605, note. Luchaire, *La Société française sous Philippe-Auguste*, pp. 188–90, gives a vivid picture of several warrior prelates of the twelfth century who, like Turpin, fought in the armies.

¹ See the list and the citations given by Faral, *Les jongleurs en France au Moyen Age*, pp. 177–89.

² See *Roman de Troie*, ed. Constans, VI, 27–29.

³ Cf. Jehan's expression, "Qui l'escripture a parfurnie," with "Ci falt la geste" of O.

⁴ Cf. again Jehan's assertion "Cis qui c'escrist, bien saciés, N'estoit mie trop aaissiés" with the "que Turolodus declinet" of O.

V. 2095, note. A reference to the recent and thorough study of E. C. Jones, *Saint-Gilles, Essai d'histoire littéraire*, Paris, 1914, might have been added here.

V. 3290. This line will be apt to perplex the student. A note of explanation might well have been added.

In conclusion, I must reiterate my conviction that this edition of the *Chanson de Roland* is "definitive" for purposes of instruction, and that it does very great credit to American scholarship in general and to that of its author in particular.

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Leopardi. By KARL VOSSLER. München: Musarion Verlag, 1923.

Pp. xv+423.

Convinced as Professor Vossler is—in agreement with Benedetto Croce, to whom this book is informally dedicated in the Preface—that true poetry can be made only by a mind at peace with itself, and that therefore Leopardi's poetry cannot, as De Sanctis believed, be the expression of a conflict between feeling and thought; he has, like the experienced investigator he is, devoted himself to the discovery of that harmony of mind from which sprang the verses of the poet. He has discovered it, explained its growth and expansion, identified the various kinds of its manifestation, illustrated these matters in a commentary on all the works of Leopardi, and sagaciously put his finger on the places in the poems where the harmony fails and the poetry gives way to prose.

The answer to the formidable riddle is to be found in its briefest form in the chapter on "Leopardi and Religion" (p. 167): "Das einzige Dogma seiner Religion, an dem er immer festgehalten hat, ist seine Ästhetik als Illusionslehre, d.h. der Grundsatz, dass die Wandelbarkeit, Flüchtigkeit und schattenhafte Relativität der Dinge das Wirkliche und Wertvolle, das Schöne an ihnen ist." Leopardi's poetry is the expression of his sense of the ephemeral nature of phenomena and the beautiful imaginations to which they give rise: in this consists its unity.¹ Beyond the phenomena and the whole illusory world is nothing that is comprehensible (this was the only and hideous truth Leopardi found), but in that "nothing" the poet believed as in something positive. It was his God, whom he "feared" in the Old Testament sense: "Die Verzückungen seiner Religion heissen Entsetzen," says Vossler (p. 164). In other words, the poems are not produced by a conflict in the poet's mind between thought and feeling, intellect and imagination, but by the pathetic contrast, which is always present to him, between beautiful illusion and real nothingness or incomprehensibility.

¹ The reference to the *Zibaldone* on p. 144 should be "30 Nov. 1828," not "1826."

To obtain knowledge of the mysterious power beyond the world of illusion Leopardi would have sacrificed everything; his despair of ever comprehending the truth in any way is genuine and lasting, but his invincible hunger for it is his main characteristic and constitutes his moral strength. This moral grandeur, which distinguishes him from the crowd of professional men of letters, "das heute beliebte und als Landplage verbreitete Literatentum," is witnessed to in moving words at the close of the volume, but it also appears conspicuously in the chapters devoted to the study of the psychology of the poet.

Leopardi's was a domineering individuality, conscious of intellectual power, but helpless because of physical weakness and inability for practical affairs. His pessimism was not due to his physical infirmity, nor to disappointments in love, but to constant reflection on his own experience, which showed him that nature and men are hostile to the individual who deserves respect and craves love: it was a philosophical pessimism. To the few exceptional persons who did not offend the pride of his heart, and who gave him love, Leopardi was adorable for the simple sincerity of his friendship and the expansive warmth that accompanied his mental liveliness.

His early literary production was exceedingly varied, evidencing a delight in displaying with versatile skill the knowledge he was amassing. Between twelve and thirteen years he had become "ein Schlangemensch des literarischen Ausdrucks." Here is the root of the philological faculty which appears clearly, in his fourteenth year, in that curiosity about the obscure and unknown which belongs to the born investigator. At seventeen he wrote his *Saggio sopra gli errori degli antichi* with pride in his superior knowledge and no suspicion of the truth that underlies the superstitions of mankind, and he remained throughout his life "ein herausfordernd unbedachter Held des Gedankens." As his poetical faculty developed, his philological studies slackened. To me it seems that the failure of his eyes must have had much to do with that, and that his inability to continue to study texts of literature threw him back upon philosophical thought and opened his mind to an overwhelming flood of feeling. Nevertheless Vossler is no doubt right in maintaining that philology (in the broad sense of the word) was the guardian of Leopardi's philosophy and poetry: "Seine lyrischen und seine kritischen Anlagen wuchsen zunächst unter dem Schutz der Philologie in gedeihlicher Wechselwirkung und Eintracht" (p. 74).

Leopardi's first philosophizing was about matters of literature and language. He enters the conflict between ancients and moderns as a classical champion, contending that the greatness of ancient literature is due to the unbroken unity of nature and art, and that romanticism must be resisted as tending to divorce the two, as foreign and unnatural. However, it was a drawn battle. In 1818 he writes his *Discorso di un italiano ecc*; in 1819 he is reading *Corinne*, sketching a novel like the *Sorrows of Werther*, and writing *Nella morte di una donna fatta trucidare ecc*.

Reflection and poetry were the poet's only refuge from the tedium that followed his terrible fits of exhaustion. The dreaminess or intoxication dear to some great romanticists were intolerable to a naturally active mind like his. The *Zibaldone* represents the intellectual and artistic labor undertaken to save himself: it was for him "halb Werkstatt, halb Vorratskammer und Hausapotheke." The belief that all life is an illusion, is less a philosophical conclusion than the expression of a feeling: a feeling, however, that carried conviction. "Illusion ist bei Leopardi im Grunde nur ein Schlagwort, mit dem er halb gewohnheitsmässig, halb leidenschaftlich die innig gefühlte Zeitlichkeit und Flüchtigkeit aller Güter und Werte des Lebens bezeichnet" (p. 136). Everything that is not directly subject to time and death is foreign, mysterious, incomprehensible to him; he calls it "Nothing," "Fate," "Nature." (Nature, first thought of as the kindly provider of illusions to palliate the evils of life, becomes awful when thought of as the hidden power responsible for conditions on earth.) And since everything perceptible is illusion, illusion takes on a practical reality, and is dearly cherished in the poet's imagination.

Studying the history of humanity in the light of his own experience, Leopardi came to consider humanity as an individual like himself. Hence came the idea that the ancient world was the youth of the human race, and that classical poetry is poetry of youthful imagination and sensibility to nature, modern poetry that of reflection and profound feeling; and hence the antitheses of nature and reason, heart and head, poetry and prose, etc. Vossler does not explain Leopardi's wavering attitude on the unpoetical quality of deep feeling, and on the uncertain position of Dante, Petrarch, and others with regard to the ancients and the moderns.

The poet was introduced to "philosophy" by Madame De Staël, and he never escaped from the French influence. His poor opinion of German philosophy, although cleverly expressed, is dismissed contemptuously by Vossler on the good ground that Leopardi knew hardly anything about it. The latter's philosophy is only a rational explanation of his own psychology. He had no normal experience of life, but his observation of what came within his experience was astonishingly intelligent, and "sein Denken ist im Kleinen wie im Grossen ein fortwährender Krieg gegen das Wunderbare" (p. 178). The problems he examines are linked together in a relation which persuades him that the sum of his solutions is a philosophical system.

As a student of language and literature he was no scientist in the modern sense, for he confused questions of taste with questions of fact. His conception of language is poetical; he makes no distinction between words and ideas. "Alles Denken ist ihm mehr oder weniger ein sprachliches Denken, alle Philosophie mehr oder weniger eine Kunst der Nomenclatur." And many a contemporary of ours, we may add, would say he was right. Nevertheless Leopardi explained well the relation between the language of a nation and its civilization, and he guessed sagaciously at the solution of historical problems

of language, suspecting laws in the development of sounds, forms, and constructions, such as were and are often still attributed to chance and fashion.

If beauty is illusion, and the world is becoming more and more concerned about truth alone, the future is for science and philosophy: dull prose will be substituted for poetry. Persuaded chiefly by an important passage of the *Zibaldone* (III, 127), Vossler believes that Leopardi, who held these opinions, set himself deliberately to save poetry by reconciling it with the prose of modern thought. His poetry is undoubtedly a fusion of the two, but so is nearly all modern poetry, and it may be doubted whether such a man as he could have produced any other kind.

To classify the poems exactly is an undertaking difficult enough to stagger any but a determined scholar like Professor Vossler: he takes pleasure in it. For him it is "the slothful man" who says "there is a *Gattung* in the way." The idyl, in which nature is treated intimately, and the elegy, in which the poet himself is more important, developed almost simultaneously, the elegy having the priority slightly, since *L'appressamento della morte* is called an elegy. Next came the elegiac idyl, which after a time became so overweighted with thought as to foreshadow the advent of the lyric meditation. This latter kind, however, grew out of the heroic poem rather than out of the elegiac idyl. The classes overlap inevitably, and *Il pensiero dominante*, e.g., is classed with *Bruto Minore* as an heroic poem, although it seems more like an elegy or a meditation. When we come to *La Ginestra*, after a discussion as to whether it is a didactic, satiric, or lyric poem, we are told that it is made up of an elegiac idyl, which might be called *Ginestra*, and a tragic meditation, which might be called *Pompeii* or *Vesuvius*; although, if we look closely, we shall find in it all the kinds, all melted together with an admirable but regrettable cleverness. To a skeptic as to *genres*, it seems as if these classes had been invented to provide entertaining discussion.

Far more important is the attempt to discriminate between the "prosaic" and the "lyric" parts of the poems; to show which part is pure lyric and where, damaged by the labor of thought, the verse falls short of being true poetry. This is genuine literary criticism, criticism after the manner of De Sanctis, and where Vossler differs with the great Italian he seems to me convincing, as in the admirable analysis of *L'infinito* (pp. 213-17). The danger is in the hypersensitiveness which makes one hypercritical. A learned flavor about a given passage may or may not damage or destroy the poetry. There is no ready-made means of distinguishing between aesthetically successful and less than successful verse. Vossler makes a wise use of Leopardi's own notes, wherever they are available, and he is thus, e.g., enabled to avoid the mistake of those who, misled by the classical reminiscences and literary language, concluded that Leopardi's nature studies are not from observation. And yet the learned character of many of the poet's concepts, and his literary language,

lead the critic, in spite of his watchfulness, to disparage certain poems and passages mistakenly, in my opinion.

It has been the custom, since De Sanctis, to speak slightly of the patriotic poems *All'Italia* and *Sopra il monumento ecc.* Vossler, too, yields to the tradition. "Wenn man ihnen gerecht werden will, muss man sie nicht als Dichtung sondern als oratorisch-literarische Leistung betrachten. Als solche haben sie eine bedeutende und zweifellos verdiente Wirkung gethan" (p. 294). It seems to me that "als solche," i.e., as mere literary eloquence, they could not have had that effect. It was inevitable that Leopardi's patriotic poems should wear a literary garb. Vossler truly says: "Von jeher war in Italien die wirklich heroische Dichtung wesentlich lyrisch und rednerisch gewesen." Leopardi, with no political experience or understanding, thought and felt in a literary manner; the atmosphere he breathed, the food on which he was nourished, were literary. That is why not only his thought but his feeling too finds an expression that has a literary and traditional flavor. The feeling is abundantly evident: the words of the *abbozzo*, quoted by Vossler, are evidence that even the lines beginning "Nessun pugna per te?" were not mere rhetoric. What does it matter that the poet was not a Carbonaro and had little hope for his country? These verses have stirred a nation to its depths and still stir it. If that is "oratorische Wirkung," good for the O.W.! But why deny to these poems the title of true poetry? Because, although elegiac in quality, they are not elegies. "Da sie keine Elegien sind, so können sie in letzten Hinsicht nur als reine Kunstübung oder, wie man heute zu sagen liebt, als Geste gemeint sein." Here again comes that irritating *Gattung*, impertinent but not terrible: What difference does it make whether these poems are elegies or not?

Alla primavera is also treated with scant justice. Vossler admits the heartfelt sorrow of it: "Gewiss ist auch weicher Klang in dem Gedicht und echte Trauer um das Welken der Naturreligion"; but he continues: "aber die Kunstvolle Art, wie die gestorbene Blume zurecht gebettet, gepresst und aufbewahrt wird, lässt keinen heftigen Schmerz aufkommen," and he goes on to speak of embalming a dead body, etc. (p. 313). All this is incomprehensible to me. In the midst of winter Leopardi's thoughts turn naturally to spring, but he remembers that the sights, sounds, and stirring sensations of reviving nature would be meaningless to him now, compared with all they meant once to the ancients. He dwells lovingly on the sympathy between man and nature in the childhood of humanity, and so longingly does he think of that ancient faith and those ancient fancies that he cries out to anything that may be at least aware of the doings and sorrows of men, although he feels that the appeal is vain. How can one undervalue the pathos of this hopeless appeal?

Le ricordanze is one of Vossler's favorite poems, and he analyzes it with sympathy and acuteness. He finds the archaisms in the first stanza suitable to reminiscences of a youth which is associated in the poet's mind with the

youth of humanity, the ancient world; but he condemns those in the second stanza: periphrases, e.g., like "natio borgo selvaggio," "stuol dei malevoli," etc. "Hier herrscht mehr Eigenwille als Eigenföhlung, mehr Ethos als Pathos, mehr Prosa als Lyrismus." The second stanza is put down as prosaic because it expresses bitter, rebellious feeling. "Diese prosaischen Einschläge stehen in Dienste des lyrischen Leitmotivs." He means that the soft melancholy of the other stanzas is absent here, but are not these angry, contemptuous expressions lyrical too, and would he say that the plaintive airs of a symphony are more musical than the violent, passionate parts? The archaisms seem to me as natural here as in the first stanza, because they belong to the natural language of the poet, and I could wish that the judgment given of *La quiete dopo la tempesta* and *Il sabato del villaggio* had been extended to more of the other poems. Of these two Vossler says: "Der Ausdruck an und für sich genommen hat etwas Gelehrtes, literarisch Kasteites and beinahe Armes, aber hinter ihn ahnt man ein überquellendes Geföhlleben" (p. 281).

He is judging excellent poetry, and his fine critical sense distinguishes what to him seems superexcellent, to the unnecessary disparagement of the remainder, but his appreciation is as profound as it is keen and alert to profit by all possible sources of information. Illuminating, e.g., is the use made of Leopardi's manuscript corrections, like the alteration of "Alla luce del vespro e della luna" to "Al biancheggiar della recente luna," where the poet has reduced a sentence of seven words that merely announces starlight and moonlight to one of five words in which the moon rises shedding its white light over all. To that delicate sensitiveness we owe the critic's explanation of Leopardi's sympathy with Metastasio: the poet's playfully sad attitude toward the whole mass of ineradicable illusions expressed in verse the chief quality of which is *mitezza passionale*, as Luigi Russo said, and Vossler appreciatively repeats: the "Arcadian" sentiment which had harmonized the pastoral and the heroic in Italian literature, and which is reflected in the meter of *Il risorgimento*. And the adverse criticism against which one sometimes rebels, at other times is convincing enough. The critic is no doubt right in perceiving a cooling of the inspiration in the last stanza of *A Silvia* (pp. 258-60), an *Erkältung* which the poet himself, as the alterations in the manuscript show, had tried to disguise, and which is apparently due to a deliberate attempt to reproduce in the mind of the reader, by means of a rhetorical device (the disconcerting ambiguous expressions), the associations, dear to the poet himself, between dying youth and young hopes fading.

Just and adequate and worthy to be studied by every lover of Leopardi is Vossler's interpretation of *Alla sua donna*, *Il pensiero dominante*,¹ *Amore e morte*, *A sè stesso*, and *Aspasia*, and his account of the relation of these poems to each other. All the more strange does it seem that he should, in the earlier

¹ To me it seems certain that the construction of *Il pensiero dominante* 109, "In molta parte onde s'abbella il vero," is *onde il vero in molta parte s'abbella*, although no one else seems to understand it so. The *pensiero* is not partly a dream; it is altogether an illusion: sogno e palese error.

part of the book (pp. 27-28), so underestimate the effect on Leopardi of his disappointment in the greatest and only love-passion he experienced. And similarly sound and convincing is the exposition of the poems classed as lyric meditations.

The prose and satirical poems of Leopardi's mature years are treated with proper regard to the author's views on the difference between poetry and prose, which explain the peculiarly unpoetic character of the *Pensieri* written between 1834 and 1836. "Als Prosakunstler arbeitete er mit Gummihandschuhen." The *Operette Morali* are in a class by themselves: whether, as Gentile thinks, they are inspired by deep religious feeling, or whether they are the result of pure thought without feeling, as Vossler thinks, they are a new kind of literature defying classification. They are poetry in prose, as the epistle *Al conte Carlo Pepoli* is prose in poetry—an example of Vossler's sober talent for epigram, which enlivens the whole volume. Leopardi gets little credit for humor in this latter poem or in *Palinodia*. Vossler complains that he shows no real understanding of the modernists he is satirizing, that he only sees their external characteristics, their cigars and long beards, etc. One is faintly reminded of the German who, on hearing a scandalously "tall" American story, said: "That is not humor: it is a damned lie!" It is no wonder, says Vossler, that Capponi did not know "ob es ihm als Ehrung zugebracht war, oder als Hänselei." He ought to have understood. The remarks on *I nuovi credenti* also seem too serious for an exhibition of spleen that was perhaps not intended to be published.

This is the best comprehensive work on Leopardi that has hitherto been written, but it requires serious study. Many a reader, especially if he is not a German, will knit his brows over passages which many another will read, and pass on, without fully comprehending. The greater part—not all—of the adverse criticism of Giulio Levi¹ is the result of misunderstanding. The obscurity is due more to the character of the subject than to the style of the author: Leopardi is not, and Vossler has not treated him as if he were, a simple personality. The book is as thorough and profound as was to be expected. Of the 407 notes (mostly references), not one is superfluous or wordy. The chapter on Leopardi and Hölderlin, which is an illuminating introduction to the book, as far as Leopardi is concerned, can be properly appreciated only by those who know both poets.

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A History of Magic and Experimental Science during the First Thirteen Centuries of Our Era. By LYNN THORNDIKE. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1923. Two volumes. Pp. xl+835 and 1036.

Here is a study of genuine interest to students of folklore and literature as well as to scientists, historians, and anthropologists—a study which records

¹ *G.S.L. It.*, LXXXIII, 135-48.

the attitude of the leading intellectuals "during the first thirteen centuries of our era" toward magic and experimental science. For organizing the vast body of materials collected from books and manuscripts in this country and abroad during the past twenty years, Professor Thorndike's two most obvious methods were the topical and the biographical-historical. With notable exceptions in a number of chapters, he has chosen the latter. His avowed purpose is to make a *survey* of magic and experimental science rather than to develop any special *thesis* in the history of medieval thought. Under magic the author includes all occult arts and sciences, superstitions, and folklore. He presents his material in five books: "The Roman Empire," "Early Christian Thought," "The Early Middle Ages," "The Twelfth Century," and "The Thirteenth Century."

After a brief introduction on magic and experimental science before the period of the Roman Empire, he turns to Pliny, Ptolemy, and Galen as leaders among the Romans in these studies and as the chief sources for science of the Hellenistic period. Plutarch is of passing interest to us as carrying on from the Greeks the idea which crops out later among the Christians in a new guise as a function of the saints—that of *demons* as intermediaries between gods and men. In *The Golden Ass* of Apuleius Professor Thorndike finds a treasure-house of occult practices. It is one of the few illustrations he takes from actual literature. In Plotinus he discovers "practically what was to be the usual Christian position in the Middle Ages regarding the influence of the stars"; he maintained the freedom of the human will and yet allowed a large field to astrological prediction.

In Book Two Professor Thorndike considers magic and experimental science as found in apocryphal and related pre-Christian literature, in the early Fathers of the church, and in the views of those who represented a fusion of paganism and Christianity during the fourth and fifth centuries. The story of Hermogones' renunciation of magic and his throwing his books into the sea, as told in connection with the *Confessions of Cyprian*, a converted magician and later bishop and martyr (chapter xviii), suggests a fascinating study of the historical antecedents of Prospero. During this period of early Christianity there is being established the pagan doctrine of comets as "fatal omens and harbingers of the worst disaster." The author's approach to the biblical and apocryphal material is adequately summarized in the following sentence: "Suffice it for the present to say that the prevailing atmosphere of the Bible is one of prophecy, vision, and miracle and that with these go, like the obverse face of a coin or medal, their inevitable accompaniments of demons, divination, and magic." In connection with Martianus Capella's *De Nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii*, Professor Thorndike is puzzled as to why it should have been one of the most popular textbooks of the monastic Christian world, containing as it does so much pagan mythology. The reason is to be sought, it seems to the reviewer, in the character of the period and of medieval monastic life. Medieval civilization consisted of a blending of the ecclesiastical, the

classical, and the popular—Christian, pagan, folk. And the cultural interests centering in and around a medieval monastery in many respects epitomized these interests. A failure to keep these facts in mind has resulted in numerous misinterpretations of the Middle Ages, some of which Professor Thorndike very adequately exposes.

Book Three opens with a consideration of magic in the Alexander legend, but concerns itself primarily with the development of astrology, medicine, and science in the eleventh century, with special emphasis on the Arabic influence. The first seven pages of the Alexander legend illustrate a rather recurrent and unfortunate feature of the book. They are devoted to a discussion of the origin, transmission, and metamorphosis of the legend. Since this material has no direct relation to magic and experimental science, it should have been abbreviated and placed in a footnote, or at least should have been relegated to an appendix. The medical practices recorded in Book Three represent an interesting combination of the scientific and the folk. Thus one finds all sorts of old wives' superstitions, including the virtue of the rabbit's foot as a talisman.

Books Four and Five should prove an excellent antidote to all who still have the traditional obsession that scholastic theology almost completely absorbed the intellectual energy of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. For the twelfth century some of the leaders selected by Thorndike as interested in magic and experimental science are Abelard, Adelard of Bath, William of Conches, Bernard Sylvester, Daniel of Morley, and Alexander Neckam. An analysis of the material reveals in part a continued interest in astrology, in the occult properties of stones, herbs, trees, and gems, in divination, in the question of whether magic was entirely evil or not, in the classification of the orders of spirits or demons, in the interpretations of dreams, and in alchemy, mathematics, and natural sciences. The ascetic St. Hildegard of Bingen, with her emphasis on the influence of the moon, becomes a medieval advocate for birth control. She marvels that "while men have sense enough not to sow crops in midsummer or the coldest part of winter, they persist in begetting offspring at any time according to their pleasure without regard to the proper period of their lives or to the time of the moon. The natural consequence of their heedlessness is the birth of defective children." The chapter on Pseudo-Aristotle shows to how great an extent the Greek leader in thought dominated the medieval intellectual mind, as evidenced in all sorts of spurious writings attributed to him.

In his last book the author attacks three pretty generally accepted views: that Vincent of Beauvais "adequately sums up all medieval science"; that Roger Bacon was "a lone herald of modern experimental science"; and that the *Florilegia* or Latin anthologies represented practically all of the reading of most medieval scholars who cited earlier authorities. Since this last happens to be a topic of special interest to some scholars in modern languages, I quote from him briefly. Thus he writes: "Modern writers concerning medieval

learning have too often proceeded upon the gratuitous assumption that medieval writers seldom were acquainted with the authorities which they cite" (Vol. II, p. 504). Then, after referring to his own experience in reading and examining manuscripts, he concludes: "On the whole, I am inclined to think that medieval writers had read quite as much of the works listed in their bibliographies as modern writers have of those listed in theirs" (Vol. II, p. 505). With regard to Vincent of Beauvais and Roger Bacon, I think that his case is sound and that in the light of his evidence scholars still holding the traditional views would do well to revise them. But his contention that he has "exposed the Florilegia myth," it seems to the reviewer, will have to be modified. He has opened his argument and challenged his opponents to present theirs. That is all.

From the point of view of both the specialist and the average reader, this work would be more interesting and valuable if the material were organized according to subject matter, with discussions of authors, manuscripts, and such topics placed in appendices. E. K. Chambers' two masterly studies, *The Medieval Stage* and *The Elizabethan Stage*, illustrate admirably the virtues of such a method. Professor Thorndike's primary purpose, to be sure, was to present a *survey* of the field. But the specialist as well as the average reader is interested primarily in the origin, development, and persistence of an idea or an attitude. This one gets from the book only by turning to the index and following up references; and then, of course, only in isolated bits. For the observable heaviness in composition, the tyranny of the card index is doubtless largely responsible. As a suggestion for a further limitation of the title, the work is, with rare exceptions, a study of the development of magic and experimental science as revealed only by the *intellectuals* of the different periods. Since Professor Thorndike has occasion to refer many times to such literature as Plato's *Timaeus* and Aristotle's *History of Animals*, one would welcome an introductory section on Greek magic and experimental science. He does, to be sure, justify this omission (Vol. I, p. 3, footnote). And as he himself states, a great task still awaits the scholar who will carry this study down into the seventeenth century, the period of a definite break between medievalism and modernism. But this study with its large bibliography of both printed and manuscript materials, and with its admirable indexes, should prove a very desirable source book for students of medieval science, folklore, and literature.

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Cavalier and Puritan: Ballads and Broad-sides Illustrating the Period of the Great Rebellion 1640-1660. Edited with an Introduction & Notes by HYDER E. ROLLINS. New York: New York University Press, 1923. Pp. xv+532.

A Handful of Pleasant Delights (1584). By CLEMENT ROBINSON and Divers Others. Edited by HYDER E. ROLLINS. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1924. Pp. xix+145.

An Analytical Index to the Ballad-Entries (1557-1709) in the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London. Compiled by HYDER E. ROLLINS. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1924. Pp. iv+324.

Three recent books by Professor Rollins continue his important series of books and articles on balladry—reprints of inaccessible ballad material and studies in the history of the ballad. In *Cavalier and Puritan* he reprints, chiefly from broadsides found in the Bodleian, the Manchester Free Library, and the British Museum, seventy-five ballads written between 1640 and 1660. The volume gives a new perspective of ballad literature for these years. Through the publishing of ballad collections and the reprinting of old drolleries students have been made familiar with the satiric and burlesque ballads of the period. These as the dominant types are naturally represented in Mr. Rollins' selections, but he has chosen a larger number which illustrate the perennial interests of men whose calling was ballad-writing—the chronicling of historical events, the telling of jest and story, the portrayal of odd characters, and the picturing of the everyday life of the common man, his love, his grief, his problems, his pastimes. The Introduction deals with the history of ballad-writing during the Commonwealth and especially with the success of the ballad-writers in getting their productions in print in the face of governmental decrees forbidding publication.

In his reprint of Robinson's *Handful of Pleasant Delights* Mr. Rollins has reproduced the original text and given succinct accounts of the collection and of the individual ballads. Most of the material is excellent, but in some points he seems to me to be in error. For instance, the collection was preceded by at least one other besides Tottel's *Miscellany* (p. xv), the *Court of Venus*, of which two fragments survive.¹ A rather unfortunate error occurs in the note (p. 117) to No. 27, "The painefull plight of a Louer To the tune of, I loued her ouer wel." Mr. Rollins suggests that this tune, which is used also for No. 32, derived its name from No. 27. (Line 1779 instead of line 1799 is cited in evidence by a misprint.) He continues:

What seems to have been a reply to No. 27, a ballad called "A ffayrewell to Alas I lover [*sic*] you over well &c," was registered by William Griffith in 1567-68

¹ See Stopes, *Shakespeare's Industry*, pp. 305 ff.

(Arber, I, 362). . . . It may be worth adding that a poem purporting to have been written by John Harington to Isabella Markham in 1594 (*Nugae Antiquae*, ed. Park, II, 326) begins:

Alas! I love you overwell,
Myne owne sweete deere delyghte!

Park gives the date 1549. The author is John Harington the elder, who also contributed several poems to Tottel's *Miscellany*.¹ The "Farewell" of 1567-68 was evidently sung to the tune of Harington's poem, and it is probable that "The painefull plight of a Louer" was written to be sung to the same tune.

Mr. Rollins' statement that the *Handful* "in its aims affords the greatest possible contrast to the miscellanies from Tottel's to *A Poetical Rhapsody*, which were compiled for an altogether different group of readers" (p. ix), seems to me quite misleading. In his own note in connection with the statement he has to point out the number of ballads in other early miscellanies. The *Handful* is more distinctly a ballad collection than the others, titles and tunes of the type used with broadsides having been kept in reprinting, but it is a mistake to approach the collection from the point of view of the popular broadside as it was known at the height of balladry. Most of the pieces obviously represent the ballad-writing of the cultured classes. The edition of 1566 was entered as *Sonnettes and storyes*, a title kept in the running-head of the 1584 edition, *Sonets and Histories*. When the early edition was compiled, ballads, or "sonnets," were in vogue among the courtly. The term "sonnets" in Tottel's title, *Songs and Sonnets*, covers many pieces entered on the Stationers' Register as ballads. Indeed, most literary men at the opening of Elizabeth's reign were experimenting with the type, men like Surrey, Harington, Heywood, Turberville, Googe, Gascoigne, Redford, and Howell. Occasionally they treated a popular theme, but in the main their ballads dealt either with classical stories or with lovers' complaints and pleas such as are found in a multitude of lyrics. This description covers practically everything in the early edition of the *Handful*, for the two ballads most distinctly of a popular type, "Greensleeves" and Mannington's "I waile in wo," were not, as Mr. Rollins shows, included in the edition of 1566. The ballads of the *Handful* have the same language and conceits as the poems of Tottel's *Miscellany*, and were freely adapted for the *Paradise of Dainty Devises* and the *Gorgeous Gallery of Gallant Inventions*. The divorce of the cultured from the ballad came later as the result of the Puritan struggle. From a very early period the Puritans were attempting to moralize the ballads both of the folk and of the cultured, and to popularize religious ballads, as is shown by a multitude of entries on the Register during the early years of Elizabeth's reign. The Puritan hostility to the courtly lyric and ballad is well illustrated for this period by John Hall, who wrote a volume including many ballads, as an antidote to the *Court of Venus* particularly. His book was registered in 1565 as *The Courte of vertu contaynyng many holy or spretuall songes Sonettes psalmes*

¹ See Crawford, 11 *Notes and Queries*, III, 201-3, 322-24, 423-24.

*ballettes shorte sentences as well of holy scriptures as others &c.*¹ and was published in the same year. A number of the ballads are noticed below. After Ascham's attack in the *Scholemaster* English rhyming evidently languished for a time, and the belief in it did not reassert itself until, following vigorous attacks of the Puritans on playing and piping, the defenders of poetry made their distinction between legitimate poesy and rude beggarly rhyming as represented in balladry. After this the divorce of the cultured classes from the ballad was practically complete until the Cavaliers revived balladry as a feature of their wit.

The most important of all Mr. Rollins' contributions to the history of the ballad is his *Analytical Index*, in which all entries on the Stationers' Register known or presumed to be those of ballads are arranged in alphabetical order. A brief statement in connection with more than half of the entries either tells where the ballad can be found or, if it is untraced, suggests its probable nature. In addition there is an Index of First Lines for the known ballads, and an Index of Names and Subjects. The result is a reference work of the greatest value to students. From my own notes on some aspects of the enormous field I judge that Mr. Rollins has identified in the numerous collections of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century ballads practically all the extant ballads that are entered either by the first line or by any title unchanged in printing. He has also handled well the mass of problems which confront any student of the entries. These come from several sources. Though many ballads had titles either consistently retained in varied editions or not easily confused with others, titles were changed frequently enough in successive entries of the same ballad or were entered inexactly enough to cause trouble. Again, many series exist with very similar titles, either because a theme had a vogue for a period or because a title was imitated, sometimes by a publisher who had scored a popular success, sometimes by a rival. The case is still more difficult where ballads are found in manuscript collections, miscellanies, and printed books under brief or conventional titles unlike the seller's usually specific titles intended to advertise his wares. In these confusing aspects of the field Mr. Rollins, with his wide knowledge of extant ballads and of ballad allusions, has done some of his best work. He inclines too much, however, to consider similar entries as covering the same ballad. Especially for the early period it is very doubtful whether different publishers entered separately the same ballad at almost the same time, and whether the same publisher entered a ballad twice within a short period so frequently as Mr. Rollins is inclined to believe. We need to know more of the relations and agreements among the publishers before such problems can be solved.

The difficulties, particularly in regard to the early entries, may be illustrated from a number of ballads which appeared in early volumes of poetry and are not considered by Mr. Rollins. Many of these were almost certainly never entered for broadside publication. It is especially doubtful whether

¹ *Transcript*, I, 268.

ballads were often entered separately *after* they had been printed in books except in the case of the re-entry of old broadsides. Still any single case mentioned here may be that of a ballad published both in a book and as a broadside. The numerous moral and religious ballads of Hall's *Court of Vertue* (1565), which are accompanied by their tunes, are the most interesting. One of them at least (fol. 125) was printed as a broadside, "¶ The anotomy or particular description of a byrchē broome or besome: In the composition or making wherof, are conteyned .iii. notable Justices or purgers of vices," beginning,

A Byrchen besome that ye a broome calle,
Is made of a wyth, a staffe, and twygs smalle.

This title was no doubt taken from the broadside numbered 550 by Mr. Rollins, "a Dyscription of the [a]natomy of a byrchen broome" (1562-63). A number of Hall's other poems may also have appeared as broadsides. Compare the ballad entries, cited according to Mr. Rollins' numbering, 31 [and 32], "agaynste Dronkerdes" (1560-61), and Hall's poem "Against drunkennes and gluttony," beginning, "A Drunken workeman certeynly" (fol. 93); 37, "agaynste pryde &c" (1568-69) [see also 36, 38, 42, 522, 571], and "Against pryde," beginning, "You proud men all I saye abyde" (fol. 83); 45, "agaynste vserers" (1562-63), and "¶ A dittie of the pen inueiying against vsury and false dealyng," beginning, "My pen obey my wyll a whyle" (fol. 87v); 491, "ye Day of Dome when all men shall to Jugement come" (1565-66), and "A voyce from heauen to you shall come, *Venite ad iudicium*," beginning, "O Man amend defer no time" (fol. 81); 522, "Declaringe the monstereous abuce in apparrell and the intollerous pride nowe a daies vsed. &c." (December 28, 1594),¹ and "A sonnet inueyinge agaynst the abuses and pryde that reyneth among vayne women," beginning, "Ye women and maydes of Citie & country" (fol. 165v; without an air); 1372, "kynge Saloman" (March 4, 1560) [may be Elderton's "Panges of love," as Mr. Rollins suggests], and "The prayse of Godly wysdome out of the booke of wysdome, called *Sapientia*, cap. vi," beginning, "The worthy wyse kyng Salomon in wysdoms exercyse" (fol. 12); 1446, "the lamentation of Christe for man" (1562-63), and "The complaint of Christ our saviour agaynst the Ingratitude of mankynde," beginning, "Thys of the Lord is the complaynt" (fol. 110; without an air); 2096, "the plage Jolasy with examples to avoyde the same" (1565-66), and "The nynth chapter of Ecclesiasticus: or booke of Jesus the sonne of Sirach.

¹ By Gosson? Possibly related to Bansley's ballad-like poem, "A Treatyse shewing and declaring the Pryde and Abuse of Women Now a Dayes" (see Hazlitt, *Early Popular Poetry of England*, IV, 227-44). Compare the related convention (see *Cambridge History of English Literature*, III, 553) in 2491, "a songe to the prayse of many vertuous Women &c" (1569-70), and Hall's "¶ The complaynte of a certayne famous town for the death of an honest matron, wyfe to one of thynhabitantes of the same, wyth an answer to the sayd complaynt: & in fyne a generall prayse of all honest & vertuous women" (fol. 169v; without an air).

¶ The argument. 'Of ielousie who so wyll heare, vnto my tune harke & drawe nere' " (fol. 38).¹

Humphrey Gifford and Thomas Howell were both authors of courtly ballads, some of which may have been entered on the Register separately in addition to being printed in collections of poems. Gifford's *A Posie of Gillyflowers* (1580) contains "A straunge historie" dealing with Camna's revenge (see *Complete Poems and Translations in Prose*, ed. Grosart, pp. 128-34), which is very probably one of two ballads entered in 1569-70: either 2284, "the Revenge yat a Woman of Grece toke of hym that slewe hyr husbounde," or 2452, "Sinorex Cania et Sinatus." Mr. Rollins suggests that the two are identical, but the publication of 2452 by Jones may have called forth another ballad on the same theme from the press of Arnold. Again, Gifford's two poems with the titles "The Complaynt of a sinner" and "A Complaint of a Sinner" (pp. 123-24, 137-39) may be represented in the entries 356, "The complaint of a sinfull soule &c" (August 1, 1586) or 1429, 1434-37, a series of "lamentations of a sinner" licensed between 1565 and 1580.² Howell published three volumes of verse between 1568 and 1581, containing several poems that are interesting from the point of view of the broadside ballad: a clownish wooing in dialect (*Poems*, ed. Grosart, pp. 89-91.) not unlike that in *Roxburghe Ballads*, III, 593 (see No. 1299); "The lamentable historie of Sephalus with the Vnfortunat end of Procris. To the tune of Appelles" (pp. 146-49); and two epitaphs, on the Countesses of Shrewsbury and Pembroke (pp. 51-54, 196-98), a type often entered on the Register, especially in the early years of Elizabeth's reign (see Nos. 725-71). A ballad in Howell's *Neue Sonets, and pretie Pamphlets*, licensed in 1567-68, which is called "The declaration of the vnstablenesse of fickle Fortune" (p. 132), may possibly be represented in the Register either by No. 511, "A Dittie declaringe by order of fate howe fickell Dame Fortune Dothe chaunge our estate" (July 8, 1577), or more probably by No. 2018, "of one complaynyng of ye mutabilite of fortune" (1565-66).

I add a few notes chiefly on the identity of other ballads.

¹ As further illustration of Hall's use of ballad conventions, compare 914, "¶ The first table conteynynge iij preceptes concerneth our duety towards God: The second table conteynynge the other vi. preceptes concerneth our duetye towards our neyghbour" (fol. 47; without an air); 1393, "lady Vertu" (1570-71), and "The prayse of vertue," beginning, "Al men that wyll walke in Gods deuline wayes" (fol. 1); 2461, "the vjth chapter of saynt Mathewe that we shulde not be Carefull of wordly vanytes" (1569-70), and "¶ The maner of true and perfecte prayer. . . ." beginning, "The syxt of mathewe if ye reade example ye may finde" (fol. 40v); and 1787, "a monstereus chylde which was borne at Maydestone [Oct. xxliij, 1568"; see the extant broadside cited by Mr. Rollins] (1568-69), and "¶ The description & declaration of a monstrous chylde, borne in the towne of Maydston in the Countie of Kent. In the yere of oure Saluation .1561. the .xxix. daye of September. . . ." beginning, "Sith monsters as some lerned men declare" (fol. 126; without an air).

² The volume contains also two jests in ballad form (pp. 109-11, 131-34), the second a version of "The Scholar of Paris" not noted by Bolte and Polivka, *Anmerkungen zu Grimm*, II, 440-50.

187, "betwene a Ryche farmer and his Doughther" (1557-58) may be "The Fermorar and his Dochter," a ballad preserved in a sixteenth-century Scottish form but "apparently of English composition" (Laing, *Early Popular Poetry of Scotland*, ed. Hazlitt, I, 112-15).

188, "betwene a Spanishe gent and an English gentlewoman" (August 1, 1586) almost certainly survives in the poem in Rawl. MS 108, fol. 12, beginning, "Maddame dangloyse me tell you verye true." This dialogue is probably a jig, and the earliest extant dramatic piece dealing with the lustful foreign wooer.

377, "Conscience Crye to all estates in sellinge of broom" (July 25, 1592). In *The Three Ladies of London* Conscience after surveying the abuses of various trades resolves to sell broom, and later sings her chapman's song (Diii, iv). The scene may have influenced this ballad or been drawn from it.

420, "The Courtiour and the Carter" (1565-66) is probably based on the jest with the same title in *A Hundred Mery Talys*, No. liij. If so, it could hardly be connected with No. 865 at least.

471, "Cuttinge George, and his hostis beinge a Jigge" (February 17, 1595). Probably the piece sung in D'Urfey's *Massaniello*, Part II (1699), Act II, scene ii, with an interspersed dance, and published in *Wit and Mirth* (1719), I, 270-75, as "A Dialogue between a Town Sharper and his Hostess," is closely related.

584, "a Dyologe betwene youghte and age" (1569-70), or 608, "a dysputacion betwene olde age and youghe" (1563-64), may be preserved in "The Reasoning betuix Aige and Yowth," by "Robert Hendersone," in the *Bannatyne Manuscript*, Hunterian Club, I, 149-52.

866, "a ffayrewell to Alas I lover you over well." See above.

1022, "god morowe to you good syster Jone" (1562-63) is clearly one of the popular series of ballads and songs on gossips, possibly an early form of the song in D'Urfey's *Wit and Mirth*, VI, 315-16, beginning "Good morrow Gossip Joan." See Chappell, *Popular Music*, II, 672-73. D'Urfey's song was known before the middle of the seventeenth century at least. Parts are written in manuscript on a copy of Price's "New Spanish Tragedy" in Wood Ballads, Bodl. 401, fols. 137v-38, dated in manuscript 1640 or 1641, and a line of the song forms the refrain of a song in Sampson's *Vow Breaker* (1636), V, i.

1942, "Nicoll a Cod" (June 1, 1629)—probably a dramatic dialogue or jig—has survived in traditional forms. See Hecht, *Songs from Herd's Manuscripts*, pp. 159-60; 4 *Notes and Queries*, II, 154, 187, 283, 568; Long, *Dictionary of the Isle of Wight Dialect*, pp. 154-55.

1961, "Nobodies Complaint" (August 1, 1586) may be "An old Song of John Nobody," a satirical complaint. See Strype, *Memorials of Cranmer* (1853), II, 383-85; Percy, *Reliques*, Book V, No. 3.

2399, "Sellmans sorrowfull songe" (January 8, 1612). The reference in *Bartholomew Fair* to Selman's purse-cutting at court, discovered by Mr. Rollins, is noted by Chambers, *Book of Days* (1886), II, 670. The incident is

also referred to by Jonson in *Love Restored*. See Brotanek, *Die englischen Maskenspiele*, pp. 346-48, and Baskervill, *Modern Philology*, VI, 117-18.

2492, "a Sonnet betwene a Souldiour and his love" (August 20, 1590) is probably a song without title in *Shirburn Ballads*, ed. Clark, No. LVIII.

2656, "Tom of Bedlam" (March 1, 1675). Mr. Rollins is likely mistaken in identifying this with 1878, "A new Mad Tom of Bedlam" entered on the same date. There were many songs of Tom of Bedlam; three, for instance, in *Prince d'Amour*, 1660. Two were especially well known: the oft-printed "New Tom of Bedlam," identified by Mr. Rollins, and "Tom of Bedlam" beginning "From the hag and hungry goblin," popular from the early part of the seventeenth century (see *London Mercury*, VII, 518-24; VIII, 79-80, 188). 2656 is no doubt the last.

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Kust- och Skärgårdsnamnen I Göteborgs och Bohus län. I. Sjökortet Tjörn. AV HJALMAR LINDROTH. Göteborg: Förra delen, 1922. Pp. xv+240.

The present volume forms the third number of the Institute for Place-Name and Dialect Research at Gothenburg College, Sweden.¹ The Institute was established in the fall of 1917 as the center of research and publication office of all the work pertaining to the dialect and the place names of the province of Gothenburg and Bohuslän. This is the scientific purpose of the Institute, which it seeks to realize by a systematic investigation of the territory and through publication by making the results available to a larger public. It has also the practical educational purpose of spreading knowledge about the place names of the region, and to secure a revision of incorrect names to the correct historical form. In the spring of 1918 the first issue of the society's publications appeared under the title *Bohusläns Härads- och Sockennamn*, by Hjalmar Lindroth, who also appears as the general editor of the series and the director of the research work of the Institute. As there has not yet been published any larger body of place names for Bohuslän, I take occasion here to note three points from this volume. The ending *-vin*, "meadow," "grazing-grounds," so common in Norway, is in Sweden of frequent occurrence only within Bohuslän and Vestergötland; three of the parish names of Bohuslän are of this origin and apparently numerous other names. Also the word *heimr* is common in Bohuslän as second element of compound names, always in the form *-um*. It is of interest that these names are, in Bohuslän, never compounded with a personal name; the author is certainly right when he assumes that herein we have a hint of their antiquity. The word *heimr* in these names did not at the time the names arose mean "home," "domicile" (of so and so); it meant "place," "region." It is apparent that it could be used of a small

¹ *Institutet för ortnamns- och dialektforskning vid Göteborgs Högskola.*

place as well as of a larger region (similarly in southeastern Norway). Finally, the ending *-by* in Bohuslän appears in both forms, *-by* and *-bō*, but only "genuine *bō*-names are compounded with personal names. Thus the two, *by* and *bō*, have different meanings originally, and belong also to different periods in the history of the settlement of Bohuslän.

The second number of the series, issued in 1920, consists of a series of shorter articles touching problems of place names and dialects in Bohuslän (133 pages). Here the leading contribution is one entitled "Gränserna och skilj-
akigheterna mellan sydbohuslänska och nordbohuslänska" (pp. 1-45), by Professor Lindroth. A very valuable study by Axel Paulsson of "Terräng-
och naturbetecknande substantiv i Mo-målet i Bullaren och deras förekomst i
ortnamn" in the same number I must also mention. As Part III of the publi-
cations appears the volume on the names of islands, rocks, skerries, etc., oc-
curring in the Tjörn district, named at the head of this review.

The systematic recording of the names of all kinds of places along the coast and in the waters of Bohuslän was begun in 1916 upon the initiative of Professor Evald Lidén. The recorded material includes the various kinds of names of islands, rocks, skerries, banks, etc., i.e., places wholly surrounded by water; further, names of points, promontories, bays, sounds, etc. The preliminary account of these was completed in the summer of 1917, and actually published first in lectures at Gothenburg College by Professor Lindroth. Then the printing of the material was taken over by the recently organized Institute (see above). Since that, however, the body of names has been greatly augmented, especially through the work of Lindroth during the years 1918-20. The present work of two hundred pages of discussion (the remainder being indexes) presents all the names of water-inclosed places; the second part, to follow, is to give the remaining names for the District of Tjörn. Regarding the generalizing of forms of names at the head of the successive articles, I should have given a small group of forms differently from the author's practice. I believe he should have adhered even more closely to the Bohuslän forms than he has. As in other cases, it is certainly best to retain the West Swedish *-e* form of the masculine of the attributive adjective, and not the High Swedish *-a* form, since in Bohuslän it is nearly everywhere *-e*. But for the feminine and neuter singular and for the masculine plural the author records the names under the forms with the ending *-a*, since for these *-e* and *-a* are both used in Bohuslän, and the *-a* form may therefore be used just as well. However, why not always record the name under the *-e* form if that is the usual or the exclusive one occurring? There are several such on, e.g., pages 66, 157, and 176. Also, why not have given the plural definite of *-ar* nouns regularly with *-arne* (and not *-arna*), since this is the ending that is practically always found?

The author's work is painstaking and scholarly and nearly always

convincing in the interpretative parts.¹ The material is arranged under the two divisions: A, simple names and those whose final component part is not directly a definition of the locality, and B, compound names. Under the former a group of 40 contracted names are especially interesting, names of the type *Bengtén*, shortened from *Bengtebåden* (*Bengtebön*) (p. 16, and in the summary of this type, p. 82). It is to be observed that these now nearly always (37 of 40) are in the definite form; but the fact that the present contracted form is definite does not necessarily mean that the original "full" name also was in the definite. The contrary would rather be the case, and most often certainly is the case. Regarding this feature of the names as a whole, I find that the overwhelming majority of the names are in the definite form. It is clear that a large number of the names have assumed the definite form in relatively recent times (since about 1700); and, further, that names that are of recent origin practically always are definite in form. The author observes (p. 145) that, whereas compound names in *-ö* and *-skär* may appear in either definite or indefinite form, those in *-holme* all have the definite form. But an examination of this body of about 220 names in *-holme* (*holmen*) shows that the definite form is recent, hardly ever appearing before 1700; usually the earliest occurrence is nearer the year 1800 or after that. In sporadic cases the definite form appears rather early, as *Björholmen*, of which definite forms are recorded for 1660 and 1699; and still earlier in the case of *Flatholmen*, where a definite form appears for 1594 (*Fladeholmen*), but in the following century only indefinite forms again (p. 122). The latest indefinite forms I find among the names in *-holme* are *Farholmar* and *Metholmar* (p. 125), and *Lyngholmar* (p. 110), all three for the year 1806.

Of exceeding interest is the method or practice of name-giving along the Bohuslän coast—the underlying psychological reason for the separate names. Only in the smaller number of cases do the names directly define the places. In the larger number the place is named after some being or thing which it is thought to resemble. Thus a ragged-edged little island, or a round and high one, will be called "the goat," or "the cap," or some such term. The source of the comparisons is, it would appear (p. 78), most often human beings, animals, and birds (*Bonden*, *Ryttaren*, *Käringörat*, *Kråkan*); next come names of objects connected with the activities of the day (*Havreposarna*, *Slipstenen*, etc.). This group, discussed (p. 79) under *ε*, seems to me larger than here indicated, as most of those under *δ* really belong here (*Buteljen*, *Stompen*, *Grytebenen*, *Skeden*, etc.). Places named after articles of food number only about half a dozen or so. It is rather surprising that so few names have their

¹ Fanciful, however, and improbable is the explanation of *Aldrigvad*, a skerry, held to be, perhaps, simply *aldrig* + *vat*, "never a bit," and to have come into use after an unsuccessful fishing expedition. This seems to me just about impossible. Similarly the name *Galet*, p. 25, the skerry where something went "wrong" (*galet*). In both cases the original name has probably merely been distorted.

source in the sound produced by storm or waves lashing a skerry or part of an island (there seem to be only 8 or 9 such, as *Pickaren*, p. 81).

In the second part of the work, B, the material is presented under the second component part. Most numerous are names in *-holmen*, 220 in all, and those in *-skär*, 215; otherwise 160 in *-både*, 50 in *-ö*, and 20 in *-flu*. These are the chief ones. Names in *sten*, *kulle*, *grund*, *brytare*, *klätt*, *bank*, and some others, make up a total of only about 30. It is to be observed that the favorite themes have increased in recent times at the expense of some of the others (as *-berg* to *-holmen*). The arrangement under the suffixal themes seems to me satisfactory where the volume is, as in this case, supplied with such excellent indexes, including a complete alphabetical one. A list of incorrect official names which are recommended for change (pp. 201-3) is finally to be noted. Among these I note that the name *Berlin* is a false form: the local pronunciation is *Balín*, hence its origin is *Barrlinden*; and that *Geddeboskären* should be *Getebodskären*. An excellent chart of all place names occurring, prepared by doctorate candidate D. Palm, accompanies the volume.

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CORRECTION

The correct date of the *Amye de Court* is 1542; not 1543, as stated in *Modern Philology*, XXII, 422.—Eds.

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THE NINE-SYLLABLED PENTAMETER LINE IN SOME POST-CHAUCERIAN MANUSCRIPTS

In the field of fifteenth-century commonplace books or of large-scale "patchwork" copies is to be sought the next step through the mass of post-Chaucerian transcripts. Editors hitherto, despite their announced discriminations among Chaucer's copyists, have in an emergency used an isolated reading offered by any codex; and if, e.g., one group of manuscripts shows a line headless, the opposed group writing it now headless and now full length, the editor will usually remark that "most manuscripts omit" and adopt the full-length version into his text. That is, whatever his published opinion of his witnesses, he will now believe and now disbelieve them, testing them by his own preconception as to Chaucer's metrical practices.

What those practices were can, however, be known to us only through the scribes. We can, indeed, argue from Chaucer's literary mastery to his metrical mastery; but we have not thereby proved that his ideas coincided in every respect with ours; that, for instance, he objected to and avoided the nine-syllabled line; that he may not have accepted such line-forms as variants. Any proof of his views on the point must come from his scribes, through a separation of their personalities and habits from the texts they are copying. If most disfigurements of a text can be removed by comparative editorial study and elimination, it is equally probable that most of the disturbances caused by any one copyist can be detected by a survey of his methods in the transcription of several different poems. Could this be done for a number of Chaucerian texts, could the idiosyncrasies of the various

scribes be recognized and separated, the residuum might not be Chaucer, but it would at least be an X nearer him than is any one of the codices tested, something the sort of X that "critical" editors reach by constructing a genealogical tree of the manuscripts.

This identification of scribes, which I believe to be the next necessary step in Chaucerian and post-Chaucerian work, may be sought along two lines. We may find the handwriting of a known man in several or many volumes, and thus obtain an approximate dating, as in the case of John Shirley. And the script of an unknown workman may appear in various volumes, thus establishing a sort of connection among them. For instance, a man who copies, occasionally from Shirley, in the commonplace books Brit. Mus. Harley 2251 and Add. 34360, who there transcribes extracts from Lydgate's *Fall of Princes* (ca. 1430), had also a hand in the commonplace book Trinity College Cambridge R 3, 21, wrote part of the Royal 17 D xv copy of the *Canterbury Tales*, and wrote the College of Physicians copy of the *Tales*. Prosiegel says his script is also, perhaps, in the Arundel 59 copy of Lydgate's *Secrees*. I make these statements with reserves, as it is years since I examined the manuscripts; I hope that re-examination and photography will soon enable me to place the question before other students. If my opinion of the script is confirmed, this man will have to be reckoned up, both in preparation for an edition of the *Canterbury Tales* and as a stable center in the maze of crisscrossing fifteenth-century texts.

The other line of search for scribal identities is by comparison not of their hands but of their handling. Were the student working over texts without reference to their scribes, he might consider it possible to draw a parallel between Chaucer's story of St. Cecile, as in the Corpus Christi MS for instance, and Lydgate's life of St. Margaret from the Trinity College copy in John Shirley's hand. One could justly emphasize the identity of subject and of stanzaic form in the two poems, and their close agreement in length would make a discussion in percentage-terms very easy. If the student confined himself to narrative management he would be safe enough in his comparison, and in no great danger were he to comment on stylistic points. But if he passed on to compare metrical management and line-structure, he would be on the rocks. For, as the results below presented

will make clear, the deliberate license of Shirley in handling his copies is so constant as to throw suspicion on any isolated reading he may offer; while the personality of the Corpus scribe, so far as I have yet studied him, is not that of a meddler. It is less easy to create for one's self the picture of a man engaged in transcribing a long piece of work like the *Canterbury Tales* than it is to detect the peculiarities of a man working over commonplace books. I therefore open this subject of scribal personality with a study of a clearly defined group of such volumes; and as a clue through the large and varied mass of fact before us, I take the nine-syllabled pentameter line. This approach is less arduous than that of complete editing, but it yields much of the result needed by an editor.

Before listing the manuscripts here used, I have to mention one or two points of procedure. For the sake of exactitude, I have limited myself to the pentameter line as arranged in rhyme royal. I use the term "nine-syllabled line" inaccurately but economically, to denote only the headless line and the line broken-backed, or lacking an unaccented syllable at the verse-pause. There are lines of nine syllables which may jolt, e.g., in the fourth foot, because the scribe there dropped an inflexional *-e*; but such are not here included. There are headless lines of ten syllables; and such are here included. I have marked with an asterisk, in these lists, the lines which become normal if an inflexional *-e* be restored; it has seemed best to present them along with lines definitely below normal, in order that the student may see the probable share of the linguistic change in causing headless or broken-backed line-movement.

It will appear from comparison of these varying manuscript-treatments that the linguistic change did not proceed uniformly. A steady, well-behaved workman like the Fairfax scribe, working not earlier than 1422,¹ is insensitive and indifferent to the value of *-e* in the texts he is transcribing; the translator of the Palladius and his scribes (*ca.* 1430 or later) are either themselves aware of that value or are compelled by supervision to observe it; the line-amplifications of Shirley (*d.* 1456) and of the later Scottish Selden copyist show them both deaf to it. Reading the Palladius-translator's description of his

¹ The poem to Henry VI and his mother, transcribed a few leaves later than the Chaucerian poems of the codex, was written before the infant king's coronation in 1429, and after the death of Henry V in 1422.

patron Gloucester's watchfulness over the work, one pictures Duke Humphrey as a literary conservative, holding fast to the earlier vocalic flow of English, resisting the speech-change he heard around him. And comparing the methods of these different scribes with the state of things in Palladius, the student will probably conclude that an editor is justified in restoring any Chaucerian line awkward because of a fallen *-e*. Chaucer apparently wrote headless lines on occasion; he may still more occasionally have written a broken-backed line; but he must have been at least as exact and as exacting as was Gloucester a generation later about the handling of the inflexional syllable. More than one authentic version of a line or passage is not impossible in Chaucer; but an unrhythmical movement is exceedingly improbable.

And although it is not at all clear that Hoccleve and Lydgate were rhythmically sensitive, I have given them the benefit of the doubt; their lines rough by a missing *-e* are not charged against them.

Conspicuous among the manuscripts here studied, and used for three poems, is Fairfax 16, of the Bodleian Library at Oxford. So far as possible, I have compared it with its sister, Bodley 638 (B), and with its cousin, Tanner 346 (T), of the same library. With the related codex, Digby 181 (D), also of the Bodleian, they constitute most of the C-group of manuscripts of the *Parlement of Foules*; opposed to them is the enigmatic Cambridge Gg iv. 27 and a train of lesser texts, constituting the A-group. From these lesser texts I have sometimes singled out for mention the MSS Harley 7333 (H) and Trin. Coll. Cambridge R 3, 19 (R), late manuscripts deriving apparently from a common source. But in speaking of the A-group here, I speak in exactly; I have not used for this study all its members. They are cited from the diplomatic prints by the Chaucer Society. The C-group codices also contain the *Black Knight*, and with them, for that poem, can be compared only the Shirley and Selden copies, as set forth under III below; I have used the variants given by Krausser in his edition of the poem, *Anglia* xix. 211-90, and by Skeat in Volume vii of the *Oxford Chaucer*. For the *Letter of Cupid* we have again the Oxford MSS, with a little more chance for comparison; see below under II, where I refer to the EETS edition of Hoccleve and to Skeat's text. The Palladius MSS are discussed in paragraph IV here. For the

Second Nun's Tale, as in list V, I have used the Ellesmere and the Corpus Christi College MSS as published by the Chaucer Society. I do not here include my notes on the *Canon's Yeoman's Tale*, but it has appeared from study of the G-fragment that Corpus, Petworth, and Lansdowne are very closely allied; Corpus much more carefully written than the other two, which are derived apparently from one common source. When Lichfield comes in to supply the Hengwrt's lack of the CYTale, it often runs with CPL as against Ellesmere; and Harley 7334 has in both Tales numerous bonds with CPL. Corpus is a very interesting subject. Differing from Ellesmere in some noteworthy readings, it has no more headless or broken-backed lines, no more losses of *e*-final, and very little metrical unsoundness. It errs grossly sometimes, as described in V below; but is its line of descent much longer, its authenticity much weaker, than those of Ellesmere?

Ia. HEADLESS LINES IN THE FAIRFAX 16 TEXT OF
CHAUCER'S *PARLEMENT OF FOULES*

| | LINE |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------|
| Ne wote how he / quytheth folke her hire | 9 |
| So C-group, and two manuscripts in A. GgHR . . <i>how that he, etc.</i> | |
| But why that I speke / al this not yore | 17 |
| So C-group. Gg and others, <i>But wherfore that, etc.</i> HR omit <i>that</i> . | |
| There Ioy is / that lasteth without ende | 49 |
| So C-group, B <i>ioye</i> . Gg <i>There as Ioye is þat last wlotyn ende</i> ; HR <i>There euer ys ioy wlotut any ende</i> . (H varies.) | |
| And oure present worldes / lyves space | 53 |
| So C-group, except D. Gg <i>And that oure, etc.</i> ; HRD <i>And howe oure, etc.</i> See Digby in 156 below. | |
| At regarde / of heuenes quantyte | 58 |
| So C-group. Gg <i>At regard of the heuenys, etc.</i> ; cf. H. R <i>At the regard of the, etc.</i> | |
| And was somedel / fulle of harde grace | 65 |
| So C-group, and so indicated by Gg. HR and St. John's, <i>And ful of turment & of harde grace</i> , which Skeat takes. | |
| Thyn errour / though thow tel hyt not me | 156 |
| So BT; Digby . . . <i>not to me</i> , as A-group. See 53. | |
| Ther as swetnes ever mo / ynowh is | 185 |
| So C-group. FT write <i>mo</i> , others <i>mor</i> . Gg <i>Ther as ther swetnesse, etc.</i> ; St. John's <i>Ther as that swetnes, etc.</i> HR as C, omit <i>mo</i> . | |
| And further aboute / y gan espye | 194 |
| So C-group and R. A-group . . <i>al aboute, etc.</i> | |

| | |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| Herde I pley / and ravysshinge swetnesse | 198 |
| All manuscripts but F(B) have <i>so</i> before <i>pley</i> . | |
| No man may there / wexe seke ne olde | 207 |
| So C-group, and one A-MS. Gg <i>No man may waxe there, etc.</i> ; HR <i>Ne no man</i> , etc., taken by Skeat. See IIIa, line 198. | |
| Somme to slee / and somme to wounde and kerve | 217 |
| So C-group. GgH and St. Jo <i>Some for to slee</i> ; R <i>Som for to flee</i> . | |
| Her names shul noght / be tolde for me | 229 |
| So C-group, and two A-MSS. GgHJo . . <i>shul not here be</i> , etc. | |
| Dame pes sate / a curtyne in hir hande | 240 |
| So C-group. A-group . . . <i>wt a curtyn</i> , etc. | |
| *There myght men / the Royal Egle fynde | 330 |
| So C-group; so HR. GgJo . . <i>myghte men</i> , etc. | |
| *Men myghte in that place / assembled fynde | 367 |
| So TD; B <i>myght</i> . Gg <i>myghtyn</i> , Jo <i>myzte</i> , others <i>myght</i> . | |
| *Benyngly to chese / or for to take | 370 |
| So BD, and H; T <i>Benignely</i> . GgR <i>Benygnely</i> . | |
| Foules / take of my sentence I prey | 383 |
| FB only omit <i>hede</i> after <i>take</i> . | |
| And yf I be founde / to hir vntrewe | 428 |
| So C-group. So HRJo; Gg <i>And If that I to hyre be</i> , etc., so in Skeat. | |
| *Than oght she be myn / thorough hir mercy | 437 |
| So C-group. So A-group; but Gg, Jo, read <i>ouhte</i> , <i>owithe</i> . | |
| Of thys formel / whan she herde al thys | 445 |
| So C and A. Headless in Skeat. | |
| As wel as my wytte / kan me suffise | 460 |
| So C-group, D reading <i>any witt</i> . So H, and R om. <i>me</i> . Gg <i>As wel as that myn wit</i> , etc. Jo <i>As wele as my will can devise</i> . | |
| *At short wordes / til that deth me sese | 481 |
| Only Gg reads <i>shorte</i> . | |
| Who that had leyser / and kunnyng | 487 |
| TD, and Gg, <i>hadde</i> ; HR <i>had</i> . All manuscripts headless. Skeat <i>Who [so] that hadde</i> , etc. | |
| And wol sey my veyrdit / faire and swythe | 503 |
| So all but Gg <i>And I wele seye</i> , etc. | |
| Quod the turtel / yf hyt be youre wille | 510 |
| So all but R's <i>Seyde the turtyll</i> , taken by Skeat. See 569, 655. | |
| That by skylles may non / be broght adon | 537 |
| So C-group, D / <i>by</i> . So A-group, except Gg's <i>That non by skilles may been brought adoun</i> , which Skeat takes. | |
| For sirs taketh noght a grefe / I pray | 543 |
| So C-group, TD <i>sires</i> . Gg <i>For seris ne takilh</i> , etc., taken by Skeat. | |
| Hyt may nought as ye wolde / in thys wey | 544 |
| So C-group. A-group has <i>gon</i> before <i>as</i> ; so Skeat. | |

NINE-SYLLABLED LINE IN POST-CHAUCEAN MANUSCRIPTS 135

- Quod the sperhauke / neuer mote she thee. 569
 All manuscripts but TD thus, headless; they read *Quod tho*, which Skeat does not take, suggesting *Seyde* as 510. In KnTale 135, where *tho the* occurs, only Petworth omits *tho*. But consecutive short words, especially if similar, often derailed a scribe; see *pot put* in CantTales G 761, and the handling of *ye if it to* in line 656 *ibid.*, of *so lo* 966.
- Ye quek quod the duk / ful wel and faire. 594
 So BT, T om. *quod*; D *Ye queke queke said*, etc. Gg *Kek kek zit seith*, etc.; H *za queke yit saide*, etc., R *Ee kekyll seyde*, etc., St. Jo *Ye keke seyd*, etc. Similar words confused C-scribes.
- Yf I were reson / than wolde y. 632
 So C-group. HRJo *Yif it were*, etc.; Gg *If I were resoun certis thanne*, etc. Skeat . . . *hit . . . certes*.
- As ys euerych / other creature. 641
 So C-group; so HR. Gg *As is anothir lyuis creature*; St. Jo *Like as is eny othir*, etc.; Skeat *Lyk as is everiche*, etc.
- Quod nature / here ys no more to sey. 655
 So C, and all A but Gg H. Skeat adopts their reading with *tho* after *Quod*. Cf. 569, 510 above; cf. CPL. reading of line 424 in V below.

There are above listed, for the six hundred and ninety-nine lines of the Fairfax text, thirty-four headless verses. Of these, five, as starred, depend on the treatment of the inflexional syllable; five (53, 156, 198, 383, 594) arise from omission in the FB or FBT ancestor; and eight (49, ?58, 185, 194, 217, 229, 240, ?544) from apparent omission by the C-ancestor. In line 17 the C-stem deviates from the A-stem. This leaves fifteen lines to be considered, of which six (428, 460, 503, 537, 543, 632) are normalized by Gg alone; one (655) is normalized by GgH, one by GgHR (9), one by HR (207), and one (641) by the St. John's College MS. Five lines remain headless; but only one of them, 445, is recognized as such by Skeat. In 65 he adopts the reading of a subgroup of A, and his procedure in 487, 510, 569, is noted above. If we question his right to treat 510 as he does, and doubt the unsupported testimony of R, we must also doubt the testimony of Jo in 641 and that of HR in 207. Nor is it clear that the C-readings of these lines and of others in the poem are inadmissible. Certainly their rejection in favor of isolated Gg-readings needs further consideration. Nine-syllabled lines dependent on omission we are more inclined to rectify because of the proved weakness of the C-stem in this respect as compared with the A-stem; see, for example, FB's

dropping of *made* in 108, FBT's of *Nature* in 467, the C-ancestor's omission of *hardy*, 338; also the rough C-lines 72, 77, 273, the rough FBT lines 156, 375.

1b. BROKEN-BACKED LINES IN THE FAIRFAX 16 TEXT
OF CHAUCER'S *PARLEMENT OF FOULES*

| | LINE |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------|
| *That al the day / thought me but a lyte | 28 |
| So B; T omits <i>the</i> ; D <i>That all day it thought</i> , etc. Gg <i>That al that day me thouzte but</i> , etc.; HR <i>That all day me thought hit but</i> , etc. | |
| And ryghtfull folke shul goo / whan they dye | 55 |
| So C-group, T writing <i>folk</i> . A-group . . . <i>afyr they dye</i> . | |
| Than prayed he Scipion / tel hym alle | 71 |
| A-group . . . <i>to telle</i> , etc. C-group omits <i>to</i> , except MS Longleat. | |
| There were vers written / as me thoght | 124 |
| So C-group, and all A but Gg's . . . <i>vers Iwrele</i> . R and two other manuscripts <i>verse</i> , <i>versus</i> . | |
| *Ryght as betwix / Adamauntes twoo | 148 |
| So C; but D has <i>For right as</i> , etc., as have HRJo in A. See line 151. HR <i>betwene</i> , Gg <i>betwixsyn</i> , Jo <i>betwen</i> . See <i>Black Knight</i> 235. | |
| But natheles / al though thou be dulle | 162 |
| So C-group. GgJo . . . <i>al thow that thow</i> , etc., cf. H. R <i>al though thy wyt be dull</i> . Confusion over short similar words. | |
| The box pipe tre / holme to whippes lasshe | 178 |
| So T; gap in B; D . . . <i>the holme</i> , etc., but om. <i>tre</i> . Note juxtaposition of short similar words, as line 569 of Ia. A-group <i>The box tre pipere</i> , etc. In A, only R has <i>the (holm)</i> . | |
| I sawgh a temple of glas / founded stronge | 231 |
| All C-MSS <i>founded</i> ; A-MSS <i>Ifounded</i> , <i>enfounded</i> , <i>Ifoundit</i> . Other manuscripts read <i>bras</i> . | |
| Faire of hem self / and somme of hem gay | 234 |
| So C-group. A-group has <i>were</i> before <i>gay</i> . | |
| Tho was I war / where ther sate a quene | 298 |
| So C-group; cf. Jo of A. Gg . . . <i>wher that ther</i> , etc.; R <i>where sate</i> , etc.; H has gap. | |
| *In suche array / men myght hir there fynde | 318 |
| So C-group. except T . . . <i>ther yfynde</i> . Only GgJo spell <i>mighte</i> . | |
| ?The waker goos / cukkow euer vnkynde | 358 |
| Only F om. <i>the</i> before <i>cukkow</i> . Cf. 178 above? | |
| And eche of hem / did hys besy cure | 369 |
| So C-group. So HR. Gg <i>eueriche</i> , Jo <i>euery</i> . | |
| Hauynge rewarde oonly / to my trouthe | 426 |
| So BT, and most A-MSS; D writes . . . <i>only reward</i> , etc. Gg <i>And hauynge only reward</i> , etc. Skeat inserts [<i>al</i>] before <i>only</i> . | |

NINE-SYLLABLED LINE IN POST-CHAUCERIAN MANUSCRIPTS 137

| | |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| Than somme man dooth / that hath serued yore | 476 |
| Only F om. <i>ful</i> before <i>yore</i> . | |
| *Who that had leyser / and kunnyng | 487 |
| See list Ia. | |
| *Wel bourded quod the duk / by my hatte | 589 |
| So C-group, T writing <i>doke</i> . Gg <i>doke</i> , HRJo <i>duk</i> , <i>dook</i> . Skeat <i>doke</i> . | |
| *For soth as yet / by no maner wey | 653 |
| Most manuscripts write <i>maner</i> ; Gg, one C-MS (Longleat), <i>manere</i> . | |
| *A lorde the blysse and Ioy / that they make | 669 |
| BD <i>Ioye</i> ; so GgH in A-group. R <i>Ioy</i> and <i>blisse</i> , etc. In 175, only D, of C-group, writes <i>ioye</i> . | |

In this list of nineteen lines, seven (above starred) are harsh mid-way the verse because of a dropped inflexional syllable. Two lines, 124 and 231, are rough because of scribal failure to write the *y*- of the past participle, a fault very common in, e.g., *Canterbury Tales* manuscripts. Four lines (71, 162, 234, 298) depend on omission by the C-stem as opposed to most A-MSS, and three (178, 358, 476) on omission by either FBT or F alone. This leaves three lines for consideration. In 55 is the same sort of difference between groups as in line 17 of list Ia; and in 148 the usual Fairfax treatment of the word *between* jolts the line. In 426 Gg alone adds an emending syllable to the line, not adopted by Skeat, who inserts *al*. Did Chaucer write this verse harsh at the caesura for emphasis on *only*? And are there sufficient lines of this type in the C-stem to give Hoccleve and Lydgate, for instance, the notion that Chaucer sanctioned such verses?

II. HOCCLEVE'S *LETTER OF CUPID* AS IN FAIRFAX 16

The *Letter of Cupid*, of 476 lines rhyme royal, remains in more manuscripts than does any other of Hoccleve's minor poems. It has just been published (EETS 1925) from the codex formerly Ashburnham Add. cxxxiii, now in the Huntington Library, California, as HM 744. Four other (interrelated) copies of the poem are in the same group of Oxford MSS which furnish our *ParlFoules* and *Black Knight* texts; and, as is the case with Lydgate's poem, the *Letter of Cupid* appears in Selden B 24 and in a Shirley MS, here the R 3, 20 volume of Trinity College, Cambridge. The text preserved by Durham Cathedral v. ii. 13, a *Troilus* MS, was not collated for the EETS edition nor is it mentioned by Skeat (*Oxford Chaucer* vii. 217 ff.). Some

collations of the Shirley MS, printed (with Ashburnham's) in the EETS Hoccleve i. 249 ff., and the variants offered by the two editors, permit us a limited opportunity to observe the treatment of Hoccleve here by his scribes.

Fairfax follows its usual habits as to omission and as to *e*-final. How far the former are shared by Bodley, and thus due to the man higher up, the editors do not give us to know; but, as compared with Ashburnham, Fairfax lacks these words: *moot* 28, *that* 44, 81, *ne* 62, *now* 66, *a* 67, *it* 72, *al* 83, *hy* 90, *as* 93, *they* 94, *for* 188, 374, *lo* 226. These omissions result in a headless line 44, 66, 72, 90, 94, in a broken-backed 62.

Fairfax persists in writing *hert*, although of his fifteen lines containing the word 256 is thus rendered clumsy and 47, 320 broken-backed. The writing *herte* appears four times. The adjective often lacks *-e*, as in the Chaucer-text above discussed; and this lack may throw the line into the headless or the broken-backed category. For the former, see *al* in 6, 419, *sharp* in 244, *soft* in 342, *first* in 351; for the latter, *al* in 156, *good* in 163, 365. So with verbs and adverbs; see the writing *fast* making line 60? headless, and lines 8, 31, 34, 385 becoming broken-backed or clumsy because of a falsely monosyllabic verb-form. Medial *-e* is omitted in 24, 167, 192, 344; but *wythouten* is written beside Bodley's *without* in 275, and the forms *ayens*, *betwex*, 87 and 221, both scan dissyllabic and fill the line. There is an occasional inorganic *-e*; cf. in especial *outwarde* beside *inward*, line 343, and *Gode wote*, line 364.

When these peculiarities are allowed for, some nine-syllabled lines remain.

Headless are:

| | |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------|
| She mercye may / wol and purchace kan..... | LINE 417 |
| Broken-backed? Deliberately short for effect? | |
| Ye do punyshment / and that anoon..... | 467 |
| Skeat <i>punysshement</i> . So Ashburnham MS. | |
| Look ther be noon / excusacion..... | 471 |
| Shirley and Selden insert <i>that</i> after <i>look</i> . Ashb. reads <i>looke</i> . | |

Broken-backed are:

| | |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|
| They ryght anoone / sterven in the place..... | 28 |
| Shirley Selden, and Ashb. have <i>most</i> before <i>sterven</i> . | |
| And vnto hir / thank perpetuel..... | 76 |
| Selden a <i>thank</i> , Shirley <i>hye thank</i> . Ashb. with Fairfax. | |

But this I sey / verraly that she. LINE
411
 Skeat adopts Ashburnham *we witen* instead of *I sey*, and the EETS editor inserts before *verraly* the word *right*—in no manuscript.

The tendency of Selden and Shirley to emend, still more marked in the *Black Knight*, may be less here because of the very small number of nine-syllabled lines. In 167 Selden's change of *wel* to *ful wel* indicates that he did not hear the following genitive *mennes* as dissyllabic; nor, apparently did Shirley, who ekes out the same line with *it*.

Hoccleve is often clumsy in arranging his accents, e.g., lines 66, 425. But when this poem was written (1402), he seems to have endeavored after the full ten syllables. That more clipped lines did not creep in accidentally by omission may be due to a shorter line of descent or to personal supervision of the archetype used by the Oxford-stem, a supervision not evident in the other two Fairfax texts here studied, the *Parlement of Foules* and the *Black Knight*.

We may turn next to Lydgate's *Complaint of the Black Knight*, in six hundred and eighty-one lines of rhyme royal, only eighteen lines shorter than the *ParlFoules*, and showing its influence. I have used for study the edition by Krausser in *Anglia* xix. 211-90, but have not always agreed with him regarding line-flow. Verses which I classify as he does are marked with a following K; but I have removed sixteen lines from his headless and eighteen from his broken-backed list. In some cases these are transferred to the other type. Skeat's print of the Thynne text of 1532 in the *Oxford Chaucer* vii. 245 ff. I have consulted for its citations of the manuscript-variants.

IIIa. HEADLESS LINES IN THE FAIRFAX 16 TEXT OF LYDGATE'S COMPLAINT OF THE BLACK KNIGHT

| | LINE |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------|------|
| For to take the holsome lusty eyre. | 14K |
| Shirley <i>For vnto</i> , etc., Selden <i>For to go</i> , etc. | |
| Grene laurer and the holsomme pyne. | 65K |
| Shirley <i>þe grene</i> , etc., Selden . . . and eke <i>the</i> , etc. | |
| ?And al therbes grovyng on the grounde. | 84 |
| Other manuscripts <i>the erbes</i> . | |
| Oonly for he cam so nygh the welle. | 98K |
| But this welle that I her reherse. | 99K |
| Selden . . <i>this ilke</i> , etc. | |
| Bollyn hertis and the venym perysh. | 101K |
| Kr. and Skeat <i>perce</i> , from D and Thynne. FTP <i>perysh</i> . | |

| | |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------|
| | LINE |
| Gretly wondring what hit myght be..... | 142K |
| Kr. <i>myght(e)</i> . Selden, Shirley, <i>what þat</i> , etc. | |
| Euery worde to marke what he sayed..... | 153 |
| Selden . . . <i>quhat þat he</i> , etc. | |
| Cause and rote of al such malady..... | 189K |
| Selden <i>The cause</i> . . . <i>of suich a</i> , etc. | |
| Sey ryght noght as in conclusioun..... | 198K |
| Shirley <i>Ne say</i> , etc., not taken by eds.; see Ia, line 207. Only F, Shirley, Selden, have <i>as</i> . | |
| *The salt teres that fro myn yen falle..... | 223 |
| Kr. <i>salt(e)</i> . | |
| Haue conspired ayens al ryght and lawe..... | 258K |
| In 242, 253, Kr. expands to <i>ayen(e)s</i> , but not here. | |
| *Without mercy mordred Innocence..... | 287 |
| Kr. <i>Without(e)</i> . See 554 below. | |
| From his hest but hold that he hath hight..... | 319K |
| Selden <i>behest</i> . See line 322. | |
| Throgh his knyghthode and (his) besy peyn..... | 338K |
| Kr. takes <i>his</i> from other manuscripts. | |
| *He set periles thro his high provesse..... | 348 |
| Kr. <i>set(te)</i> . Other manuscripts <i>pileris</i> , not <i>periles</i> . | |
| Of Achilles or of Antonyas..... | 367K |
| Had in love her lust and al her wille..... | 377K |
| For al her falshede and grete vntrouthe..... | 382 |
| Kr. (<i>hir</i>) <i>grete</i> , etc., from Selden and Shirley. Skeat <i>hir</i> , from Selden. | |
| Athalans so feire of her visage..... | 396 |
| Stil port ne feythful attendaunce..... | 409K |
| Kr. <i>Stil(le)</i> . | |
| Giltles God wote of al trespass..... | 514 |
| Kr. <i>Gilt(e)les</i> . Seld. and Shirley . . . <i>of al manere</i> , etc.; so Skeat. | |
| That ye goodly feir fressh and fre..... | 544K |
| Kr. <i>feir(e)</i> . | |
| *Wythout gruching or rebellioun..... | 554 |
| Kr. <i>Wythout(e)</i> . See 287 above. | |
| ?What so euer she list with hem to do..... | 560K |
| Esperus the goodly bryght sterre..... | 612K |
| Kr. <i>bryght(e)</i> . | |
| For that ioy thou haddest when thou ley..... | 621K |
| See Ia, line 49, and 644 below. | |
| Er fals Daunger sle hem and confounde..... | 634 |
| *The trew man that in the erber lay..... | 637 |
| Kr. <i>trew(e)</i> . | |
| *O glad sterre o lady Venus myn..... | 639 |
| Kr. <i>glad(de)</i> . Selden <i>goodly</i> . | |

NINE-SYLLABLED LINE IN POST-CHAUCERIAN MANUSCRIPTS 141

| | LINE |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------|
| For that love thou haddest to Adoun..... | 644K |
| Selden . . <i>love þat thou</i> , etc. Note movement of 621 above. | |
| And when she was goon to her rest..... | 645K |
| Selden . . <i>quhen þat . . gon unto</i> , etc. Skeat <i>And whan that . . . unto</i> . | |
| Preyng thus in al my best entent..... | 648 |
| Selden . . <i>ryght thus</i> , etc. Skeat <i>Prayinge</i> , etc. | |
| *That al trew that be with daunger shent..... | 649 |
| Kr. <i>al(le) trew(e)</i> . See III <i>d</i> , line 638. | |
| Werred Trouthe with his tiranye..... | 665K |
| Selden <i>Werreyed</i> , which Skeat takes. | |
| Fals Daunger to occupie his place..... | 673K |
| Selden <i>for to</i> , etc. | |
| And my verry hertis souereigne..... | 675K |
| Selden . <i>to my</i> , etc. | |

We have here, in gross, thirty-seven headless lines, or three more than the Fairfax 16 scribe wrote in the *ParlFoules* text, of nearly the same length. But we have not here the same possibility of controlling omission, because there is no definite cleavage between manuscript-groups. Besides the Oxford codices and the allied copy in Pepys 2006, there are only Shirley and Selden available; and both these latter tinker the poem freely and independently, as a glance over the accompanying lists will show. Their insensitiveness to inflexional -e is evident from the fact that they have no recourse to it for emendation, but insert a monosyllable instead.

This one manuscript-stem from which we must draw our conclusions, the C-stem of the *ParlFoules*, has a marked tendency to omission and some deafness to the import of final -e. For the Chaucer-poem, the omissions are discussed in my paper;¹ its lines here cited can be in a measure controlled as regards the scribal dropping of words. We can see the probability of *how that* for *how* in line 9, of *There as* for *There* in 49, *Ther as that* for *Ther as* in 185; we can substitute *for to* in place of *to*, line 217, and read *yf that* for *yf* in 428, *as that* for *as* in 460. Also, we can feel the shortage of meaning in 53 and 544. Turning from Chaucer to this poem, we may conjecture *for that* in line 98, *for to* in line 626, *er that* in 634; but shortage of syntax or sense is not so easy to perceive elsewhere. The *her* of 382, the *right* of 648, the *for* of 673, are all plausible; but they are offered by scribes

¹ *University of Chicago Decennial Publications*, VII, 1-22.

who are so frankly emending in other places that we can feel no certainty. Allowing for omission in the three lines just mentioned, and for seven lines crippled at their opening by lack of -e, we have a much larger net number of headless lines here than in the *ParlFoules* text contained in the same manuscript and written by the same scribe from the same original. When we turn to the matter of broken-backed lines the difference is even greater.

IIIb. BROKEN-BACKED LINES IN THE FAIRFAX 16 TEXT OF LYDGATE'S *BLACK KNIGHT*

| | |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|
| And Hope also with saint John to borowe | LINE 12 |
| Kr. <i>saint(e)</i> . Selden <i>Iohan</i> ; so Skeat. | |
| And with a sygh gan for to abreyde | 15 |
| Fairfax omits <i>I</i> before <i>gan</i> , breaking the line. | |
| *And for to splay out her leues on brede | 33 |
| Skeat <i>splaye(n)</i> . Digby <i>splaye</i> . | |
| That down to hem cast hys bernes clere | 35K |
| No manuscript offers <i>into</i> . Skeat <i>caste</i> . | |
| *And as me thoght that the nyghtyngale | 47 |
| Tanner <i>thoughte</i> . | |
| *With so grete myght her voys gan out wrest | 48 |
| Kr. <i>out(e)</i> . Tanner <i>myghte</i> , so Skeat. | |
| The soyl was pley n smothe and wonder softe | 50 |
| In maner gan of her brethe delyte | 61K |
| Skeat <i>gonnen</i> , from no manuscript or print. See line 579. | |
| The Cedres high vpryght as a lyne | 67K |
| Selden <i>hye cidrice</i> . | |
| And mony a tre mo then I can telle | 74 |
| That ther vpon lustely gan s(pr) yng | 81K |
| Shirley <i>so lustely</i> . Selden <i>full lustily</i> , etc. TDP end line <i>cam spryng yng</i> ; so Skeat. | |
| The greyn of deth vpon ech brynk | 90 |
| Kr. <i>ech(e)</i> ; F has <i>eche</i> 662, <i>ech</i> 537. Selden <i>of cruell deth</i> ; Sh. <i>vpon eueryche a</i> , etc. Skeat takes Selden. | |
| So holsom was that hyt wolde aswage | 100K |
| So drye a thrust thoght I wolde assay | 107K |
| Selden <i>thoght þat I</i> , etc. | |
| To tast a draght of this welle or tweyn | 108K |
| ?And I gan about fast to beholde | 121 |
| Only F has <i>I</i> . Kr. <i>fast(e)</i> ; see 598, 617 below. Skeat <i>aboute faste</i> . | |
| Amyde of which stode an erber grene | 125 |
| Sh. <i>Amiddes</i> . TDPepys of <i>the which</i> . Skeat <i>whiche stood</i> . | |

NINE-SYLLABLED LINE IN POST-CHAUCERIAN MANUSCRIPTS 143

| | LINE |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------|
| Hyt was a deth for to se him grone | 140K |
| *That he so lay and had no felowe | 143 |
| Kr. <i>had(de)</i> . Sh. <i>hade þer</i> . Skeat <i>hadde</i> . | |
| *Wherof I had routhe and eke pite | 145 |
| Selden, Pepys, <i>gret rowth</i> ; not taken by Skeat, who reads <i>hadde</i> . | |
| *For oon the best ther of brede and lengthe | 162 |
| And al the grounde of his woful chaunce | 172K |
| Skeat writes <i>groundē</i> . | |
| Of pitouse wo and my honde eke quake | 181K |
| And who that shal write to distresse | 187K |
| Selden <i>And quhoso that</i> , etc. Skeat <i>whoso</i> . See Ia, line 487. | |
| *This man compleyn with a pytouse soun | 200 |
| Selden <i>compleynnyng</i> ; see 215 in list IIIc. Skeat <i>complayne</i> . | |
| *Yf eny such be here now present | 210K |
| ?To here this man be ful high sentence | 213K |
| His mortal wo and his perturbauce | 214K |
| Selden <i>grete perturbance</i> ; taken by Skeat. | |
| *Theffect of which was as ye shal here | 217K |
| Now colde as ise now as coles rede | 234K |
| Selden <i>ise and now</i> , etc. Not taken by Skeat. | |
| *With al my myght feythfully to serue | 247 |
| With hert and al to be diligent | 248K |
| Selden <i>for to be</i> , etc.; taken by Skeat. | |
| *And tonges fals throgh her sleghtly wile | 255 |
| So that alas wrongfully he dyeth | 265K |
| And entred ys into Trouthes londe | 267K |
| For Cruelte satte in jugement | 277K |
| Ther ys no geyn but he wil be wreke | 284K |
| That lykly ar neuer for to sounde | 292 |
| Digby, Shirley, <i>to be sounde</i> . Sh. and S. read <i>beon</i> , not <i>ar</i> . | |
| Ayens whom helpe may no strife | 356K |
| Kr. <i>Ayen(e)s</i> . See 533, 672 below. | |
| For al his trouth (ȝit) he lost his lyfe | 357 |
| Kr. takes <i>ȝit</i> from Selden. Sh. has . . <i>for loue he lost</i> , etc. | |
| *When that he went her in erthe lowe | 359 |
| Ywounded was thro Cupides bowe | 361K |
| Selden, . . <i>owne bowe</i> . Not taken by Skeat. | |
| *Lo thus the fals ay in oon degre | 376 |
| ?Of Thebes eke (loo) the fals Arcite | 379 |
| <i>loo</i> only in Shirley; Kr. brackets. Skeat supplies <i>knight</i> after <i>false</i> . | |
| And Demophon eke for his slouthe | 380 |
| Shirley, <i>his foule slouthe</i> . Kr. says, "analoges ē in <i>eke</i> ." Skeat alters and supplies. | |

| | LINE |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------|
| ?For trwe Adon was slayn with the bore..... | 386K |
| So lusty fre as of his corage..... | 394K |
| Digby, . . and fre. Seld., <i>was of his</i> , etc. Skeat inserts <i>was</i> . | |
| But Love alas quyte him so his wage..... | 397K |
| *Lo her the fyne of lovers seruise..... | 400K |
| Skeat <i>lovenes</i> . Shirley, . . <i>hye servyce</i> . | |
| For feyth or othe worde ne assuraunce..... | 407K |
| ?Hungre ne thrust sorowe ne sekenesse..... | 415K |
| *Accept ben now rathest vnto grace..... | 427K |
| Skeat <i>Accepte</i> . Shirley <i>Accepted</i> . | |
| *And can himself now best magnifie..... | 428 |
| Skeat <i>hemselve</i> . Cf. <i>hymselfe</i> in 433. | |
| With feyned port and presumpsioun..... | 429 |
| Selden, <i>and false</i> , etc., which Skeat takes. But see 430. | |
| That safe the deth I no thing abide..... | 439K |
| Shirley, . . <i>ellis abyde</i> . | |
| When euere hys dart that hym list to fyle..... | 441K |
| *My woful hert for to ryve atwo..... | 442 |
| Shirley, . . <i>ryve al atwo</i> . Skeat <i>herte</i> . | |
| And most of al (ȝit) I me compleyn..... | 447K |
| Kr. and Skeat take <i>ȝit</i> from Selden; Sh. has <i>bat</i> . | |
| Of this grete wrong I compleyn me..... | 455 |
| Kr. <i>compleyn(e)</i> ; so Skeat, also <i>wrongē</i> . Sh. <i>thus I</i> , etc.; Seld. <i>bat I now</i> , etc. | |
| To hurt his frende rathir then his foo..... | 467K |
| So doth this god with his sharpe flon..... | 468K |
| Skeat supplies <i>and</i> after <i>god</i> . | |
| Wnto his foo for to ben his leche..... | 473 |
| And herd hit ys for a man to seche..... | 474K |
| Thus farith hit now euen by me..... | 477 |
| Selden <i>euenly</i> ; taken by Kr., not by Skeat. | |
| For now I se that ful longe aforne..... | 486K |
| For they my dethe shopen or my shert..... | 489K |
| Selden <i>haue shapen</i> ; not taken by eds. | |
| That vnder God hath the gouernaunce..... | 492 |
| And thus I am for my trouthe alas..... | 512K |
| My lyve my deth stont in your grace..... | 529K |
| Kr., Skeat, <i>stondeth</i> . Selden, <i>stont all in</i> , etc. | |
| And thogh my gilt be nothing alace..... | 530K |
| For ther ayens shall I neuer strive..... | 533 |
| Skeat <i>ayeines</i> , Kr. <i>ayens</i> ; see 356 above. Shirley, <i>ne shal I</i> . | |
| *Yet er I dye with al my ful myght..... | 542 |
| Kr. <i>ful(le)</i> ; so Skeat. | |
| *But at her lust wilfully to dey..... | 553 |
| TD <i>luste</i> , so Skeat. Seld. . . <i>list to do me lyue or deye</i> . | |

NINE-SYLLABLED LINE IN POST-CHAUCERIAN MANUSCRIPTS 145

| | LINE |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------|
| And alderlast to her womanhede | 561K |
| S. and Sh. <i>unto</i> ; so Skeat. | |
| That lye now here betwext hope and drede | 563K |
| Shirley <i>bytweene</i> . See Ib, line 148. FTP <i>betwext</i> . | |
| For vtterly this nys no demaunde | 565K |
| *In this mater more what myght I seyn | 568 |
| *And fynally my hest holde I shall | 571 |
| Kr. <i>hest(e)</i> . | |
| *The teres gan fro myn eyen reyn | 579K |
| Shirley <i>gonnen</i> ; Skeat <i>gonne</i> . See 61 above. | |
| *A penne I toke and gan me fast spede | 598 |
| See 121, 617. Kr. <i>fast(e)</i> . Shirley, . . . <i>to spede</i> , etc. | |
| The woful pleynt of this man to write | 599 |
| Selden <i>compleynt</i> . Skeat <i>playntē</i> . | |
| *If oght be mys leyth the wite on me | 603K |
| Skeat <i>layeth</i> . Shirley <i>ley ye</i> . | |
| Yf eny thing mysreported be | 605K |
| Sh. <i>amysse reported</i> . Skeat inserts <i>here after thing</i> . | |
| *Fer in the west lustely appere | 611 |
| *And I as fast fel down on my kne | 617 |
| So Kr.; TD <i>faste</i> , so Skeat. TDP <i>adoun</i> . See 121, 598 above. | |
| With Mars thi knyght whom Vulcanus founde | 622 |
| FB <i>whom</i> ; eds. <i>when</i> . Selden <i>quhen bat.</i> , etc. Only T has <i>you</i> before <i>founde</i> , taken by eds. | |
| ?At youre shame gan laughe and smyle | 626K |
| Selden <i>for to laugh</i> , taken by Skeat. | |
| And specially let thy myght be founde | 635K |
| What so yow list at good liberte | 661 |
| Skeat <i>ye listē</i> . | |
| *For by my trouthe hit is ayens kynde | 672 |
| Kr. <i>ayen(e)s</i> , Skeat <i>ayeines</i> . See 356 above. | |
| And be ryght glad for she shal the sene | 676K |
| Selden, <i>for bat she</i> , etc. Skeat puts semicolon after <i>glad</i> . | |

IIIc. LINES EITHER HEADLESS OR BROKEN-BACKED, FAIRFAX 16 TEXT OF THE *BLACK KNIGHT*

| | LINE |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------|
| This erber was ful of floures (ynde) | 127 |
| Kr. <i>brokbd.</i> , Skeat <i>headless</i> . | |
| *Ther may no man ayein trouthe stryve | 159 |
| Kr. <i>ayein(es)</i> . Selden <i>the treuth</i> , taken by Skeat. | |
| Compleynyng now lying in a traunce | 215 |
| Tanner . . . <i>now and</i> , etc. Selden <i>Compleyne</i> ; see IIIb, line 200. | |
| Without ansuer while he was absent | 275 |
| Selden <i>Withoulen</i> . Skeat <i>answere</i> . F writes <i>msuer</i> . | |

| | |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------|
| How may thou se thus in thy presence..... | LINE 286 |
| Broken-backed in Krausser. | |
| And for al that was he sete behynde..... | 353 |
| Broken-backed in Krausser. Selden <i>that zyl was he</i> , etc. Not taken by Skeat. See 357 of IIIb. | |
| And with these two eke the fals Ene..... | 375 |
| Broken-backed in Krausser. | |
| ?Nature in her fully did emprise..... | 502 |
| Broken-backed in Krausser. Other MSS <i>did in her fully</i> , etc. Sh. <i>did fully in her persone</i> , etc. | |
| *When that her list fro my body wynde..... | 573 |
| Tanner <i>liste</i> ; so Skeat. | |
| *Lyke as his hert ryve wolde atweyne..... | 576 |
| Seld. <i>wold ryve</i> , Shirley <i>wolde to ryven</i> , etc. Skeat <i>herte</i> . | |
| Let not this man for his trouthe dey..... | 620 |
| Broken-backed in Krausser. | |
| For to socour what so that thou may..... | 636 |

III_d. LINES BOTH HEADLESS AND BROKEN-BACKED, FAIRFAX 16 TEXT OF THE *BLACK KNIGHT*

| | |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------|
| For him set last vpon a daunce..... | LINE 355 |
| Kr. <i>For (he)</i> etc.; <i>he</i> only in Shirley. Skeat supplies <i>he</i> independently. Selden <i>at þe laste</i> , etc. Skeat <i>sette</i> . | |
| *And al trew further for his sake..... | 638 |
| Kr. <i>al(le) trew(e)</i> . See IIIa, line 649. | |
| *Your trew man may summe mercie fynde..... | 669 |
| Kr. <i>trew(e)</i> ; so Skeat. Kr. broken-backed. Selden <i>That your</i> , etc. | |

The two scribes Selden and Shirley frequently fill out lines of their original; and Skeat, who is more anxious than Krausser to eliminate nine-syllabled lines, takes a larger proportion of these readings; see Krausser in lines 62, 86, 216, 357, 360, 382, 391, 411, 447, 546, 547. Skeat, not Krausser, follows Selden in 90, 159, 214, 242, 248, 429, 514, 561, 626, 645, 665, 673; but he refuses Selden in 67, 80, 88, 145, 182, 234, 275, 292, 353, 361, 455, 477, 489, 499, 529, 533, 599, 646, 648, 669, 675. The Shirley manuscript's separate readings are not used by Skeat, who, however, agrees with it in his emendation of 355, 541, coining something different in 379, 380, 605. Krausser rejects its readings in 143, 198, 241, 380, 541, 598, 603.

Some of the short lines repaired by Selden and by Shirley, such as 391, must represent omissions by the ancestor; and there are a number in Fairfax itself or in FB, viz., *I* 15; *my* 20; *the* 30, 71; *pure* 94; *had* 106;

ful 135; *now colde* 233; *his* 338; *he* 395; *thes* 371; *in* 475; *cause* 640; *be* 670. In the small remaining fragment of the Bodley text, Fairfax's omissions of *yow* 622, *to* 666, and *him* 671 are shared; and Tanner shares F's lack of *lovers*, line 7.

The inflexional syllable has the same inaccurate handling as in the *ParlFoules*. Looking over the bracketed *e*'s introduced by Krausser into his text, we note twenty-seven cases of the weak or the plural adjective, eight of a substantive in the dative, twelve of verb-forms, eleven of adverbs. There is the same inconsistency in the use of *-e*; *hert* is written seven times, five of these to the injury of the line-flow; *hert* is written PoFoules 355, 660, where Bodley has *herte*, but both manuscripts spell *hert* PoFoules 417, *herte*, *ibid.*, line 425. Inorganic *-e* is sometimes written by Fairfax; cf. *mortalle* PoFoules 73, or *yuyse* line 697 of that poem, where Bodley writes *Iwis*.

The difference, as regards nine-syllabled lines, between Chaucer, Hoccleve, and Lydgate, is very marked in these Fairfax transcriptions. There is a constant Fairfax or "Oxford" element of omission and of *e*-mishandling; but when that has been allowed for, the difference still remains. It can hardly be argued that a manuscript-tree which hands us the *Letter of Cupid* with so few nine-syllabled lines would crowd them into the *Black Knight*; their lavish use by Lydgate himself, in the latter poem, is more probable. Yet it does not follow that a similarly high percentage of broken-backed lines is to be expected in any and every poem by Lydgate; nor, so far as my study has gone, do I find this ratio invariable. According to Prosiegel's analysis of the *Secrees*, presumably Lydgate's last piece of work, they amount there to 10 per cent, and the headless lines to about 15 per cent, of the total; and in the Prologue to the *Fall of Princes* the broken-backed verses are much less numerous than are the acephalous. I have, however, only a very small basis of comparison for this statement, only the Royal 18 D iv text to put beside the Bodley 263 as printed by Dr. Bergen. For the *Dance Macabre* I have classified the manuscripts, but as I lack a copy of the Ellesmere, probably the senior text of the earlier or Lydgatean recension, it is hard to recognize omission with the definiteness which the Ashburnham makes possible for the *Letter of Cupid* or the presence of the A-group for the *Parlement of Foules*.

For all of Lydgate's work there is yet available very little material making technical study possible. It requires a full apparatus of variants, at least, to show the idiosyncrasies of the separate scribes, the allowance which must be made, as here, for the omissions of "Oxford," for the *e*-indifference of Fairfax, for the constant meddling of Selden or of Shirley. Rarely have we, in the fifteenth century, a piece of work in which a critical theory of verse and strict scribal fidelity have joined forces. But such a text exists in the next poem we consider.

IV. THE PALLADIUS-TEXT OF THE WENTWORTH WODEHOUSE MS

Contemporary, it is probable, with Lydgate's translation of the *Fall of Princes*, there was executed for Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, patron of Lydgate's work, a translation of Palladius *De re rustica*, also in rhyme royal. This seems to have been made under Gloucester's immediate personal supervision; the unknown translator says in his proeme that Humphrey taught him "metring," and in the various linking stanzas of the separate books he speaks of the duke's own scrutiny and correction of his work. Two copies of the poem, at Wentworth Wodehouse and in the Bodleian, closely related to each other, are very probably transcribed from Humphrey's own copy, as the former manuscript, printed by Liddell in 1896, reproduces the arms of Humphrey in its opening initial. So excellent is the text of Wentworth Wodehouse that its editor, Mark H. Liddell, rarely has to supply a missing word from Bodley Add. A 369 (formerly at Colchester Castle); and in the first 1,800 lines I note but three cases in which the scribe shows carelessness about inflexional *-e*: *-fen(e)stellis* in i. 534, *wort(e)-wormys* in i. 880 and *first(e) book* in i. 1170. The iambic flow is completely orthodox; I have not observed any nine-syllabled lines; and in the metrical workmanship one is obliged to recognize not only a very conscious and competent manipulator of rhythm, but a strict scribal supervision by men who heard the *-e* and insisted that it be duly written. The matter of the book is exceedingly unpoetic; but the man behind it was both accurate and able; he twists his verse with a firm hand, varies his pauses and his line-length agreeably, and whenever he has a chance to speak for himself presents the reader with brief *tours de force* in word-play and rhyme-pattern which are as much

superior technically to Lydgate's envoys on three rhymes or his use of refrain as the Palladius' line-management is superior to Lydgate's monotony.

The existence of such a piece of work as this in the second quarter of the fifteenth century is of great importance in studying post-Chaucerian metrics. Moreover, it shows not only that a linguistic standard had not yet disappeared, but that it had certainly existed; it throws back light on Chaucer. We may speculate with interest on Duke Humphrey's opinion of Lydgate's metrical work as compared with this; but we can only speculate. What we can say with certainty is that theory and care were both necessary to produce a text so free of *e*-mismanagement and of nine-syllabled lines. Author and scribe must agree. If one deviates positively or the other negatively, there will arise the varying results which we see in fifteenth-century manuscripts.

A succession of careful copyists, even after the author's supervision was removed, might long preserve a fourteenth-century text intact except for accidental omissions and for the probable growing insensitiveness to *e*-final. And among the many manuscripts of the *Canterbury Tales* there must be such, may be even manuscripts affected by Chaucer's own supervision. From the eight codices as yet published, I select the *Second Nun's Tale* as transcribed by Ellesmere and by Corpus.

V. CHAUCER'S *SECOND NUN'S TALE* AS IN THE ELLESMERE AND THE CORPUS CHRISTI MSS

a) In the Ellesmere copy of the *Tale*, 553 lines rhyme royal, there are a very few lines awkward by omission. One of the most marked of these errors is:

Thee meene I / mayde and mooder Cecilie 28

where the *seinte* of six manuscripts is omitted by Ellesmere and by Harley 7334, the Ellesmere also writing *mooder* for *martir*. The verse is thus headless in Ellesmere, by error. Omission of *it* also makes the line halt in:

Ye make vs gilty / and is nat sooth 451

Headless lines are:

First wolde I / the name of seinte Cecile LINE 85

Seven other manuscripts . . . *wolde I you*, etc.

| | |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------|
| | LINE |
| And if he / may feelen out of drede..... | 155 |
| Six manuscripts <i>And if that he</i> , etc. Harley omits line. | |
| So / in beyng of diuinitee..... | 340 |
| Other manuscripts <i>So in oo beyng</i> , etc. | |
| Thre persones / may ther right wel bee..... | 341 |
| Headless in eight manuscripts. | |
| What maner womman / artow quod he..... | 424 |
| So four other manuscripts; CorpusPetwLansd. read . . <i>artow þo quod he</i> , which Skeat takes. | |
| Broken-backed lines are: | |
| Kepeth ay wel / thise corones three..... | 226 |
| Here the error of Ellesm. and Harl. 7334, in writing <i>three</i> for <i>quod he</i> , breaks the line. Cf. <i>prestes thre</i> of the Gen Prol., 164. | |
| The Aungel of God / hath me trouthe ytaught..... | 267 |
| Omission of <i>the</i> before <i>trouthe</i> , by the same two manuscripts. | |
| Is verry god / this is oure sentence..... | 418 |
| So the Gg MS; the other six write . . <i>is al oure</i> , etc. | |
| She sat al coold / and feeled no wo..... | 521 |
| So Hengwrt; Gg <i>felede</i> , Dd <i>feled</i> . CorpusPL . . <i>and felt of it no woo</i> ; Harley . . <i>and felle of no woo</i> . | |

Thrice in the *Tale* a mistreatment of medial *-e* by these manuscripts causes a clumsy line. The writing of *cristned* by EllHengCorpus in 217, of *tormentours* by EllHeng in 373, 376, clip the line in each case. All three times Harley and Gg write the *-e*.

Ellesmere writes a six-beat line in 510; other manuscripts have not his *ne*.

b) In the Corpus Christi copy of the same *Tale* there are many more frequent and more flagrant errors than in Ellesmere. It lacks several lines; it twice fuses two lines; it has a number of lines overlong; it omits often. Its omissions make the line headless in 52, 109, 113, 311, 450; the same fault breaks the verse in 168 (Gg also), 169?, and 535. But except for line 341, which it shares with the seven other published manuscripts, the Corpus has here no nine-syllabled verse not due to omission.

Some of its readings are important, not only 424 and 521 as above, and the differences from Ellesmere, etc., in 122, 483, but the following: He fond þis holy Vrban þer anon 185
So CorpusPL. Ellesmere, etc., *He foond this hooly / olde Vrban anon*. Skeat adopts Ellesmere. The double sound-echo in Ell may raise the question if Chaucer wrote both line-forms, and if so, why he altered one.

NINE-SYLLABLED LINE IN POST-CHAUCERIAN MANUSCRIPTS 151

| | |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------|
| dede him so to bete | LINE 405 |
| So CorpusPL and Dd. Ellesmere, etc., omit <i>to</i> . | |
| hire heryng place | 409 |
| So CorpusPL. Ellesmere, etc., <i>hire burying place</i> , which Skeat takes. | |
| In view of the early Christian practice of burying martyrs under the altar, is not Corpus an important reading? | |

However careless the Corpus Christi scribe at times, he has in this *Tale* no more nine-syllabled lines caused by omission than has Ellesmere, and no more need of emendation as regards *e*-final. He seems to have been in possession of a good archetype, and to have followed it for the most part obediently; but he was subject to lapses in which he injured his work so as to require extensive erasure and re-writing, a revision which was never carried out. He is quite a different personality from Lansdowne, who is a negligent hack-workman without ear and with but half an eye for his task, a man with no notion of spelling and no desire for accuracy. I might identify Corpus with Adam, did I wish to make the identification; but neither Ellesmere nor Lansdowne could be so identified. Corpus' original was good enough to have been Chaucer's own, his *e*-management careful enough to be due to Chaucer's admonition; his occasional maltreatment of his text is bad enough to have merited Chaucer's despairing censure.

Looking over these few facts, we recognize that for each text must be reckoned the author's theory of verse, the scribe's individual tendency to conscious or unconscious deviation, and the possible force of supervision. The Palladius-transcript is clearly the outcome of well-defined theory and well-enforced practice; the two Chaucer-extracts are of the same doubly armored type, injured in the case of Corpus by occasional heedlessness. The Fairfax is soberly attentive to its original, but with marked, though unconscious, tendency to err by omission and by deafness to *-e*, errors which run all through its group; the Oxford group as a whole shows no such supervision as does the Palladius. The Shirley and the Selden codices were written by men who were reading their texts in the large, not word by word, as does the professional copyist—men who objected in theory to the nine-syllabled line and who had no scruples, in practice, against emending it. Their supervision is as obvious as that exercised over the Palladius-scribe, but to a different end.

And when these scribal personalities are disengaged from their texts, we find the *Second Nun's Tale* and Palladius with the minimum of nine-syllabled lines or none; we find the *Parlement of Foules* with more of them than the mechanically syllable-counting Hoccleve admits; and we find the *Black Knight* teeming with them.

If the individuality of the author is to count for anything, I would explain both Hoccleve's freedom and Lydgate's obsession through their respective temperaments. Hoccleve, though deficient in any real rhythmic sense, holds steadily to the full pentameter line; Lydgate has somewhat more of rhythm, but shows his limitations in his repeating of a few types, his inability to vary line-flow. That he was a creature of repetition his vocabulary and style, his recurrent padding phrases and overworked descriptive formulas, amply prove. What Chaucer used as a metrical variant Lydgate erected into a type; Chaucer's "easements" become Lydgate's "staples," to borrow terms from Professor Saintsbury. He is not the only disciple who has exaggerated his master's teaching; Swinburne himself takes a line-form used occasionally by Shelley, oftener by Hugo, and in *Tristram of Lyonesse* makes it a mannerism.

Lydgate's mass of nine-syllabled lines may have developed thus. I cannot see that they are due, in his work, to the fall of inflexional -e; and neither his association with monastic chanting nor the survival of alliterative line-cleavage accounts for the appearance in him alone of all these broken-backed verses. Other men in the fifteenth century, especially later in the period, wrote actual doggerel, neither nine-syllabled, ten-syllabled, nor rhythmic, conscious only of an approaching rhyme-word. Their ineptitude is unsystematized; he is systematically inept. His persistently short-breathed phrasing, like his fishing-rod paragraphs, is the reflection of his mentality. It is a mentality which often seems hardly worth the student's candle; but through study of it there must come light on the whole period, and on Chaucer.

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THE FIRST SIX DECADES OF FRENCH SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY COMEDY

L'histoire de la comédie en France n'est pas, comme celle du drame sérieux, coupée en deux par la Renaissance ... l'histoire de la comédie est une, et la tradition du genre se suit et se développe, ininterrompue depuis six siècles, sans brusques révolutions.¹

This assertion is almost universally accepted by historians of French comedy.

Since the farce was the only type of the ancient *drame comique* which persisted to any considerable extent through the seventeenth century,² it must be the farce whose "history is one and uninterrupted" throughout this long period. Such is, in fact, the general contention. The farce is the thread which leads from the somewhat murky labyrinth of the *esprit gaulois* into the light of the comedy of Molière. It is the purpose of this sketch to trace the development of comedy in Paris through the first sixty years of the seventeenth century in order to raise some questions as to the validity of this point of view.

It is certain that the farce formed a very essential and a very attractive part of the programs given on the stage of the Hôtel de Bourgogne³ during the first thirty-odd years of the century. During this time the theater existed for the people and hence was very much of the people. But during the decade from 1630 to 1640 it was transformed into a place of at least demi-respectability and, in consequence, adopted as a more and more attractive diversion by the *beau monde*. For the first five years of this decade the farce continued to flourish, maintained by the talents of those consummate *farceurs*, Gautier Garguille, Gros Guillaume, and Turlupin. When these three worthies died in 1633, 1634, 1635, respectively, the farce declined rapidly in favor.

¹ Petit de Julleville, *Histoire de la Langue et de la Littérature française*, II (Paris, 1896), 421.

² The *Sottie* was abolished for political reasons (Petit de Julleville, *op. cit.*, p. 432), and the *Moralité* gave way to the tragi-comedy (see Rigal, *Le Théâtre avant la période classique* [Paris, 1901], p. 138).

³ Rigal, *op. cit.*, pp. 136 f.

The famous *Déclaration au sujet des Comédiens* of Louis XIII, dated April 16, 1641, was undoubtedly issued in response to this change in the taste of the theater-going public. By this edict, "All actors are forbidden . . . to represent unseemly actions," or to use any "lascivious or ambiguous expressions" which might "offend the public taste." Those who failed to comply with these prescriptions were to be declared "infamous," and judges were instructed to inflict upon them penalties which were not to exceed "fines and banishment."¹ That same year Guillot Gorju, an understudy of Gros Guillaume, left the company of the Hôtel de Bourgogne. Sauval accompanies the statement of the fact with the terse remark: "*Quand il descendit du théâtre, la farce en descendit avec lui.*"² While this statement must not be taken too literally, there is no lack of evidence that, from this date on, the farce lost rapidly the favored position it had so long held on the public stages of Paris, and was relegated more and more to the *baragues* of the Foire and the *tréteaux* of Le Pont Neuf.

During these thirty to forty years while the farce flourished, it showed no development and won no favor as a literary *genre*. None of the contemporaries of Hardy, Rotrou, and Corneille show the slightest tendency to confuse it with comedy, although they confuse tragedy and tragi-comedy, tragi-comedy and comedy, with great industry.³ That illustrious *farceur*, Bruscamille, plainly cherished no illusions about the nature of his offerings when he declared from the stage of the Hôtel de Bourgogne:

Reste la dernière objection de nos destructeurs qui disent que ... nos représentations tragiques et comiques sembleroient tolérables; mais *une farce garnie de mots de gueule* gâte tout, et que d'une pluye contagieuse elle pourrit nos plus belles fleurs. Ah! Vrayment pour ce regard, *je passe condamnation*: mais à qui en est la faute?⁴

A decree of Parliament, dated March 22, 1633, is directed against a troupe of actors who *exercent et jouent comédies et farces*.⁵ The year following, Renaudot, reporting in his *Gazette* the festivities of a wedding celebration, relates that *entre la comédie et La Farce, il y eut un concert*

¹ Cited by Parfaict, *Histoire du Théâtre français*, VI (Paris, 1745), 131 ff.

² Cited by Parfaict, *op. cit.*, V, 93.

³ For example, the story of *The Matron of Ephesus* (1614?) is dramatized and styled a tragi-comedy. See Parfaict, *op. cit.*, IV, 188.

⁴ Cited by Rigal, *Alexandre Hardy* (Paris, 1899), p. 156.

⁵ Cited by Parfaict, *op. cit.*, V, 50 f. n.

merveilleux ... ceste Farce étoit excellente.¹ In this case the *comédie* in question was the *Mélite* of Corneille.

Our modern tendency to subordinate form to content, aesthetic ideas to moral notions, has undoubtedly led us into much confusion on this point. When Jean de la Taille declared in the Preface to *Les Corrivaux* (1573): *Vous y verrez, non point une Farce ni une moralité ... vous y verrez une comédie faicte au patron, à la mode et au portraict des anciens Grecs et Latins*, he felt very clearly the distinction between these two comic genres. It is quite beside the mark to say, as Fournel and many others have done: "*Ces vieilles comédies ne sont autre chose que des farces souvent grossières.*"² The fact that these "old comedies" or, for that matter, any comedies are as licentious, as *grossières* even in moral tone as the farce, has little to do with the case. The doctrinaires and poets of the Renaissance felt strongly that it is chiefly a question of form. A droll story, presented baldly as a comic episode, without conscious attempt at social and moral portrayal is a farce. The same droll story furnished with concomitant episodes which now hasten, now retard the dénouement, with auxiliary characters so chosen that they present a tolerably complete social and moral milieu, is a comedy. The one is a non-literary genre, by universal acceptance raw and crude, the other a work of art with almost unlimited possibilities of development.

This idea of comedy as a literary genre was clearly formulated for the first time in France by the adepts of the Renaissance. Jacques Peletier du Mans in his *Art Poétique* of 1555, for example, gave a definition which was to be repeated in but slightly different words by both Corneille and Molière. He says:

La comédie a été dite le miroir de la vie parce qu'en elle s'introduisent des personnes populaires; desquelles il faut garder la bienséance selon la condition et état de chacune.³

To be sure he proceeds forthwith to spoil the effect of this excellently stated or faithfully repeated formula by giving a list of comic themes which are taken, not from life as he saw it, but from his readings in

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 73.

² Fournel, *Les contemporains de Molière* (Paris, 1863), p. 21.

³ Cited by Pierre Toldo, *Revue d'Histoire littéraire*, IV (1897), 383 f.

Plautus and Terence or some of their learned commentators. These themes are:

L'avarice ou la prudence des vieillards, les amours et ardeurs des jeunes enfants des maisons; les astuces et ruses de leurs amies; la vilénie et deshonnêteté des maquereaux; la façon tantôt sévère, tantôt facile; l'assentiment et vilénie des parasites: la vanterie et braveté d'un soudart retiré de la guerre; la diligence des nourrices; l'indigence des mères.¹

The poets of the Renaissance, by following too literally this program, ruined whatever chances the new *genre* might have had for the moment of establishing itself in the popular favor. In spite of occasional adaptations of Plautus and Terence comedies, in spite of occasional appropriations of certain comic types like the braggart captain, the nurse, and the valet, the erudite comedy of the Renaissance exerted little influence upon the *genre* which was to be brought forth upon the stages of the Hôtel de Bourgogne and of the Théâtre du Marais.

According to the Parfaicts, whose classifications and dates, while notoriously inaccurate for this period, may serve as a rough indication, there were produced during the decade from 1601 to 1610, 27 tragedies, 7 tragi-comedies, 4 pastorals, and *no comedies*; from 1611 to 1620, 21 tragedies, 8 tragi-comedies, 6 pastorals, and *8 comedies*; from 1621 to 1630, 11 tragedies, 16 tragi-comedies, 14 pastorals, and *5 comedies*; from 1631 to 1640, 49 tragedies, 65 tragi-comedies, 5 pastorals, and *29 comedies*; from 1641 to 1650, i.e., the great period of Corneille, 61 tragedies, 45 tragi-comedies, 2 pastorals, and *32 comedies*; from 1651 to 1660, 23 tragedies, 19 tragi-comedies, 2 pastorals, and *36 comedies*.

During the first three decades of the century the process of constructing plays remained about the same. "*C'étoit faire une comédie que de mettre en vers une vie de Plutarque*," says Guéret in his *Parnasse Réformé*.² Segrais is even more explicit:

Pendant plus de quarante ans, on a tiré presque tous les sujets de pièces de théâtre de l'*Astrée*, et les poètes se contentoient ordinairement de mettre en vers ce que M. d'Urfé y fait dire en prose aux personnages de son Roman.³

This method, as a matter of fact, remained long in vogue although the authors soon became somewhat more eclectic in their choice of sources.

¹ *Loc. cit.*

² Paris, 1669, p. 58.

³ Cited by Rigal, *Alexandre Hardy*, p. 504.

But the few comedies which are said to have been produced during this period seem, for the most part, to have formed an exception. The three by Larivey are, of course, merely adaptations of the Italian *Commedia Erudita*. The two by Troterel and the anonymous *Les Ramoneurs* offer much resemblance to the Renaissance comedies of Jodelle and Grévin. The *Comédie des Proverbes* was a *tour de force*; its characters speak continually in proverbs and its plot seems to have been taken from the Italian comedy. The title of another, about which we know nothing except the title, suggests a *Commedia dell' Arte* sketch. Of the three or four others cited by the Parfaicts two at least seem to have been played at a later date, and another is the *Mélite* of Corneille, played in 1629 or 1630.¹ This play which all the contemporaries, including Corneille himself, regarded as a new *genre*, was composed according to the current formula. A number of plot and character elements are taken from previous plays and current novels and combined into a dramatic representation.

Corneille himself alleges that when he wrote it he knew nothing of the "rules" of dramatic composition, that he had to guide him only "a little common sense and the example of the late Hardy."² Since he was not disposed to write a tragedy, it is evident that he must have sought his *exemple* either in Hardy's tragi-comedies or in his pastorals. Rigal has characterized the former as *des nouvelles dramatisées* and the latter as *des comédies bourgeoises et sérieuses, agrémentées d'incidents comiques ou merveilleux*.³ This *merveilleux*, in the pastorals of Hardy at least, was about the only feature that prevented them from being regarded as pure comedies. It consisted in apparitions of Venus, of Cupid, of Pan, and of Satyrs whose misadventures furnished the greater part of the *agrément comiques*. One would expect to find in these pastorals the *exemple* which Corneille tried to follow in the composition of the *Mélite*.

But, as a matter of fact, G. L. Van Roosbroeck⁴ finds that while the characters of *Mélite* show some traces of pastoral influence, the details of the plot are more closely akin to two of Hardy's tragi-comedies. The one, *Gésippe*, is a dramatized Boccaccian *novella*, the other,

¹ See H. Carrington Lancaster, *Modern Language Notes*, XXX (1915), 1 ff.

² P. Corneille, *Œuvres*, I (Paris, 1862), 137.

³ Alexandre Hardy, pp. 503 and 537, respectively.

⁴ *The Genesis of Corneille's Mélite*. Vinton, Iowa: Kruse Publishing Co.

Dorize, is a dramatization of one of the *Histoires des Amants volages de ce temps*, by François Rosset, Paris, 1619. This last was, in fact, *une pièce d'actualité*, for which, dramatized, the comedy was the only form *qui paraisse raisonnable*, according to Rigal.¹ In both *Dorize* and *Mélite*, two lovers go mad, then recover their senses, and both plays end in a double marriage. Why, then, is Corneille's play a comedy while Hardy's is a tragi-comedy? Perhaps because in Hardy's play there is an episode of a magic charm, while in Corneille's comedy things are brought about by purely natural causes. At any rate, it is not easy to find a more convincing reason. A play in which there was only threatened violence and no supernatural elements, with characters which, while quite lovelorn, are not shepherds and shepherdesses, may seem to Corneille to have deserved a new name, and he called his play a comedy. It was doubtless to the elimination of these elements of unreality that he applied something of that common sense of which he speaks in the *Examen*. And it was without doubt the absence of these elements as well as of the traditional comic character types that enabled Corneille, some thirty years later, to dwell with such complacency upon the *nouveauté de ce genre de comédie dont il n'y a point d'exemple en aucune langue*.²

La Veuve, played some three years later, seems to have established for the moment Corneille's reputation as a writer of comedy. In verses written for the first edition of the play, in 1634, Mairet hails his future rival, and fixes the character of his work:

Rare écrivain de notre France,
Qui le premier des beaux esprits
A fait revivre en tes écrits
L'esprit de Plaute et de Térence.

Rotrou, in the same connection, declared that the charms of the heroines in other popular pastorals of the period had paled before those of Corneille's widow,³ and other poets voice the same conviction.

Corneille's *Épître au Lecteur* in this first edition of *La Veuve* offers some evidence that he had, in the meantime, been exposed at least to the received academic notions of what comedy should be. At any rate,

¹ *Op. cit.* pp. 481 ff.

² *Op. cit.*, I, 138.

³ Corneille, *Œuvres*, I, 380 ff. Rotrou's statement seems to justify the remark attributed to Tristan by Segrais: "*Ces pièces-là s'appeloient des Pastorales auxquelles les comédies succédèrent.*" Cited by Rigal, *op. cit.*, p. 504.

he gives a definition of the *genre* which is wholly in accord with that of Peletier du Mans, formulated some eighty years before, and which will be repeated in practically the same terms by Molière some thirty years later. "*La comédie*," he says, "*n'est qu'un portrait de nos actions et de nos discours, et la perfection des portraits consiste en la ressemblance.*" He insists that he has put in practice the spirit of that definition:

Sur cette maxime, je tâche de ne mettre en la bouche de mes acteurs que ce que diroient probablement en leur place ceux qu'ils représentent, et de les faire discourir en honnêtes gens, et non pas en auteurs.¹

But this is the language of a Preface. From the modern point of view at least, he flatly contradicts himself a few lines farther down in the same paragraph. Speaking of his pairs of lovers, he concludes: "*Le plus beau de leurs entretiens est en équivoques, et en propositions dont ils te laissent les conséquences à tirer.*" That is to say, the characters, if they do not talk "like authors," do talk like the heroes and heroines of the then-current fiction, and that is precisely the way it appeals to the valet Géron in the play, who says of his master:

S'il savoit mieux dire, il diroit autrement;
Il dit ce qu'il a lu.²

In this play a duel looms twice, although not very imminently, and there is a tragi-comic abduction. In it, too, the lovers practice with great fluency, *l'anatomie du cœur amoureux*, as Mlle de Scudéry was to aptly phrase it. In short, *La Veuve* is a play in which the course of true love is somewhat less precipitous than in the tragi-comedy, and, thanks to the choice of characters, a little less artificially presented than in the pastorals.

Almost all of the contemporary poets who contributed poetical tributes for the first edition of the play stress this love-fiction element. Mairêt declares that Corneille has "revived the wit of Plautus and Terence":

Sans rien dérober des douceurs
De Méliste ni de ses sœurs [I, 380].

It is difficult to connect with the idea of comedy the following verses of Corneille's quite unknown admirer, Guérente:

Corneille, que ta *Veuve* a des charmes puissants!
Ses yeux remplis d'amour, ses discours innocents

¹ *Œuvres*, I, 377.

² Vss. 264 and 265 of *La Veuve*, Act I, scene iv; *Œuvres*, I, 412.

Jointes à sa majesté plus divine qu'humaine,
 Paraissent au théâtre avec tant de splendeur, etc. ...
 Mais ce n'est pas assez: sa parlante peinture
 A tant de ressemblance avecque la nature
 Qu'en lisant tes écrits l'on croit voir des amants
Dont la mourante voix naïvement propose
Ou l'extrême bonheur ou les rudes tourments
 Qui furent le sujet de leur métamorphose [I, 380].

Another contributor speaks of

Faire régner l'amour, accroître son empire,
 Peindre avec tant d'adresse un gracieux martyr [ibid., p. 387].

And still another:

Incomparable Veuve, ornement de ce temps,
Tu vas mettre du trouble et du feu dans les âmes
 Faisant moins d'ennemis que de cœurs inconstants [ibid., p. 393].

With all allowances made for exaggerated expression, it is evident that Corneille's contemporaries were impressed chiefly by its representation of love, not in the sensual fashion of the Latin and Italian comedy, but in the highly idealized form of the current novels. Desmarets de Saint-Sorlin at least proclaims this contemporary attitude through one of his characters in *Les Visionnaires*, played in 1637. All the characters of this dramatized satire are extreme caricatures of absurd contemporary social types. Sestiane is the young woman in the play who is infatuated with *la comédie*. In his Preface the poet asserts that she, in common with the other characters, is a true representative of what was being thought and felt, though perhaps not always said, in mundane circles. In the third scene of the second act it occurs to Sestiane that Phalante, *le riche imaginaire*, would be an excellent type to insert in a comedy. She concludes:

Il n'y faudroit qu'y coudre un morceau de roman
Ou trouver dans l'histoire un bel événement
Pour rendre de tout point cette pièce remplie
*Afin qu'elle eût l'honneur de paroître accomplie.*¹

When her sister replies that it would be better for the "honor of the French stage" to prepare a piece which would represent in one day all the deeds of Alexander the Great, Sestiane retorts: "Vous verriez cent combats avec trop peu d'amour." In discussing the comic

¹ *Théâtre François, ou Recueil des meilleures Pièces de Théâtre*, VII (Paris, 1837), 138.

possibilities inherent in the resemblance of twin brothers who are so beautiful that they will give rise every day to *quelque intrigue agréable*, Sestiane adds:

Cet acte seroit plein de plaisantes erreurs:

Même on y peut mêler quelques *douces fureurs* [*ibid.*, p. 201].

It is clear that for Sestiane, and, by extension, with all proportions duly observed, for the class which she represents, an idealized love story was the all-important element in a comedy. It was this feature that persisted in the memory of Corneille when he was writing the *Examen* of *Mélite*, around 1660:

Ce mariage a si peu d'apparence, qu'il est aisé de voir qu'on ne le propose que pour satisfaire à la coutume de ce temps-là, qui étoit de marier tout ce qu'on introduisoit sur la scène.¹

But it was a love story which had little in common with the sensual passion of classic comedy and nothing at all in common with the *grossièretés* of the farce. Nor was it an importation from modern foreign comedy, but a conception which grew up in response to the social ideals and tastes of the period.

Other writers of the period treated this love element with less idealism, as, for example, Mairet in *Les Galanteries du Duc d'Ossone* (1632) and Mareschal in *Le Railleur* (1638). In the Preface to the first edition of *La Suivante*, in 1637, Corneille seems to have modified somewhat his conception of the *genre* when he asserts: "*Les fourbes et les intrigues sont principalement du jeu de la comédie, les passions n'y entrent que par accident.*"² The adventure of the *Cid* and his great successes in tragedy which followed diverted him for a time from the cultivation of this idea. But it points straight to the *Menteur*, played some seven years later. In his *Examen* to this comedy Corneille no longer prides himself upon *ce stile familier*, but rather upon the "ingeniousness" of the plot and its attendant comic situations.³ Ingeniousness in plot complication is one of the outstanding features of French comedy from *Le Menteur* to the comedy of Molière.

The success of *Le Menteur* also contributed to encourage another practice which Corneille had followed, but by no means inaugurated, in composing this play, namely, the appropriation of plots from Span-

¹ *Œuvres*, I, 140.

² *Ibid.*, II, 118.

³ *Ibid.*, IV, 137.

ish playwrights. After *Le Menteur*, probably nine-tenths of the comedy plots are taken from Spanish plays. This is not the place to take up the question of Spanish influence about which so much has been written. But, in passing, the question may be raised: Does the mere utilization of a plot constitute, properly speaking, an "influence"? One gets the impression, when reading the arguments of French comedies following *Le Menteur*, that the authors have simply found it more convenient to take a plot which has already been fashioned to the stage than to extract one themselves from the prolix novels which served as sources.

De la Martinière, in his essay on Scarron,¹ touches upon this point:

La mode de ce temps étoit de piller les poètes Espagnols: Scarron sçavoit cette langue, il lui étoit plus facile de moissonner dans un champ, où il trouvoit déjà tout préparé, que de se rompre la tête à inventer un sujet, et ensuite à le mettre dans la règle des trois unités.

Boisrobert and T. Corneille seem to have followed the same system, and, no doubt, many others did so. But whenever these authors touch upon this point in their prefaces, they never give evidence of an intention to imitate the dramatic form which prevails in their source. On the contrary, apologies are frequent for irregularities which have been committed—irregularities which are wholly involuntary and due to the difficulty of adapting what has been taken to the more "regular" type of comedy corresponding to the French taste of the moment. Plots are simplified and remodeled, characters are modified to meet contemporary notions of *bienséance* and always with a French audience in view, never with the intention of trying to convert that audience to another type of dramatic representation.

The outstanding feature, then, of the comedies of this period consists in the ingeniously constructed plots and the no less ingeniously contrived situations. Therein it seems to follow closely the development in tragedy and tragi-comedy as exemplified by Corneille in *Rodogune* and *Héraclius*. The exposition of some of them is, in fact, as hard to follow as that of the Cornelian masterpiece of complication. The poets prided themselves upon this point. The appeal of M. de

¹ Bauzen de la Martinière, *Discours sur le style burlesque en général, et sur celui de M. Scarron en particulier, dans les "Œuvres" de Scarron*, Amsterdam, 1737. The following citation is taken from Parfaict, *op. cit.*, VI, 354.

Brosse to the reader, in the Preface to his *Innocens Coupables* of about 1645, is characteristic:

Je te prie seulement de considérer l'invention de mon sujet, la nouveauté des incidents qui l'intriguent, la ressemblance de deux filles en corsage et en habits qui ne cause pas de petites méprises, le rapport de deux jardins qui ne fait pas un équivoque désagréable, et surtout de ne point prendre les naïvetés de mon style pour des bassesses: la comique veut être sans pompe comme le sérieux sans abaissement.¹

In general, the plot material does not differ greatly from that of tragic-comedy: a prevalence of incognitos, mistaken identities, letters delivered at the wrong address, duels, abductions, recognitions, and reversals. The comic element is largely absent.

There were, without doubt, interesting divergencies, such as are found, for example, in *Le Déniaisé* of Gillet de la Tessonnerie (1647), in *Le Pédant Joué* of Cyrano de Bergerac (1654), and in *L'Amant indiscret* (1654) of Quinault. In this connection, the comedies of Scarron are especially worthy of a detailed study. While taking his material from Spanish originals in the current fashion, he is credited with having introduced a new element which is, apparently, quite justly characterized by the Parfaicts:

Avant les pièces de Scarron, on donnoit le titre de comédie à des événements presque toujours tristes. ... Nuls caractères, point de mœurs, beaucoup de reconnaissances et autant de mariages. ... Scarron ne fut pas plus régulier que ces Poètes dans la conduite de ses Poèmes Comiques et les caractères de ses personnages, mais il y semoit des plaisanteries qui décidèrent le goût du public.²

It is certain that he had considerable influence upon the writers of his time, notably upon Thomas Corneille, in pieces like the *Don Bertrand de Cigarral* and *L'Amour à la mode*, in which one has something like a forerunner of the Molièresque marquis. His favorite character, Jodelet, has, in fact, not a few of the traits of Mascarille and Sganarelle. Whether the contemporaries regarded this contribution as belonging to legitimate comedy, or whether they looked upon it as merely another manifestation of the burlesque, inseparably associated with the work of Scarron, is another question.

¹ Cited by Parfaict, *op. cit.*, VI, 321.

² *Ibid.*, Préface, pp. xli f.

During the three decades preceding the establishment of Molière in Paris, there was developed, then, a type of comedy which was distinctive of the period in which it was produced. It owed little to the Italian comedy, beside which it grew up, and still less to classic models. It did not grow out of the farce but supplanted it, at least on the stages of the Hôtel de Bourgogne and of the Théâtre du Marais. It was produced in response to a more refined public taste which no longer took delight in the crude offerings of the *farceurs*. Guillot Gorju pays a tribute to this new order of things in his *Apologie* of 1634:

La modestie est si grande à présent, et on est tellement ravi des bonnes pensées et des belles conceptions de la poésie, que chacun se tient dans sa loge comme des statues dans leur niche, et les dames sont si retenues que c'est tout ce que peut faire le Gros-Guillaume que de leur apprêter à rire.¹

A few years later Tallement des Réaux declares categorically:

Jodelet, pour un fariné naïf, est un bon acteur; il n'y a plus de farce qu'au Marais, ou il est, et c'est à cause de luy, qu'il y en a.²

If there are any traditional elements in this comedy, they are not those of the *farce* nor of the *Sottie* nor of the *Moralité*. If any ancestry must be sought, it is rather in the ancient *drame sérieux* that we should find it. It goes back to that deeply rooted instinct of the French which has always prompted them to render in dramatic form the social ideals and aspirations of the moment. This instinct, which manifested itself in the dramatizations of the Old and New Testaments, the lives of the saints and the legends of antiquity continued to function in the dramatizations of Plutarch's *Lives*, of Italian and Spanish *novelle*, the novels of a d'Urfé, of a Sorel, of a Cervantes,³ and the appropriations of plots from Spanish.

In form, French drama has always been in step with the intellectual and artistic development of the nation. The comedy preceding Molière is no exception, and it is quite misleading to insist overmuch upon the force of tradition in a *genre*, which was developed so directly under the influences engendered by the Ruelles and the *Académie naissante*. The upward of a hundred comedies produced during the period between the ancient drama and the comedy of Molière form a distinctive literary creation of no meager proportions, which de-

¹ Cited by Rigal, *A. Hardy*, p. 143, n. 4.

² *Les Historiettes*, VII (2d. ed.; Paris, 1868), 176.

³ Gillet de la Tessonnerie, *La Comédie de Francion* (1642); Guérin de Bouscal, *Don Quixote de la Manche, deux parties* (1640).

serves a more detailed and discriminating study than it has yet received.

A large proportion, at least, of these comedies scarcely correspond to the definition of the *comédie littéraire* as a type: "*dérivé de la comédie latine ... constitué par les Italiens de la Renaissance.*"¹ Surely there is need of some distinctions in the statement made by M. Lanson in regard to Molière's connection with it:

Molière a visiblement suivi deux voies: celle de la comédie littéraire, *L'Etourdi*, *le Dépit*, *Don Garcie*; celle de la Farce, *Fagoteux* et analogues, *Précieuses*, *Sganarelle*.²

For while *L'Etourdi* and *Le Dépit Amoureux* unquestionably go back to Italian models, the *Don Garcie* is entirely different; it is exactly the type of play that was being presented on the stages of the Hôtel de Bourgogne and of the Théâtre du Marais. Nor does *Sganarelle*, with the sentimental situations and effusions generated by the *portrait égaré*, belong in the same class with the farces of the *Maître Pathelin* and the *Jalousie du Barbouillé* pattern.

To be sure, the direct influence of the comedy whose development we have been sketching may have been almost nil—as M. Lanson so admirably argues. Molière was led away from it, not only by his own literary tendencies, but also by his conflict with the Hôtel de Bourgogne, which cultivated precisely this type of comedy.³ He was compelled by the logic of the situation to create something different. But, by the same token, its indirect influence became considerable. For years he had played rôles in these comedies. They represented to him the prevailing taste of the public he was bound to satisfy, if not in kind at least in equivalent. So, then, by opposition if not by direct appeal this *comédie littéraire* or *comédie intriguée et romanesque* of Corneille and his successors had its share in turning him toward the presentation of a class of characters and to the treatment of a type of moral problems not too prevalent in the Latin comedy and but roughly sketched in the Italian comedy and the farce. If it was a wind against which the poet flew, it was at least a wind which buoyed him upward in his flight from the *Fagoteux* to the *Misanthrope*. It explains in part, how the farce became great literature in his hands.

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¹ G. Lanson, "Molière et la Farce," *Revue de Paris*, CXXXII (May-June, 1911), 132.

² *Ibid.*, p. 141.

³ Cf. Ed Thierry, *Le Moliériste*, 1881-82, 3^{me} année, p. 297.

L'AFFAIRE DE LA CORRESPONDANCE GÉNÉRALE
DE J.-J. ROUSSEAU ET LA SOCIÉTÉ
J.-J. ROUSSEAU¹

En 1904 fut fondée la 'Société Jean-Jacques Rousseau.' Son but essentiel était de préparer une édition définitive des œuvres de Rousseau; surtout d'abord de la plus difficile de ces œuvres, celle qui dépend le plus de collaboration, *Les Confessions*; et comme préparation aux *Confessions* mêmes, une édition de la *Correspondance*.

Il y a donc vingt ans de cela aujourd'hui, et ces grands projets sont enfin en voie de réalisation. Déjà nous avons vu paraître les premiers volumes d'une publication monumentale de la Correspondance Générale de J.-J. Rousseau.

*Mais cette publication n'est pas faite par la Société J.-J. Rousseau.**

Comment cela est-il arrivé? Voici la chose que nous avons à expliquer.

Rappelons d'abord que la première *Correspondance Générale* de quelque importance remonte à cent ans en arrière; c'est celle de Musset-Pathay en 1824. On peut presque dire que ce fut aussi jusqu'ici la dernière; car, on ne peut guère mentionner depuis, que les deux volumes de *Correspondance inédite* de Streckheisen-Moultou, 1861; et quant à une autre tentative de réunir l'ensemble des lettres de Rousseau depuis lors, il n'y a que celle préparée par quelque inconnu, et dans un but de vulgarisation, pour l'édition des *Œuvres* en treize volumes chez Hachette.²

Il existe du reste une quantité de collections partielles, Lettres de Rousseau à Rey (1858), à Madame Boy de la Tour (1892), à Usteri (1910), à Coindet (1922), etc. Et il y a des lettres ou groupes de lettres

¹ Présenté à la réunion de la Modern Language Association, à New York, le 30 déc., 1924.

² *Correspondance Générale de J.-J. Rousseau*, ed. Théophile Dufour. Ouvrage publié avec le concours de l'Institut de France (Fondation Debrousse et Gas). Paris: Librairie Armand Colin, 1924.

³ Aujourd'hui une édition stéréotypée, constamment reproduite, et qui, d'après Asse, remonterait jusqu'à 1865.

inédites dans cent et une revues (entre autres dans les *Annales J.-J. Rousseau*).

Le sentiment d'urgence de fondre tous ces matériaux ensemble et dans une édition possédant les garanties qu'exige la science moderne, est donc bien antérieur à la fondation de la 'Société J.-J. Rousseau,' en 1904.

Et en effet quarante ans auparavant déjà, un savant, M. Théophile Dufour, s'était fait une spécialité de recherches sur la correspondance de Rousseau. Archiviste-paléographe, M. Dufour fut pendant quinze ans Directeur des Archives et de la Bibliothèque Publique de Genève; c'est-à-dire qu'il était donc aux sources mêmes des meilleurs renseignements; et Neuchâtel, très riche aussi en manuscrits Rousseau, n'était pas loin. Il n'avait démissionné de ses fonctions que pour se donner entier à ses études personnelles; il était travailleur acharné et fort souvent en voyage pour collationner et découvrir des lettres de Rousseau; on l'appelait "M. Dufour, qui n'a jamais commis d'erreurs." Il entra dans la 'Société J.-J. Rousseau' en 1904, publia abondamment dans les *Annales*. ... En 1912 il se retira, à la veille du bi-centenaire.

Le bi-centenaire fut un triomphe pour la 'Société J.-J. Rousseau.' Sous son égide se rencontrèrent à Genève des savants venus de tous les pays du monde. Il en résulta un nouvel élan d'enthousiasme pour les études rousseauistes.

En ce qui concerne la correspondance, le travail se faisait parallèlement, et indépendamment, par M. Dufour d'une part, et par la 'Société J.-J. Rousseau' de l'autre. On s'en remettait provisoirement à la destinée pour le problème de la mise-en-œuvre commune des matériaux accumulés. ... A chaque jour suffit sa peine.

Cependant le problème se posait réellement dès que survint, le 13 novembre 1922, la mort de M. Dufour. M. Dufour n'avait pas publié, et, conscient de la crise prochaine, il avait dit ce mot: "Il est maintenant trop tard: un autre que moi publiera mon œuvre; s'il est honnête, il y mettra mon nom."

Il y eut d'abord plusieurs mois de silence embarrassé. Comment allait-on procéder?

Deux faits sont certains: (1) Les deux groupes en présence—c'est-à-dire les héritiers de M. Dufour et la 'Société J.-J. Rousseau'—sentaient qu'ils avaient besoin l'un de l'autre; la 'Société Rousseau' avait besoin des matériaux de Dufour; la famille Dufour avait besoin d'un homme du métier pour mettre en œuvre les trésors qu'elle possédait. (2) Ni l'un ni l'autre camp ne savait *jusqu'à quel point* il avait besoin de l'autre; et d'abord ni la 'Société Rousseau' ne savait exactement ce qu'il y avait chez Dufour—peut-être les richesses n'étaient-elles pas tout ce qu'on pensait; ni la famille Dufour ne savait exactement ce qu'il pouvait y avoir à la 'Société Rousseau'—peut-être y avait-il plus qu'on ne pensait; et ensuite la 'Société J.-J. Rousseau' ne savait jusqu'à quel point son aide était indispensable, et si les "papiers Dufour" n'étaient pas presque prêts pour l'impression.

En somme, cependant, tout le monde désirait une entente; tout le monde était très certain que la solution de deux Correspondances Générales publiées concurremment, serait déplorable.

Il y eut deux protagonistes, une fois que les pourparlers s'engagèrent:

M. Alexis François, Secrétaire de la 'Société J.-J. Rousseau'—ardent, enthousiaste, vainqueur; soutenu, semble-t-il, par M. Lanson et par M. D. Mornet (celui-ci venait de reprendre la direction de la *Revue d'Histoire littéraire*); et Madame Hélène Pittard-Dufour (en littérature Noëlle Roger), fille de M. Dufour.

M. François obtint de publier la Correspondance Générale de Rousseau dans la 'Collection des Grands Ecrivains de la France,' chez Hachette. Un contrat était signé le 6 mars 1923. Outre la *Correspondance* on prévoyait une Edition critique des *Confessions* en cinq volumes.¹ Tout allait fort bien; et de fait, les héritiers Dufour se montraient disposés à remettre à la 'Société J.-J. Rousseau' les "papiers Dufour," *réclamant cependant* en cas de publication en commun, que le nom de Dufour parût à la place d'honneur, c'est-à-dire sur la page du titre.

Là était la difficulté. M. François refusa—en tout cas accorda trop peu. Mme Pittard ne céda pas. L'attente se prolongeait. Suivit une ère de pourparlers, de conseils de famille, d'interventions d'agents

¹ Cf. *Annales J.-J. R.*, XV, 381, 382; aussi *Le Temps*, 3 juillet, 1923.

intermédiaires. ... M. François allait capituler, peut-être même avait-il capitulé, quand un coup de théâtre se produisit. Par une note du *Journal des Débats*, du 3 août 1923, on comprit, et par un article de la *Revue de Paris*, du 15 septembre 1923, (ce dernier du à la plume de Mme Pittard) on apprit que la famille Dufour avait trouvé un éditeur qui n'était pas M. François, et une maison d'édition qui n'était pas celle de Hachette.

L'éditeur était M. Pierre-Paul Plan, d'une vieille famille genevoise, versé dans l'art de la bibliographie (couronné par l'Académie pour un travail bibliographique sur Rabelais), rousseauiste même à ses heures. La maison d'édition était celle d'Armand Colin, émule de la Maison Hachette, mais qui n'avait pas jusque là spécialisé dans la publication de livres par et sur Rousseau. Ajoutons encore que l'entreprise reçut bientôt la promesse d'une subvention de l'Institut de France; le revenu de la Fondation Debrousse et Gas.

La Société J.-J. Rousseau se retira de la lice.

Ce qui avait en partie justifié la 'Société Rousseau' dans ses hésitations, c'est que—comme nous l'avons déjà donné à entendre—elle ne savait pas *au juste* le contenu des papiers Dufour; ceux-ci ne lui furent jamais communiqués. Mais on comprend aussi d'autre part que, à supposer que les transactions n'aboutissent pas (comme de fait elles n'aboutirent pas), la famille Dufour n'ait pas tenu à révéler ses richesses à ceux qui pouvaient devenir des rivaux. Il y avait eu, du reste, après la mort de M. Dufour une série d'escarmouches à coup d'inédits—chacun voulant montrer qu'il avait des trésors dont l'autre ne pouvait guère se passer s'il prétendait faire une publication qui put réellement mériter le nom de *Correspondance Générale*. (Voir pour le côté Alexis François, qui ouvrit les feux, divers numéros du *Journal de Genève*, de la *Semaine Littéraire*, de la *Revue de Genève*, de la *Bibliothèque Universelle*—tout cela recueilli dans une petite publication *Matériaux pour la Correspondance J.-J. R.*, Paris, 1923; et pour le côté Dufour, *Journal des Débats*, 21 juin, 1923, 3 août, 1923; *Revue de Paris*, 15 septembre, 1923.)

Cet épisode des inédits fut une des voies par lesquelles le public eut vent de ces discordes. Il y en eut une autre. Les presses, genevoise et parisienne, avaient été d'une discrétion remarquable. Mais tout de

même les deux camps tenaient à justifier leur attitude; et deux brochures furent imprimées mais non mises dans le commerce.

Les voici:

1. *L'affaire des papiers Dufour et la correspondance de J.-J. Rousseau, Lettre à M. Bernard Bouvier, Président de la Société J.-J. Rousseau*, par Alexis François, Professeur à l'Université de Genève, Secrétaire de la Soc. J.-J. Rousseau. Genève, Octobre, 1923. 22 pages.

2. *L'affaire des papiers de Théophile Dufour, et la Correspondance de J.-J. Rousseau*. Lettre ouverte à M. Alexis François, Genève, fin 1923.

L'épigraphe de cette dernière brochure trahit le ton de la polémique:

Quos vult Jupiter perdere, dementat prius.

On trouvera aussi quelques échos des débats dans le Volume XV (pour 1922), des *Annales J.-J. Rousseau*, pages 379-85. Là, le moment exact de la rupture est fixé au 10 octobre, 1923—à la suite d'une lettre de Mme Pittard du 22 septembre. On y cite ce mot d'une lettre de M. Lanson à M. Bouvier: "J'ai été suffisamment instruit des négociations pour juger que ni la 'Société J.-J. Rousseau,' ni M. François ne sont responsables de leur rupture" (p. 385).

Aboutissement.—Nous allons avoir le *Correspondance Générale*—mieux ou moins bien que si elle avait été éditée par M. François, nous ne savons pas, mais—fort bien faite, en une vingtaine de volumes élégants. Nous aurons également une édition des *Confessions*, en conséquence; nous aurons enfin une *Bibliographie critique des Œuvres de Rousseau* publiée avec les papiers Dufour, par M. Pierre-Paul Plan.

De la *Correspondance Générale*, deux¹ volumes sont sortis de presse; on en prévoit trois ou quatre par an. Sans insister sur l'utilité de cette publication—si évidente—pour les savants, elle en aura un autre pour le grand public et qu'il vaut la peine de souligner même en Amérique. On nous permettra de reproduire quelques mots de notre article dans le *New York Times Book Review*, du Dimanche 11 janvier 1925, au sujet de l'apparition du Volume I de la *Correspondance Générale*:

There is one point which needs to be emphasized, namely, the far-reaching result those twenty stout volumes are going to have in bringing to a close the

¹ Trois depuis que ces pages sont écrites.

days of the Rousseau muckrakers. Whoever is familiar with Rousseau literature knows well how many were those who, for various reasons—simply out of dislike for Rousseau's ideas, or because they liked someone in the eighteenth century who had quarreled with Rousseau (e.g., Perey and Maugras, "the friends" of Madame d'Epinay, Scherer, "a friend" of Grimm, etc.)—indulged freely and constantly in vicious insinuations against the citizen of Geneva. They will be able to do this to a considerable less degree now, for they will not dare to face the easy refutation coming from the *Correspondance*. Rousseau can stand on his own merit—and most muckrakers know as well as we do that his reputation will not suffer by it.

Et la 'Société Jean-Jacques Rousseau' ?—Elle sent que son prestige a souffert, qu'une de ses raisons d'être a disparu. Cependant il y d'autres raisons d'être pour elle; et elle a résolu de ne pas mourir. M. François, il est vrai, s'est retiré sous sa tente; jusqu'à la publication du Volume XV des *Annales*, il avait résisté aux sollicitations de rester à son poste de Secrétaire de la 'Société J.-J. Rousseau'; nous savons aujourd'hui qu'un autre va prendre sa place, à savoir, le D^r Louis J. Courtois.

Il faut ici rendre hommage aux efforts généreux de M. Bernard Bouvier, tout au cours de 'l'affaire,' pour arriver à la solution équitable; de plus, rendre aujourd'hui hommage à son courage en décidant de marcher de l'avant. Tout étudiant de Rousseau, et tout ami des lettres lui doit, et lui apportera, un cordial appui. Nous saluons aussi le nouveau secrétaire, travailleur modeste et probe, qui a fait ses preuves. Le Volume XV des *Annales* est un témoignage magnifique à la vitalité de la Société; et justement le travail d'érudition immense, minutieuse, et grandement utile qui le remplit presque tout entier, "Chronologie critique de la vie et des œuvres de J.-J. Rousseau," est sorti de la plume du nouveau secrétaire.

Il n'y a pas, et il ne peut y avoir aucune incompatibilité entre les efforts de l'éditeur de la *Correspondance Générale*, et ceux des éditeurs des *Annales*. Aussi nous nous permettons, nous qui avons été loin du fracas des batailles, de terminer par un vœu, et de le faire au nom de tous les étudiants de Rousseau qui se trouvent dans la même position que nous: c'est celui de la reprise immédiate du travail en commun.

Nous venons de relire, au Tome II de la *Correspondance Générale*, (qui sort de presse) ce qui se rapporte à la noble conduite de Rousseau

envers Palissot, l'auteur de la comédie des Philosophes, jouée devant la cour du roi Stanislas à Nancy. Cette comédie, on s'en souvient, rendait ridicule Rousseau, et Palissot fut menacé d'expulsion de l'Académie de Nancy. Rousseau n'avait pas eu de repos, lorsqu'il avait entendu parler de l'incident, qu'il n'eût fait absoudre et entièrement réhabiliter Palissot. Il écrit en termes fort beaux combien il lui avait été pénible d'avoir, même innocemment, été l'occasion de sentiments de discorde. Rousseau aurait, à n'en pas douter, les mêmes sentiments aujourd'hui: Ne serait-il pas à propos de s'en souvenir? Or, l'une des parties qui se sont trouvées en présence est aujourd'hui en situation de donner comme Rousseau, et au nom de Rousseau, un bel exemple de magnanimité—tout en servant la science. Nous savons que la 'Société J.-J. Rousseau' a entre les mains quelques documents de valeur pour la *Correspondance*, et qui lui ont été envoyés par un Rousseauiste d'Amérique; ses représentants ont, de plus, donné clairement à entendre, au cours des débats, qu'ils possédaient de vrais trésors,— et chacun l'aurait deviné si même cela n'eût pas été dit. N'oserions-nous pas, comme membre de la Société Rousseau, proposer tout simplement à notre Comité exécutif, d'offrir à M. Pierre-Paul Plan tout ce qui dans les archives de la Société concerne la correspondance? Il n'est pas d'honnête homme qui résiste à ce geste, et qui ne désire, en retour, faire davantage que ce qu'on aura fait pour lui. Plus que personne, M. Plan, qui, au cours de toute l'affaire joua un rôle si discret, mérite qu'on lui fasse confiance. Personne ne perdrait à cet arrangement, tout le monde au contraire y gagnerait. Hâtons donc l'heure de la féconde paix.

ALBERT SCHINZ

SMITH COLLEGE

BLAKE ET LES CELTOMANES

Adam was a Druid, and Noah also.—BLAKE, *Descriptive Catalogue*.

Il n'est peut-être pas dans tout Blake de phrase qui ait fait plus de tort à sa réputation, et qui ait plus contribué à le faire passer pour fou. Si l'on peut donner à cette affirmation un sens rationnel, on aura donc rendu service à la gloire du poète, et, ce qui est plus important, on aura élucidé l'une des énigmes qui tiennent le plus de place dans son œuvre. En même temps on se sera rendu compte, sur un point précis, de la façon dont son esprit travaillait, et de la relation entre ses idées et celles de son époque.

Les textes de Blake sont si embrouillés qu'il me paraît préférable de procéder à l'inverse de la méthode ordinaire et de résumer ses idées générales sur ce sujet avant d'examiner les passages où il les exprime. D'ailleurs, cette façon de procéder est, en fin de compte, la plus logique: ces idées n'appartiennent pas à Blake, mais à son époque; elles ont été exprimées avant lui, et clairement; c'est sans doute ce fait qui lui a permis de les développer de si obscure façon.

M. Camille Jullian nous donne une liste des textes qui témoignent de l'idéalisation des Druides dès l'antiquité.¹ Une suite ininterrompue d'auteurs, depuis les Alexandrins, ont essayé de persuader au monde que la source de toute sagesse et de toute vertu était dans le druidisme. La Renaissance n'a pas manqué de donner une nouvelle force à ces théories attrayantes pour l'orgueil de l'Occident. Milton les a exprimées:

Writers of good antiquity and able judgment have been persuaded that even the school of Pythagoras and the Persian wisdom took beginning from the old philosophy of this island.²

Le XVIIIe siècle, avec ses théories sur les Atlantes d'une part, et les premiers essais d'études celtiques de l'autre, a assisté à l'éclosion d'une riche littérature sur ce sujet des Druides. Et il est facile de se

¹ *Histoire de la Gaule*, II, 67.

² *Arcopagitica* (Bohn ed.) II, 90.

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convaincre, en en parcourant une partie, que les idées de Blake n'ont à son époque rien de bien extraordinaire.

Le Français Pezron donne la note au début du siècle, en publiant en 1703 son livre sur *l'Antiquité de la Nation et de la Langue des Celts*, traduit en anglais en 1706 par un Mr. Jones.

We find, and that, upon the authority of Aristotle and Sotion, that the very rudiments of philosophy came from the Barbarians amongst whom the Celtæ, or Gauls, were reckoned. And tho' Diogenes Laertius be of a contrary opinion, it is no hard matter to overthrow all his arguments, and this author makes himself ridiculous to a great degree in pretending that philosophy had its origin from the Grecians.¹

La théorie proposée est celle-ci: Gomer, le fils aîné de Japhet, a donné naissance aux Titans, qui furent les ancêtres des Gaulois. Leurs rois, Saturne, Jupiter, etc., devinrent ensuite les dieux des Grecs, et ce sont ces Titans-Gaulois qui civilisèrent la Grèce.

Stukeley, qui fut célèbre vers le milieu du siècle par ses études sur Stonehenge et Abury, identifia le Druidisme avec la religion des patriarches. D'après lui, lorsqu' Abraham vint en Egypte il y rencontra Hercule, qui était le dernier des rois pasteurs, ou Hyksos, et Hercule devint son disciple. Puis Hercule vint en Occident, et colonisa la Grande-Bretagne, où il installa un grand nombre des siens, qui furent les Druides.²

Un peu plus tard, Bailly émit ses célèbres théories sur l'Atlantide. Avec une science remarquable il dépouilla les tables astronomiques des Indiens rapportées par les missionnaires, et arriva à cette conclusion rendue célèbre plus tard par sa controverse avec Voltaire et ses *Lettres sur l'Atlantide* (1777) et *Lettres sur l'Origine des Sciences* (1777): les calculs des Indiens comportent certaines erreurs qui démontrent que leurs observations astronomiques ont été faites non pas sous les latitudes de l'Inde, mais environ à la hauteur du 49e degré de latitude nord. Bailly en conclut que les Indiens n'avaient pas fait ces calculs eux-mêmes, mais les avaient reçus par tradition d'un peuple plus avancé qu'eux en civilisation, et habitant le sud de la Sibérie. L'étude des textes anciens à la lumière de cette théorie conduisit Bailly à construire toute une histoire de l'antiquité préclassique.

¹ *The Antiquities of Nations* (London, 1706), Preface, p. xli.

² Stukeley, *Abury* (1743), pp. 72-74.

L'Atlantide avait été près du pôle Nord: le Groenland, l'Islande, le Spitzberg, La Nouvelle Zemble, en sont des restes. Le refroidissement de la terre et diverses catastrophes cosmiques en chassèrent les Hyperboréens, peuple qui, descendu vers le 49e degré de latitude, fonda en Sibérie une civilisation mère de toutes les autres. Mais de cette même Atlantide septentrionale sortit un second essaim d'émigrants, les Atlantes, qui envahirent le pays des Hyperboréens. Ceux-ci en se dispersant devant cette invasion, allèrent civiliser l'Inde, la Chine, etc.

Mais cette histoire ne faisait pas du tout l'affaire des Celtomanes, puisqu'elle expliquait tout sans faire intervenir les Celtes ou les Druides. Aussi Bailly fut-il violemment attaqué, en 1777, par l'Abbé Baudeau, qui publia son *Mémoire d consulter pour les anciens Druides gaulois contre M. Bailly, de l'Académie des Sciences*. Baudeau explique que les véritables Atlantes furent les Gaulois, et essaie de tirer parti à son profit des ingénieux travaux de l'astronome. Nous retrouvons dans l'ouvrage de Baudeau Pythagore, élève des Druides, l'invention du feu dans les Pyrénées (démontrée par la racine Pyr), la source des sciences et des arts dans les Iles britanniques.

Les ouvrages de Bailly eurent un grand succès en Angleterre et toute la controverse fut évidemment suivie avec beaucoup d'intérêt par l'Europe entière, puisque Voltaire y prit part.

Un pas de plus fut fait par les Celtomanes lorsque le barde gallois Edward Williams publia ses *Poèmes* en 1794. Il y inclut les fameuses *Triades*, connues depuis 1601 (d'après Davies, *Celtic Researches*, p. 153) et une véritable profession de foi:

The Patriarchal Religion of Ancient Britain, called Druidism, . . . is no more inimical to Christianity than the religion of Noah, Job, or Abraham; it has never, as some imagine, been quite extinct in Britain; the Welsh Bards have through all ages, down to the present, kept it alive. . . .

Ancient British Christianity was strongly tinctured with Druidism. The old Welsh Bards kept up a perpetual war with the Church of Rome. . . . Narrow understandings may conceive that they were . . . less Christian for having been Druids. The doctrine of metempsychosis is that which of all others most clearly vindicates the ways of God to Man.¹

Williams construisit sur ces données tout un système de métaphysique religieuse, en 29 articles, dans lesquels il décrit une pro-

¹ *Poems*, II (1794), 194.

gression de l'âme de réincarnation en réincarnation, système qui n'a d'ailleurs rien d'original.

Edward Davies, par ses *Celtic Researches*, publiées en 1804, nous est un témoin précieux des idées agitées par les contemporains de Blake. Pour lui aussi, les Celtes sont les descendants de Noé, de Gomer, des Titans, et des Géants. Les Druides ont préservé dans toute sa pureté la tradition primitive qui émane de Noé, d'Adam, et de Dieu.¹

La philosophie de la Grèce est sortie des Celtes, et Pythagore était l'élève des Druides qui lui ont enseigné la métempsychose; Atlas était aussi un fils de Japhet. Hercule, par contre, est rejeté: ce n'était qu'un barbare qui n'a fait que des raids en Occident.²

Mais Davies va plus loin. Il présume que les Druides, après avoir dûment instruit Pythagore, l'ont envoyé dans l'Inde. Et il cite Wilford, qui en 1791, dans un périodique,³ avait affirmé que "the Indous know of Britain by name (Bretashtan) as the abode of the Pitris who were the fathers of the human race." Ces Pitris existaient encore en Grande-Bretagne, et des Hindous venaient encore les y voir. En 1791, un Hindou, en train d'accomplir ce pèlerinage, était arrivé jusqu'à Moscou.⁴

Et Davies conclut triomphalement que la sagesse était venue à l'Inde et à la Grèce des Iles Britanniques.

Mais Davies, si précieux qu'il soit en lui-même, est encore plus précieux comme témoin. Il va déjà bien loin, mais il ne va pas si loin que d'autres dont il nous parle. Il commente les ballades galloises et nous dit:

Patriarchs are made almost exclusively the fathers of the Cymry, and the general events of early ages are consigned particularly to the Island of Britain.

Ainsi, au déluge:

All mankind were drowned, except only two persons who escaped in a boat; of them was re-peopled the Island of Britain.⁵

La conscience chrétienne de Davies est choquée de ces extravagances, et il dit que tout cela "illustrates the nostra-tism of all national traditions."

¹ Pp. 124, 133, 150.

² Pp. 184-93.

³ *Asiat. Rec.*, V, 3.

⁴ Pp. 193-99.

⁵ Pp. 153, 157, 163.

Mais nous avons rassemblé ici toutes les idées sur les Druides que nous retrouverons dans Blake; et s'il était fou, du moins l'était-il en compagnie. Noé était bien un Druide, au grand scandale de Davies, puisque c'est en Grande-Bretagne et non sur le mont Ararat qu'il avait établi sa famille au sortir de l'arche. Quant à Adam, il était évidemment l'un de ces "*Pitris* who were the fathers of the human race" et qui habitaient également la Grande-Bretagne. Adam était donc aussi un Druide, et l'Indou venu jusqu'à Moscou était là pour en témoigner. Ce n'était pas Blake qui avait inventé tout cela, pas plus que la survivance au milieu des montagnes galloises des sages primitifs, qu'Edward Williams connaissait (il en était probablement un lui-même) et que les Indous venaient voir, en 1791 et en 1794, bien avant que Blake n'écrivit son *Descriptive Catalogue*.

Comment Blake avait su tout cela? Plus nous étudierons Blake, et plus il faudra nous persuader qu'il n'existait pas une absurdité dans l'Europe de la fin du XVIII^e siècle que Blake ne connût. Il est infiniment probable qu'il fréquentait quelque milieu swedenborgien et occultiste où l'on se communiquait avec commentaires et développements appropriés tout ce qui se passait dans l'Europe intellectuelle de ce temps. Les affirmations de Blake ont rarement le caractère de reproduction de documents livresques: elles font partie d'un fonds de communications orales, de traditions racontées, de conversations où la fantaisie individuelle enrichit les divagations collectives.

Voyons maintenant ce que Blake a fait de ces éléments si riches en possibilités.

Naturellement, Blake adopte la forme extrême de la théorie. L'humanité est née en Occident. Adam était Druide. Blake l'appelle par conséquent Albion. Les Druides furent donc les premiers hommes, les premiers civilisés, les fondateurs de la première religion. Les Druides sont donc à l'origine de toutes les civilisations, et en particulier à la source de la plus importante de toutes: la civilisation juive. Les patriarches étaient des Druides. On trouve ici en formation la légende occultiste qui, avec Fabre d'Olivet, un peu plus tard, deviendra célèbre sous le nom de "cycle de Ram": l'épopée d'une grande migration celte partie de l'Atlantique et allant jusqu'au Pacifique, à travers tout le continent, et colonisant et civilisant au passage la Grèce, la Palestine, la Babylone, la Perse, l'Inde, et la Chine. Plus

tard encore on découvrira la raison de cette migration dans l'engloutissement de l'Atlantide, catastrophe prévue par les sages, qui pour l'éviter emmenèrent une partie de leur peuple vers l'Orient. Ces idées fermentaient déjà autour de Blake.

Ainsi Jérusalem est une émanation d'Albion. *Jerusalem the emanation of the giant Albion*. Non seulement en un sens métaphysique ou mythique, en tant que partie féminine de l'âme d'Albion, mais au sens historique, en tant que race sortie de Grande-Bretagne. Rappelons-nous que c'est vers 1790 que Richard Brothers eut ses révélations, et apprit aux Anglais qu'ils étaient les dix tribus perdues d'Israel: toute une littérature se développa pour démontrer l'identité de la race juive et de la race anglaise. Blake change à peine cette idée de direction en suivant les Celtomanes et en faisant sortir les Juifs d'Angleterre.

Ici intervient l'influence d'un mythe connexe, que nous étudierons ailleurs,¹ le mythe de la division, puis de la reconstitution de l'hermaphrodite divin, sous-produit de la grande tradition qui a donné la dégradation puis la Reconstitution de l'Un chez Plotin.

A la chute Jérusalem s'est séparée d'Albion. A la consommation des temps, Jérusalem doit se réunir à Albion. Métaphysiquement, mais aussi historiquement: les Juifs doivent rentrer en Angleterre, et Blake, avec tout le soin méticuleux d'un maréchal des logis casant une compagnie, a distribué les comtés de Grande-Bretagne entre les tribus d'Israel.

A la lumière de la théorie, nous pouvons maintenant examiner les textes.

Descriptive Catalogue: The Ancient Britons: The Britons (say historians) were naked civilised men, learned, studious, abstruse in thought and contemplation, naked, simple, plain in their acts and manners, wiser than after ages.

. . . . The British antiquities are now in the artists' hands.

. . . . Mr. B. has on his hand poems of the highest antiquity.

. . . . Adam was a Druid, and Noah also; Abraham was called to succeed the Druidical age.

. . . . In the meantime (Mr. B.) has painted this picture, which supposes that in the fifth century there were remains of those naked heroes in the Welsh mountains; they are there now; Gray saw them in the person of his bard on Snowden; there they dwell in naked simplicity.

¹ J'ai donné des indications à ce sujet déjà dans la *Revue de litt. comparée*, III (1923), 344 ff.

. . . . The giant Albion was Patriarch of the Atlantic; he is the Atlas of the Greeks, one of those the Greeks call Titans. . . .

Vision of the Last Judgment: "He is Albion, our Ancestor, patriarch of the Atlantic Continent, whose history preceded that of the Hebrews."

C'est donc bien de l'Atlantis engloutie que parle Blake: *the Atlantic Continent*; son histoire a précédé celle des Hébreux; Adam, le premier homme de l'histoire hébraïque, était un Druide venu d'Atlantis. La science du temps, avec Bailly, cherchait l'origine des civilisations et des races hors de la Bible, alors que cinquante ou cent ans auparavant, Pezron ou Stukeley cherchaient à faire dériver les Celtes de Gomer ou d'Abraham.

Noé était aussi un druide: dans les Triades galloises qui scandalisaient Davies, c'est en Grande-Bretagne qu'il survit. Et ce n'est pas au déluge biblique qu'il survit par conséquent, mais à l'engloutissement de l'Atlantide, car la Grande-Bretagne est un fragment du continent fabuleux. La légende est en pleine formation à la fin du XVIIIe siècle—si l'on s'en fie aux textes; oralement, il est probable qu'elle est formée depuis longtemps parmi les initiés, occultistes ou Celtomanes. Ce ne sont probablement que des allusions et des fragments que nous trouvons dans Blake, parce que des allusions suffisaient pour ceux à qui il destinait son enseignement. Le but de Blake n'est pas de nous instruire d'une tradition, mais, parlant à ceux qui la connaissent, d'y ajouter ses révélations individuelles. D'où son manque de clarté pour les non-initiés. A un Swedenborgien, à un occultiste des cercles que fréquentait Blake, ses allusions eussent été claires. Mais la tradition occultiste, en général non fixée par des textes, varie avec une rapidité plus grande peut-être que celle de toute autre tradition. Par conséquent nous ne pouvons guère qu'essayer de deviner ce que cette catégorie d'esprits pouvaient penser à la fin du XVIIIe siècle, en nous aidant de textes insuffisants. Et c'est pourtant là, me semble-t-il, que git l'explication véritable de Blake.

Autre trait: les héros habitent encore les montagnes galloises. Williams avait dit "*down to the present*" en 1794; Blake dit "*they are there now.*" Rien de ce passage clair de Blake ne lui appartient donc en propre.

Il n'est guère utile de relever les allusions aux Druides qu'on trouve dans toute l'œuvre de Blake; elles ne nous apprennent rien de plus. Seul le grand poème de *Jerusalem* est à examiner à la lumière de ces idées, car le sujet de *Jerusalem* est précisément celui-là: comment Jérusalem est sortie d'Albion, de Grande-Bretagne, et comment elle s'y réintégrera.

Y a-t-il dans *Jerusalem* des allusions à la catastrophe de l'Atlantide? Peut-être, et peut-être non. Du point de vue des textes, la légende n'est qu'en formation. Mais c'est bien une catastrophe qui annihile la Grande-Bretagne et qui disperse les prêtres, les faisant se réfugier jusqu'en Palestine et en Egypte. Ce sont les fragments du récit classique que nous retrouvons au début de *Jerusalem*:

In all the dark Atlantic vale down from the hills of Surrey
A black water accumulates. . . .
Albion's mountains run with blood, the cries of war and tumult
Resound into the unbounded night. . . .
Jerusalem is scatter'd abroad like a cloud of smoke. . . .
Moab and Ammon and Amalek and Canaan and Egypt and Aram
Receive her little ones for sacrifices and the delights of cruelty.¹

Blake ajoute simplement à la donnée traditionnelle sa condamnation de la religion formelle, qu'il identifie ici à celle de l'Ancien Testament: car il considère parfois le Jehovah de la Bible comme son ennemi particulier. La description à la fin du poème, d'Albion pendant sa période d'abaissement, fait aussi penser à l'Atlantide engloutie:

Albion cold lays on his Rock; storms and snows beat round him
Howling winds cover him: roaring seas dash furious against him;
In the deep darkness broad lightnings, long thunders roll.
The weeds of Death inwrap his hands and feet, blown incessant
And wash'd incessant by the forever restless sea-waves, foaming abroad
Upon the white rock. . . .
And the body of Albion was closed apart from all Nations.²

C'est bien une catastrophe maritime que décrit Blake, et les associations entre Albion dormant sur le roc des Ages et Atlantis engloutie sont inévitables, quel que soit dans Blake le degré d'évolution de la légende: c'est la même légende qui évolue.

And the voices of Bath and Canterbury and York and Edinburgh, cry
Over the Plow of Nations in the strong hand of Albion, thundering along

¹*Jerusalem*, pp. 4, 5.

²*Ibid.*, p. 94.

Among the Fires of the Druid and the deep black rethundering Waters
Of the Atlantic which poured in impetuous loud, loud, louder and louder,
And the great voice of the Atlantic howled over the Druid Altars.¹

Voilà donc la catastrophe, et voici une allusion à ce qui l'avait précédée:

Therefore remove from Albion these terrible Surfaces
And let wild seas and rocks close up Jerusalem away from
The Atlantic Mountains where giants dwelt in Intellect,
Now given to stony Druids. . . .²

Il faut d'ailleurs marquer que pour Blake, non seulement Noé fut un Druide, mais qu'il fut le dernier des vrais Druides: ceux qui après la catastrophe, restèrent en Occident, devinrent les représentants d'une religion cruelle et dégénérée: "stony Druids" comme il les appelle un peu partout. C'est cette décadence, nous l'avons vu, qui rendit nécessaire la venue d'Abraham:

Abraham was called to succeed the Druidical age, which began to turn allegorical and mental signification into corporal command, whereby human sacrifice would have depopulated the earth.³

Il nous faut admettre que quelques-uns d'entre ces druides n'avaient pas dégénéré, puisqu'on les trouvait encore, *naked heroes*, du temps de Blake. Il faut admettre également qu'il est assez indifférent à Blake de se contredire.

Mais qu'il les loue ou qu'il les condamne, c'est d'Angleterre que sont partis les Druides pour civiliser l'univers.

And London walked in every Nation, mutual in Love and harmony—
Albion cover'd the whole Earth, England encompassed the nations.⁴

Et Blake déclare aux déistes: "Your Greek philosophy . . . is a remnant of Druidism."⁵

Cette idée générale bien établie, passons à l'application particulière aux Juifs. Blake s'adresse à eux en prose, entre le chapitre i et le chapitre ii de *Jerusalem*, et leur dit:

Jerusalem the Emanation of the Giant Albion! Can it be? Is it a Truth that the Learned⁶ have explored? Was Britain the Primitive Seat of the

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 57.

⁴ *Jerusalem*, p. 24.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 49-50.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 52.

³ *Descriptive Catalogue*.

⁶ *The learned*, ce sont les divers auteurs que nous avons cités, et dont il a tiré tout ce qui suit. Abraham, les autels de pierre, les pierres "druidiques" et les chênes sont fréquemment associés dans toute cette littérature.

Patriarchal Religion? If it is true, my title-page is also True, that Jerusalem was & is the Emanation of the Giant Albion. It is True, and cannot be controverted. Ye are united, O ye Inhabitants of Earth, in One Religion: The Religion of Jesus: the most Ancient, the Eternal & the Everlasting Gospel. The Wicked will turn it to Wickedness, the Righteous to Righteousness. Amen! Huzza! Selah!

Your Ancestors derived their origin from Abraham, Heber, Shem, and Noah, who were Druids: as the Druid Temples (which are the Patriarchal Pillars & Oak Groves) over the whole Earth witness to this day.

You have a tradition, that Man anciently contain'd in his mighty limbs all things in Heaven & Earth: this you received from the Druids.

But now the Starry Heavens are fled from the mighty limbs of Albion.

Albion was the Parent of the Druids: & in his Chaotic State of Sleep Satan & Adam & the whole World was Created by the Elohim.

Il continue en vers, plus enthousiastes encore, moins compréhensibles il est vrai, mais dont l'idée générale est bien la même:

The fields from Islington to Marybone,
To Primrose Hill and Saint John's Wood,
Were builded over with pillars of gold
And there Jerusalem's pillars stood.

.
The Jew's-harp-house & the Green Man,
The Ponds where Boys to bathe delight,
The fields of Cows by William's farm,
Shine in Jerusalem's pleasant sight.

She walks upon our meadows green:
The Lamb of God walks by her side:
And every English Child is seen,
Children of Jesus and his Bride.

Et il termine en prose par une claire allusion aux doctrines de l'Adam-Kadmon de la Cabale, à la division du Géant primitif dont tous les êtres ont été tirés par le sacrifice. Suivant la tradition chrétienne, inaugurée par Pic de la Mirandole, il cherche, d'ailleurs, à se servir de la Cabale pour opérer la conversion des Juifs.

If Humility is Christianity, you, O Jews, are the true Christians; if your tradition that Man contained in his Limbs all Animals is True and they were separated from him by cruel sacrifices; and when compulsory cruel Sacrifices had brought Humanity into a Feminine Tabernacle, in the loins of Abraham and David, the Lamb of God, the Saviour became apparent on Earth as the Prophets had foretold! The Return of Israel is a Return to Mental Sacrifice & War. Take up the Cross, O Israel, & follow Jesus.

Les Juifs sont donc sortis d'Angleterre: Blake est très documenté sur cet Exode. Ils se sont enfuis lors du conflit entre Luvah et Urizen, c'est à dire lors de la chute:

. . . . When they fled out at Jerusalem's Gates,
 Away from the conflict of Luvah & Urizen, fixing the Gates
 In the Twelve Counties of Wales & thence Gates looking every way,
 To the four Points, conduct to England & Scotland & Ireland,
 And thence to all the Kingdom & Nations & Families of the Earth.

Et Blake nous donne les lieux d'origine, ou les lieux de passage (ce n'est pas très clair) des tribus:

The Gate of Reuben in Carmarthenshire: the Gate of Simeon in
 Cardiganshire: & the Gate of Levi in Montgomeryshire:
 The Gate of Judah, Merionethshire: the Gate of Dan, Flintshire:
 The Gate of Naphtali, Radnorshire: the Gate of Gad, Pembrokeshire:
 The Gate of Asher, Carnarvonshire: the Gate of Issachar, Brecknockshire:
 The Gate of Zebulun, in Anglesea & Sodor, so is Wales divided,
 The Gate of Joseph, Denbighshire: the Gate of Benjamin, Glamorganshire:
 For the protection of the Twelve Emanations of Albion's Sons.
 And the Forty Counties of England are thus divided in the Gates:
 Of Reuben, Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex: Simeon, Lincoln, York, Lancashire:
 Levi, Middlesex, Kent, Surrey: Judah, Somerset, Gloucester, Wiltshire.
 Dan, Cornwall, Devon, Dorset.

Et Blake continue le catalogue jusqu'au bout des tribus et des comtés.

Pendant certains des fils de Jérusalem sont restés en Grande-Bretagne, et même en Irlande:

Because Twelve Sons of Jerusalem fled successive thro' the Gates,
 But the Four Sons of Jerusalem who fled not but remain'd
 Are Rintrah & Palamabron & Theotormon & Bromion,
 The Four that remain with Los to guard the Western Wall:
 And these Four remain to guard the Four Walls of Jerusalem,
 Whose foundations remain in the Thirty-two Counties of Ireland,
 And in Twelve Counties of Wales, & in the Forty Counties
 Of England, & in the Thirty-six Counties of Scotland.
 And the names of the Thirty-two Counties of Ireland are these:
 Under Judah & Issachar & Zebulum are Lowth, Longford,
 Eastmeath, Westmeath, Dublin, Kildare, King's County,
 Queen's County, Wicklow, Catherloh, Wexford, Kilkenny:
 And those under Reuben & Simeon & Levi are these.¹

Et Blake recommence un catalogue semblable au premier. Puis il élargit son champ de vision, et nous explique que non seulement les

¹ *Jerusalem*, p. 72.

Juifs, mais toutes les nations sont issues d'Angleterre, et qu'elles doivent y revenir:

All these Center in London & in Golgonooza, from whence
They are Created continually, East & West & North & South:
And from them are Created all the Nations of the Earth,
Europe & Asia & Africa & America, in fury Fourfold!

And Thirty-two the Nations, to dwell in Jerusalem's Gates.
O Come ye Nations, Come ye People, Come up to Jerusalem.
Return, Jerusalem, & dwell together as of old: Return,
Return: O Albion, let Jerusalem overspread all Nations,
As in the times of old; O Albion awake! Reuben wanders,
The Nations wait for Jerusalem, they look up for the Bride.

France, Spain, Italy, Germany, Poland, Russia, Sweden, Turkey,
Arabia, Palestine, Persia, Hindostan, China, Tartary, Siberia.

Voici les lamentations de Jérusalem au bord de l'Euphrate. C'est l'Angleterre qu'elle regrette:

How distant far from Albion! his hills & his valleys no more
Receive the feet of Jerusalem: they have cast me quite away:
And Albion is himself shrunk to a narrow rock in the middle of the sea!
The plains of Sussex & Surrey, their hills of flocks & herds,
No more seek to Jerusalem nor to the sound of my Holy-ones.
The Fifty-two Counties of England are harden'd against me
As if I was not their Mother, they despise me & cast me out.
London cover'd the whole Earth, England encompass'd the Nations,
And all the Nations of the Earth were seen in the Cities of Albion.

Albion gave me to the whole Earth to walk up & down; to pour
Joy upon every mountain, to teach songs to the shepherd & plowman.
I taught the ships of the sea to sing the songs of Zion.
Italy saw me, in sublime astonishment; France was wholly mine,
As my garden & as my secret bath; Spain was my heavenly couch,
I slept in his golden hills; the Lamb of God met me there.¹

Mais enfin vient la Régénération; et les nations, et en particulier les Juifs, rentrent dans la Jérusalem nouvelle, qui est l'Angleterre. Les fils de Jérusalem demeurés en Angleterre reconstruisent la cité divine. Le poète participe à l'œuvre:

Highgate's heights & Hampstead's, to Poplar, Hackney & Bow;
To Islington & Paddington & the Brook of Albion's River.
We builded Jerusalem as a City & a Temple; from Lambeth
We began our Foundations; lovely Lambeth, O lovely Hills.²

¹ *Jerusalem*, p. 79.

² *Ibid.*, p. 84.

Et Los voit et annonce le triomphe suprême, la réintégration de la multiplicité à l'unité, la reconstitution de l'un, le retour en Grande-Bretagne:

So Los terrified cries; trembling & weeping & howling: Beholding.

.
What do I see! The Briton, Saxon, Roman, Norman amalgamating
In my furnaces into One Nation, the English: & taking refuge
In the Loins of Albion. The Canaanite united with the fugitive
Hebrew, whom she divided into Twelve, & sold into Egypt,
Then scatter'd the Egyptian & Hebrew to the four Winds.¹

Les temps sont accomplis. L'Angleterre s'éveille et va, comme aux temps de la Création, redevenir le monde entier. Etrange impérialisme mystique, où, derrière le fantastique déploiement de l'imagination de Blake, se révèle l'un des traits les plus fondamentaux de la race anglo-saxonne.

Time was Finished! The Breath Divine Breathed over Albion
Beneath the Furnaces & starry Wheels and in the Immortal Tomb,
And England who is Brittannia awoke from Death on Albion's bosom.²

Albion se relève de son sommeil séculaire et devient l'humanité:

. Then Albion stood before Jesus in the Clouds
Of Heaven, Fourfold among the Visions of God in Eternity.

.
Awake, Awake, Jerusalem! O lovely Emanation of Albion,
Awake, and overspread all Nations as in Ancient Time.
For lo! the Night of Death is past and the Eternal Day
Appears upon our Hills: Awake, Jerusalem, and come away!

So spake the Vision of Albion, & in him so spake in my hearing
The Universal Father. Then Albion stretch'd his hand into Infinitude,
And took his Bow.³

La grande épopée de Blake *Jerusalem* développe d'autres thèmes: la division et la reconstitution de l'Un, les guerres des Sexes, la révolte de l'âme contre le dogme et la morale, etc. Mais le fil conducteur de ce labyrinthe est dans l'histoire légendaire de la terre celtique, telle que les Celtomanes du XVIIIe siècle l'ont conçue. Blake l'a développée, cette histoire, avec son esprit à la fois fantastique et très précis, accablant le lecteur de détails ahurissants, certes, mais d'une logique curieuse. Une fois admise la thèse générale, pourquoi ne pas imaginer

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 92.

² *Ibid.*, p. 94.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 96-97.

les faits les plus complets; pourquoi ne pas diviser les comtés d'Angleterre parmi les tribus d'Israel? Certes, cette théorie n'explique pas tout *Jerusalem*, mais elle aide à en comprendre le schéma général. Pouvons-nous jamais espérer faire davantage? Elle nous aide à comprendre un peu mieux l'enthousiasme du poète, et par conséquent, à jouir avec un peu plus de repos dans l'intelligence de sa merveilleuse poésie, lorsqu'il s'écrie:

And did those feet in ancient time
Walk upon England's mountains green?
And was the holy Lamb of God
On England's pleasant pastures seen?

And did the Countenance Divine
Shine forth upon our clouded hills?
And was Jerusalem builded here
Among these dark Satanic Mills?

Bring me my bow of burning gold!
Bring me my arrows of desire!
Bring me my spear! O clouds, unfold!
Bring me my chariot of fire!

I will not cease from mental fight,
Nor shall my sword sleep in my hand,
Till we have built Jerusalem
In England's green and pleasant land.¹

C'est que Jesus n'est autre que l'Homme primitif et total, reconstitué, et que par conséquent, il a bien pu, à son retour, paraître en Palestine, mais lors de sa première existence, avant la chute, il était Albion. C'est en Angleterre que l'humanité primitive s'est formée, c'est en Angleterre que l'humanité recevra sa consécration. C'est le vieux rêve des Celtomanes qui revit en Blake, et qui dort tout au fond de l'âme anglaise. C'est une parcelle de cette foi en eux-mêmes qui fait les grands peuples.

DENIS SAURAT

LONDON

¹ *Milton*, p. 2.

RHYME AND ALLITERATION IN CARL SPITTELER

From the impetus given by Zarncke to the investigation of modern versification in its various phases, there have appeared countless studies and numerous dissertations concerning themselves with poets, both living and dead, both major and minor. We now find within easy reach scientifically gathered data regarding the practices of the German masters from Goethe and Schiller to Hauptmann and Sudermann. The following pages will be an attempt to cast some light upon a few verse-characteristics of a poet who recently has been so deservedly and signally honored.

RHYME

In the approximately 12,000 verses of *Olympischer Frühling* we find pure and subjectively pleasing rhymes in large majority. Spitteler, however, like the classicists and the moderns in contrast to the Middle High German poets, is occasionally found nodding when face to face with the objective demands of what is generally accepted to be the best rhyme theory. Though disclaiming the presumption of desiring to formulate new ideas, Spitteler¹ wishes to suggest the path which a rational rhyme theory will have to take. The gist of his suggestion is "*dass, was an der einen Stelle ein Vorzug, an der andern Stelle ein Fehler ist,*" when speaking of bad rhymes. This tolerant doctrine has already been championed by the theorists several years before 1910.² VonCumpfenberg, more liberal than Spitteler, has even established phonetic conditions under which impure rhymes are concealed.³ Even though under the stress of modern life our ear may not be as keenly attuned to the niceties of musical verse as was the case in the best period of the Middle High German masters, still fundamental laws for a work of art in rhyme prevail, and the technical perfection of such a work of art is judged by the observance of infringement of

¹ *Kunstwart*, Vol. XXIV, Part I, p. 35.

² Cf. Minor, *Neuhochdeutsche Metrik*, pp. 392-99.

³ *D. euphon. Gesets d. unrein. Reime AZg. B*, No. 74, extract, *JBGP* (1899), pp. 125-26; also, *Gesets d. unrein. Reime LE*, I (1899), 898.

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such laws. The first of these laws is that the vowel be of the same quantity and quality. Though we remember with Goethe, "*Freilich ist die Poesie nicht fürs Auge gemacht*,"¹ still we must not forget that the modern eye mediates for the ear and that both organs are sensitive to vowel quantity and quality, especially in rhymed couplets.

Opitz declared war on the failure to observe vowel quantity on the part of German poets from Hans Sachs to the seventeenth century, and in practice generally observed the rules of his own theory. Wehnert² and Henkel³ show that Goethe often infringed on quantity when misguided by his own Frankfurt dialect but otherwise seldom. Platen and Gries carefully avoided impure rhymes while Gellert, Schiller, Rückert, Heine, and Sudermann were not so meticulous.

Spitteler, like Goethe, frequently confuses long and short vowels, as in the following (unless otherwise stated, examples are from *Olympischer Frühling*):

$\bar{a} : \check{a}$

sah'n : *an*, II, 20*a*; IV, 63*c*.

Grab : *ab*, II, 42*c*, 73*c*, 97*c*, 100*a*, 113*b*.

Stab : *ab*, II, 38*c*, 39*a*.

Bahn : *an*, II, 44*b*, 49*b*, 50*a*, 149*a*, 159*f*, etc.

$\bar{a} : \check{a}$

ebnemässig : *unablässig*, II, 6*b*; IV, 51*b*, *Schmetterlings*, 18*c*, etc.

$\bar{a} : e$

wäre : *Ehre*, II, 2*c*, 45*b*, 54*b* (frequent).

Bär : *daher*, II, 23*c*.

$\bar{a} : e$ are too numerous to mention.

Aside from the rhymes $\bar{a} : e$, Spitteler's most numerous impure rhyme is *i* (*ie*) : *i* (cf. Goethe's *dahin* : *ziehen*):

ziehen : *hin*, I, 124*a*; III, 7*c*, 8*a*, 119*a*.

ihn : *hin*, I, 89*b*; III, 146*b*; IV, 19*a*, 74*a*, 38*a*.

dies : *Nemesis*, I, 50*a* (but *riss* : *Nemesis*, I, 51*b*).

dies : *Biss*, III, 148*a*.

überdies : *gewiss*, I, 98*c*; II, 124*c*.

¹ *Ital. Reise*.

² *Dissertation, Goethes Reim*, Berlin, 1899.

³ *GJB*, XXVIII, 231-33.

Spitteler rarely rhymes $\delta : \delta$ (cf. Goethe's *verlorn : vorn* and *davon : Hohn*, etc.):

Widerstoss : Geschoss, II, 121c.

Astaroth : Gott, III, 119b, 119c.

Barathron : hievon, II, 97b.

Sohn : schon : davon, Schmetterlinge, 72a.

With $\bar{e} : \bar{e}$ Spitteler is very careful:

wehrts : Schmerz, II, 83c.

as also with $\bar{u} : \bar{u}$:

Wasserwüste : Küste, I, 78c.

düster : Geflüster, Schmetterlinge, 77a.

$\bar{u} : \bar{u}$

fussten : mussten, II, 97a.

Morgenblust : Lust, II, 46b.

Spitteler is more careful in the quality of the consonant. Due to the lack of voice element in the voiceless and voiced stops of Oberdeutsch we find:

Rhodopen : erhoben, II, 117c.

Giganten : standen, I, 9c.

verschwunden : unten, I, 40b.

The following liquids rhyme badly:

Amt : benannt, II, 140c.

verschrumpft : Kunst, III, 144c.

Likewise, too:

Staube : Auge, Glockenlieder, 4c.

Hexenweib : bleibt, Glockenlieder, 63b.

The rhymes $s : ss$ are frequent, as:

Küste : wüsste, I, 118c.

Tasten : fassten, II, 3b.

Brust : bewusst, II, 8a and elsewhere.

As is perfectly proper, Spitteler does not hesitate to employ secondary accent in rhyme, as:

benedeit : Ewigkeit, I, 45a.

Zickzackband : Niphant, III, 16c.

Without desiring to enter into the controversy as to the availability of unaccented *e* for the arsis and for rhyme, a question first raised,

perhaps, by Schottel¹ and argued pro and con by Goethe, W. Schlegel, Bürger, Voss, Lessing, Klopstock, and Platen, I shall say that possibly to his credit Spitteler uses unaccented *e* (*e* : *e*) in rhyme only seven times, as:

schnatterte : *flatterte*, I, 12c.

bejammerte : *kämmerte*, I, 89c.

Syllable inclination in rhymes made possible by syncope, elision, or apocopation is disregarded, as:

empfah'n : *nebendran*, IV, 56c.

Zeus : *freu's*, IV, 39b.

Grün : *blüh'n*, IV, 70c.

frei 'n : *sein*, I, 21b.

A source of inartistic rhyming is a simplex and a homogeneous compound. In the case of a preposition in which inorganic *r* is carried over to following syllable, the rhyme is free from objection.

anderswo : *wo*, III, 141b.

gegenüber : *über*, III, 33b.

Little effort is required to rhyme with a repetition of the rhyme word. In rhymed couplets one prefers the element of surprise instead of hearing again the same word, marked by its position, which remains vivid in the memory. Spitteler rarely errs in this:

nicht : *nicht*, III, 117b.

scheiden : *scheiden*, III, 116a.

Stunden : *Stunden*, *Schmetterlinge*, 98c.

ich : *ich*, *Schmetterlinge*, 93c.

The repetition of the same word with different meaning or the repetition of a common member of two compounds in rhyme is without offense if not employed too often. Identical rhyme is defended by Rückert, Lessing, W. Schlegel, J. Grimm, and Hildebrand.

Weh : *weh*, I, 35b.

Recht : *recht*, III, 116c.

wahr : *war*, III, 119c, 153c; IV, 6c, 80b; I, 43a, 66b.

wäre : *währe*, III, 115b, 130c, 131a.

"halt" : *halt*, II, 78a.

¹ *Teutscher Vers- und Reimkunst*, 1645.

When in 1733 a commission was given Gottsched to prepare a festive song for the Weissenfelder court, the hint was added: "*Dass Serenissimus nicht gerne das Wort "Wonne" . . . haben mögen.*"

Herz reimt noch stets auf Schmerz, auf Liebe Triebe—
Ich reimte mit Genuss auf beide—Hiebe [Hartleben].

Spitteler is at pains to avoid trivial rhymes at all times. Of the well-known rhyme pairs, the first of which suggests the sentiment of the verse following it, Spitteler seldom makes use.

Herz : Schmerz, I, 35b.

Not : Todt, I, 113c, 77b; II, 40a.

Wonne : Sonne, III, 95b.

Lieb : Trieb, III, 148c.

When used in compounds common rhymes are not noticeable as such:

Not : Martertod, I, 80c.

Herzenslust : Brust, IV, 28b.

Fern : Morgenstern, II, 64a.

Kunow has shown that Goethe used most successfully these abused pairs, and Uhland later removed from his poems trivial rhymes.¹

Every language has "stock" rhymes—words that pair with greatest difficulty with others except of a certain combination and which are still not common enough to be trivial.

Fürsten : dürsten, IV, 42c.

Meeresfürsten : Liebesdürsten, III, 86c.

dürstet : gefürstet, I, 5c.

Töne : Schöne, I, 8c.

Needless to state, Spitteler makes use of extended and double rhyme:

frage nicht : wage nicht, III, 117b.

bejammerte : hämmerte, I, 89c.

Bedrängnis : Gefängnis, I, 90a.

R. M. Meyer² points out that noun should rhyme with noun, verb with verb, and adjective with adjective. Lenau prefers noun : noun; Heine, verb : verb; and Uhland likes the two equally well. Since German is essentially a language of root-syllable rhyme in contrast to the Romance group with its system of inflectional endings available for couplets, it is a matter of course that rhyme should stand in close

¹ Minor, p. 385.

² *Über Reimfindung* LE, p. 15.

relationship with textual emphasis. Words of concept denoting similitude or antithesis are to be preferred to the comparatively more unimportant words of relationship. Goethe and Geibel illustrate this well. Spitteler¹ claims that *nannte* : *wandte* give a rhyme of a different carat than do *nannte* : *Verwandte*; in the first case, we have an asservative and in the second a gliding, fleeting rhyme. This is true and for the epic not improper. Still, rhymes with *du*, *als*, *wenn*, etc., are not in this category. In spite of the large number of beautiful couplets, unimportant words in rhyme cannot fail to detract. In a poem in which alliteration is extensively used and in which *enjambement* is not uncommon, rhyme with unimportant words prevents the verse to be felt as an entity, as:

zwar : *wahr*, IV, 103b.

dann : *an*, IV, 102b.

fuhr : *nur*, III, 81c.

The auxiliary *haben* rhymes three times: III, 9c; III, 69c; IV, 97c.

Spitteler avoids the exotic and bizarre in rhyme. He does not hesitate, however, to use proper nouns and words of foreign origin in rhyme. Since the time of Byron and Heine, proper names have been more popular, though such combinations as *Schiller* : *Triller*; *Lessing* : *Messing*; and *Niebuhr* : *Tibur* are to be avoided. *Hutten* : *Kutten* was used by Goethe, Platen, Heine, and Leuthold for its sound as well as thought association. Freiligrath's famous *rohre* : *Sophomore* is approached by Spitteler in several couplets. Our poet, however, frequently obeys Lenau's injunction to let the unusual rhyme word precede, that it might not seem that it was used under pressure to find a suitable rhyme, as:

Prytanen : *Ahnen*, II, 92b frequent.

lohn : *Amazonen*, II, 93b.

Tritanen : *Prytanen*, II, 97a.

Aorist : *Ist*, III, 22b.

Dialect in rhyme, if pure, belongs in discussions concerning themselves with style. Several misprints have been passed over.

Beehren, II, 15c has no rhyme, while in the whole epic there is a total of twenty-six combinations that have three rhyme words: I, 3a, 17b, 82b; II, 26b, 32c, 48b, 146c; III, 3c, 28b, 30b, 41b, 70a, 82b, 91b,

¹ K W. XXIV, L, 35-37.

111c, 116c; IV, 9c, 21c, 34b, 62b, 72c, 73a, 76c, 82b, 85a, 88b. There are two systems of four rhymes: *war : gar*, 16c, 17a; *mich : lich*, II, 110c.

There is nothing unusual or disturbing in Spitteler's apocopation, elision, or syncopation in rhyme.

ALLITERATION

The excessive use of alliteration together with rhyme places Spitteler's *Olympischer Frühling* in a class all its own. Almost every method of harmonizing sounds, almost every combination of harmonious words, is employed.

A very frequently occurring form of alliteration is noun with noun. In the epic we expect and demand the use of those expressive alliterative phrases common to all Germanic languages, as:

Leib und Leben, II, 20b.
Wald und Waide, I, 45c.
Wind und Welle, I, 14c.
Herz und Hemde, II, 9b.

Spitteler employs these in large numbers very effectively, and in addition may use a noun or verb in the same alliterative group or a compound of a different group or use two groups together, as:

eine Wiese "Wachs und Werden," I, 46b.
dem Leibe Leben leicht, I, 2c.
Modermeer von Tümpeln und Teichen, I, 11c.
Herz und Hand und Leib und Leben, 152a.

There is a total of one hundred forty-seven citations of this class, not all of which, however, are connected by conjunctions, as:

Thale Thamas, I, 19c.
Red' ist Rauch, II, 116b, etc.

Schmetterlinge and *Glockenlieder* show a less pronounced preference for alliteration.

The compound noun frequently shows alliteration, as:

Martermühlen, I, 48b.
Gartengassen, I, 109b.
Herdgehäusen, IV, 8c.
Heuchelhäuschen, IV, 34b.

They may appear in juxtaposition with an alliterating adjective or in pairs, as:

wackern Wind- und Wolkenwart, III, 13c.
Weibsgewäsch und Tintelland, II, 24a, etc.

The noun with its limiting genitive in alliteration is often met with, as:

| | |
|---------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| <i>Der Schiffer Siegesschrei</i> , II, 27b. | <i>des Laubes Lücke</i> , II, 108b. |
| <i>Des Mannes Minne</i> , I, 50c. | <i>des Weges Wagnis</i> , II, 108c. |
| <i>der Witz der Weisheit</i> , I, 22a. | <i>des Todes Taufe</i> , II, 33c. |

They may appear, too, in various alliterative associations, as:

Tages Abenteuer tauschend, III, 38b.
Lästiger Leute Luftgeschwätz, III, 5a.
Der Wildingswuchs der Ungewöhnlichkeit, II, 87a.

The noun-verb alliterations are found on every page, as:

| | |
|-----------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| <i>wälzt der Wahnsinn</i> , II, 18c. | <i>röcheln die Rappen</i> , II, 85a. |
| <i>schrieb der Schrecken</i> , II, 25b. | <i>Weihrauch wölkend</i> , II, 105c. |
| <i>Bosheit beckt</i> , I, 109c. | <i>Weihrauch würgend</i> , II, 107a. |

These combinations are often strengthened by additions, as:

schwebt ein schwarzer Schatten, II, 149c.
losch des Abends letztes Licht, II, 120a.
schob die schwere Schlange, III, 49c.
hob die Hände himmelwärts, II, 99b.
Hoheit hat zum Hüter, II, 39a.

Root-repetitions for alliteration appear at times, as:

Sprache sprachen, I, 57b.
Selbstgespräche sprach, II, 74b.
Fühlen fühlen, I, 57b.
Schauspiel schauen, I, 57a.
gezwungen zwang, I, 3a (*gezwungen zwankt*, I, 4c).

The appositive adjective and its noun show the usual manifestation of Spitteler's partiality for alliteration.

wohlgelauntes Loos, II, 118b.
rauen Rufs, II, 95b.
unbarmherz'gen Bahnen, I, 111b.
flücht'gen Flanken, I, 112b.
erhobne Hämmerkraft, II, 78c.

This combination is strengthened in every possible way, as:

morgenwindbewegten Rebenranken, III, 123b.
der wackre Wind- und Wolkenvater, III, 23b.
unvernünftige ndsige Nichtsnutz, III, 15b, etc.

As was the case with the noun alliterative pair, so, too, are all the resources of the language exploited for the adjective - adjective (adverb - adverb) group, as:

| | |
|----------------------------------------|----------------------------------------|
| <i>schwarz und schwer</i> , II, 104c. | <i>gütig und gelinde</i> , II, 123b. |
| <i>kühl und keusch</i> , II, 133a. | <i>weich und warm</i> , II, 148b. |
| <i>so heilig und so hoch</i> , I, 15c. | <i>gewöhnlich und gering</i> , I, 35b. |

Compound adjectives (adverbs), too, are not neglected, as *sehnsiech*, 1126a; *regenreich*, I, 74a; *rosenroth*, II, 15b; *lungerlangen Tag* and the following combinations: *schlummerschwer*, I, 91c; *reue-thränen-trunken*, II, 83a; *traumestrunken*, L, 82c; *ehrfurchtfiebernd doch gefasst*, II, 15c, etc.

Alliteration occurs often in verb-verb combinations. These groups, though common, do not appear as frequently as do the noun-noun and adjective - adjective pairs: *denkt und dichtet*, I, 34c; *krächzt und kreischt*, I, 12c; *murrten sie und meuterten*, I, 44a; *speit und sprudelt*, I, 55a; *und hinkt und humpelt herum vor Pein und Plage*, III, 101c, etc.

The verb may alliterate with the adverb frequently, as *entfloh sie flink*, I, 62b; *heiss mich hurtig*, I, 79b; *kleinlaut kroch kniefällig flehend*, II, 38b; *holt hurtig ihn herunter*, III, 110c; *schob sie sachte sich*, III, 117c.

Spitteler often employs word or root repetition for alliterative effect, as *Fluh und Fluh*, I, 19c; *Stuf' um Stufe*, I, 39b; *Wang' an Wange*, II, 53a.

In most of the interjections of three words or more we find alliteration, as *Heissah, Happla, hupp*, III, 14a; *lallte trallali und la*, III, 23c.

The following lines are, to my knowledge, unique in a German poem of a serious nature. In some lines almost every word in thesis as well as arsis stands in alliteration. Lines like these are numerous.

Doch wachs jetzt nicht so wildlings, denk an deine Wickel, III, 87a.
"Ichor" im Hain Hygieia heisst ein heisser Quell, II, 2c.
Von Mütterlein Natur, der milden Manna Mäh, III, 77b.
Hofft Mitleid, heischt Gehör, hält still gerechter Rache, IV, 78b.

Oh Schlag ins Angesicht! Oh Schmach der schmutz'gen Schande, IV, 96b.
Zum Zweiten hat sie zwischen Zunge zwischen Zahn, III, 127a.
Doch ihrer Schultern Schein, der Schenkel lichter Schimmer, III, 84b.
Hylas nach Hause ziehte, huschten aus dem Hag.
Die Heckennymphen, "Hör doch, Gylas . . . ," III, 126b, etc.

"ENJAMBEMENT"

In spite of the protest of J. A. Schlegel¹ against the use of *enjambement* in rhymed verse on the part of Ramler who followed Drollinger, the break with French classicism even at this early date seemed at least in practice complete. Mendelssohn, too,² joined Schlegel and termed rhyme in run-on lines "*unschicklicher Zierrat*."³ Klopstock, Goethe, and Schelling soon followed Drollinger and his Horacian straddling, and the rhyme-*enjambement* theory was established. Of the moderns, Freiligrath lets the sentence run through from one verse half to the other unhindered, and thereby establishes a new verse.⁴ Aside from the 4-foot iambic strophe, Spitteler follows Freiligrath. He not only allows the sense to run from one verse half to the other but also from verse to verse. In this way Spitteler relieves the epic of a monotony which otherwise would ensue, and definitely establishes his verse as the 6-foot iambus instead of, according to strictest traditions, the Alexandrine.

Though not disregarding the entity of the verse to such an extent as to permit the separation of a compound, as did Goethe⁵ and Schiller,⁶ still Spitteler did not avoid extreme cases of *enjambement*. Krause⁷ claims that von Wildenbruch and Hauptmann used run-on lines sparingly and that "von Hofmannsthal is the Lessing of the Moderns." While Sudermann⁸ occupies a place between Wildenbruch, Hauptmann, and von Hofmannsthal, Spitteler arranges himself between Sudermann and von Hofmannsthal.

A use of *enjambement* that has a distinctly jarring effect and that

¹ *Batteux* (2d ed., 1759), 585.

² *Bibliothek d. schön. Wissenschaften* (1757), p. 1178.

³ Walzel, *AZDA*, XXIII, 86-91.

⁴ Minor, p. 271.

⁵ *Werke*, Jub. Ausg., XIV, 363.

⁶ Zarncke, *D. fünf Fuss. Jambus durch Lessing, Schiller and Goethe* (Leipzig, 1865), pp. 68, 69.

⁷ Dissertation, *Hauptmann's Verse* (New York, 1910), pp. 60, 61.

⁸ Cannon, *Sudermann's Treatment of Verse* (Tübingen, 1920), pp. 26, 31, 58, 59.

annihilates the verse as a unity is the separation by the verse-end of preposition and noun, as *Ohne/Ansicht*, IV, 21b; *Ohne / Den Purpurmantel*, IV, 33c; *inmitten / Des Menschenvolkes*, IV, 46b; *unterhalb / Der Sonnenreise*, III, 67c.

If we remember in cases of *enjambement* of preposition : noun and adjective : noun that the preposition or adjective is employed in rhyme, we see that strong run-on lines add nothing either to the rhyme or verse unity.

The separation of adjective : noun is next in order of extreme *enjambement*. If, however, the verse-end falls between the first and second of a series of three adjectives, the straddling is much less, if at all, noticeable, as *ein ekler / oder abscheulicher Geruch*. Instances of the separation of adjective from noun are as follows: *der getreue / Gemahl*, III, 4b; *bergumrahmte / Schneewüste*, III, 107b; *ein flüchtig / Gespenst*, III, 129a; *der bedrängte / Gedanke*, IV, 35c, etc.

Among the cases of strong *enjambement* belongs the separation of limiting genitive from its noun. If the genitive precedes and forms the rhyme, the case is particularly jarring, as *des Tigers / Gereizte Rachsucht*, II, 9c. If an adjective precedes the limiting genitive in the second verse, it is less noticeable, as *den Staub / Der sturmgefügten Erde*, III, 25c. Other instances are *in den Schluchten / Des Waldes*, IV, 16a; *Theilen / Des Parks*, IV, 18a; *Heereswurm / Des Lebens*, IV, 21c, 22a; and twenty-eight other citations.

The separation of subject and predicate is a case of milder *enjambement*, as *eine Pause / Vereinigte*, I, 52b; *die Entsetzten / Aufsprangen*, I, 73a; *Amt / Ist*, 73a; *Pfand / ist*, I, 81c.

If the predicate precedes and is separated by the verse-end, the *enjambement* is stronger. Strangely enough, Spitteler has used this form more than that mentioned in the last paragraph, as *kochte / Das Herzblut*, I, 23a; *war / Phineus*, I, 49b; *wetzte / Hebe*, I, 52b; *vergass / Der Mund*, I, 57c; *schnellte / Der Gegenwurf*, I, 77b. The separation of the verb from the pronoun subject is rare. There are eighty other cases in some of which the subject is modified by an adjective, forming a milder *enjambement*, as *dräute / Ein zorn'ger Ausruf*, I 32b.

Alliterative and current phrases forming one idea are occasionally separated in strong *enjambement*, as *bocks / Und stocks*, III, 81c; *Kern / Und Geist*, III, 61a; *mit ja / Und nein*, III, 143a.

A particularly strong form of *enjambement* is the separation of verb and reflexive, as *begab* / *Sich*, II, 6c, III, 20c, *Erbarme* / *Dich*, II, 19b, III 34b; *bückte* / *Sich*, II, 147c; *wandten* / *Sich*, III, 43c; *stellte* / *Sich*, IV, 6a; *schmiegte* / *Sich*, I, 99b; *fiel* / *Sich*, II, 81b.

The separable prefix is rarely divided in *enjambement*, as *fuhr* / *Hinunter*, I, 85c; *wich* / *Zurück*, I, 116b; *kam* / *Vorüber*, II, 126b.

There are a few cases of straddling in verb / object, as *brach* / *Das Schweigen*, II, 20c; *wischte* / *Den Ärmel*, II, 24a; *thaten* / *Die Kleider*, II, 44c; and fewer still of object / verb, as *Gewalt* / *Verschmäht er*, III, 53c.

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COMPARATIVE SYNTAX AND SOME MODERN THEORIES OF THE SUBJUNCTIVE

Brunot points out the usefulness of careful distinction between relations and modalities in dealing with the subjunctive.¹ Of such relations he mentions as instances those of causality, of finality, and of consecutiveness. Modalities he calls "les relations entre la chose énoncée et notre jugement ou notre sentiment." Save for this hint, he sheds very little light on the actual function of the mood, and concludes that it denotes "tantôt des relations logiques, tantôt des modalités, tantôt il n'est qu'un simple outil de subordination."² He thinks there is disagreement between language and thought in *Que cela soit vrai, j'en conviens*, and in *Il est exact qu'il l'ait vu*. Further, if *Je doute que cela soit vrai* express a doubt, and *Je ne doute pas que cela ne soit vrai* does not express doubt, is not, he asks, the subjunctive, if used in both, illogical in one? From this he concludes that the use in certain cases is purely mechanical.³

Van der Molen, in a valuable chapter entitled "Différentes Conceptions de la Valeur du Subjonctif,"⁴ maintains that it would be misleading to consider *Je ne doute pas* as equivalent in meaning to *Je suis sûr*. But, he continues, if we consider the mental attitude of the speaker and the atmosphere coloring the expression, it is evident that the speaker adopts a firmer, more resolute, and more positive attitude toward the statement if he uses the words *Je suis sûr* than does he who says *Je ne doute pas*, for the latter is not quite convinced, nor absolutely certain of what he is willing to admit for the moment. Psychological analysis, van der Molen contends, can and should supplement logical analysis.

Brunot rightly sees no alteration of the logical relation by the transposition of *Je conviens que cela est vrai* to *Que cela soit vrai, j'en*

¹ F. Brunot, "Le Renouveau nécessaire des méthodes grammaticales." *Revue Universitaire*, October, 1920, and January, 1921.

² *La Pensée et la Langue* (1922), Introduction, p. xv.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 520 ff.

⁴ Willem van der Molen, *Le Subjonctif, sa valeur psychologique et son emploi dans la langue parlée*, Diss., Amsterdam, 1923, chap. i, p. 16 ff.

conviens. Logical analysis perceives no difference between the two. It is evident then that logical analysis is inadequate for the analysis of language.¹ In *Il est exact qu'il l'ait vu*, the mood will appear less illogical, thinks van der Molen, if we consider the attitude of the speaker, who, not content with stating a fact, expresses it in a conciliatory manner; he makes a concession; he adds a touch of subjectivity that is rendered by the subjunctive. In *Que cela soit vrai, j'en conviens* we have the subjective expression of the thought that is simply, naturally, and neutrally expressed by *Je conviens que cela est vrai*.

En lançant ce membre de phrase en avant ... nous rompons la marche régulière de la pensée discursive, nous mettons en vedette la partie de la phrase qui nous occupe avant tout et qui doit frapper notre interlocuteur, en un mot, nous enveloppons notre phrase d'une atmosphère subjective, qui la colore d'une nuance spéciale; cette phrase appartient au langage affectif.²

Van der Molen, then, would have us seek the modality as the most likely clue to the solution of the modal problem.

Concerning modality, M. Sechehaye's definition: "est modal en grammaire tout ce qui exprime le mode du sujet, c.-à-d. son attitude psychologique à l'égard de l'idée exprimée"³ is almost that of Karl Brugmann: "Die Modi stellten seit urindogermanischer Zeit eine Aussage über eine Seelenstimmung (*ψυχική διάθεσις*) des Sprechenden dar, über einen subjektiven Zustand, zu dem die Handlung die objektive Nebenbestimmung bildet, auf die sich dieser Zustand bezieht,"⁴ and that of M. Meillet: "Sous le nom de modes on entend les formes au moyen desquelles est indiquée l'attitude mentale du sujet parlant par rapport au procès indiqué par le verbe,"⁵ which van der Molen further simplifies to: "attitude psychique du sujet parlant par rapport à l'idée énoncée."⁶ The substitution of *psychique* for *psychologique* is, he explains, in order to avoid any possible confusion between the intellectual and the psychological values of forms. Presumably he

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 18.

² *Le Subjonctif*, p. 18.

³ Ch.-Albert Sechehaye, *Programme et Méthodes de la Linguistique théorique*, Paris, 1908, p. 35.

⁴ Karl Brugmann, *Kurze vergleichende Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprachen*, II, 748.

⁵ A. Meillet, "Sur les caractères du Verbe," *Revue philosophique*, janv.-févr., 1920, pp. 1ff.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 15.

means between thought and feeling, since nearly every case is to be considered in some way or other as affective.

Skeptics as to the rationality of modal usage exist. Besides Brunot's escape in his discovery of disagreement between language and thought, we have Soltmann's opinion that the subjunctive in *Que cela soit vrai, j'en conviens* is required by a "ganz äusserliche und tōrichte Regel."¹ M. Foulet even goes so far as to maintain that in most cases (even in literary language) there is not sufficient difference in sense between the indicative and the subjunctive to explain modal usage.

Et dans la langue de la conversation, où le subjonctif est relativement peu employé, il n'est qu'un simple substitut de l'indicatif, dont l'emploi est régi par des règles traditionnelles et obscures. Si on l'emploie, c'est en vertu d'une convention où il est bien vain de vouloir aujourd'hui retrouver un sens.²

With this encouragement we may now turn to the exponents of what may be termed the "subordination" theory. Venzke's distinction between a *Vorstellungsreihe* and a *Vorstellungskomplex* is most valuable.³ In a series of ideas the indicative is found. But when one idea gives rise to another, and the second fuses into the first (or the first into the second ?), a complex is produced. The process of thought of the speaker is double, yet there results a unity of concept. The subjunctive, Venzke contends, arose through the desire to represent this dual-unity.

Ricken bases his modal theory⁴ on that of Venzke. The subjunctive is the manner of expression of an idea that is formed without independence. An idea is dependent when it is *untergeordnet*, *unterworfen*, and *untergebunden* (subjunct) to a dominant idea, so that it has no independent meaning apart from that dominant idea. There is a beautiful simplicity in his theory, in which the psychic element as an influence affecting the mood apparently has no place. This inner relation of psychological subordination Ricken considers suffi-

¹ H. Soltmann, *Syntax der Modi im modernen Französisch*, Halle, 1914, p. 75.

² L. Foulet, *Petite Syntaxe de l'ancien français*, Paris, 1919, §§ 209, 211.

³ Venzke, "Zur Lehre vom französischen Konjunktiv," *Progr. zum Jahresbericht des Königl. u. Gröningschen Gymnasiums zu Stargard i. P.* Stargard, 1890.

⁴ Wilhelm Ricken, "Subjonctif als einheitlicher 'unterbindender' Modus," *Neueren Sprachen*, XXVIII, 134 ff. See also Ricken's "Eine neue wissenschaftliche Darstellung der Lehre vom Subjonctif für Zwecke der Schule," *Zeits. für frans. Spr. und Litt.*, XXII, 273 ff.

cient in itself to account for the subjunctive mood. He gives a summary of Hasenclever's presentation of the subject, which is largely his own, with one slight but suggestive detail. Hasenclever pointed out that, if we break up a sentence like "Lyons is the largest city that he has seen" into "Lyons is the largest city—he has seen the largest city," it is evident that the clauses cannot be separated without changing the meaning of the whole sentence. They are so placed together as to produce an effect other than that produced by the two separate clauses. The second idea, then, is subordinated to the first, and is closely bound up with it. Then again, the idea of the main clause is closely bound up with that of the dependent clause; by itself it means something quite different. The statement: "Lyons is the greatest city" is relative only, rather than absolute and literal. The dependent clause shows how the statement is to be taken. The subjunctive denotes such relationship (here mutual). So too in *Charles est heureux qu'il ait trouvé son livre*, the idea predicated in the main clause is relative and to be determined only by reference to the idea in the second clause.¹

We may note that this school does not see any affective *nuance* in this strictly logical idea of relativity, although it is not clear that the possibility of modality as a by-product is excluded. These writers consider the subordination of idea as the chief fact that is found along with the subjunctive, but it does not follow that subordination *per se* is the reason for the use of the subjunctive. The representation of relativity in the example above and the reference of a relative statement to a standard by which the exact application of the statement may be ascertained seems to be the purpose as well as the effect of the whole sentence. The *Vorstellungskomplex* is the initial mental process, and results in psychological subordination, which, let us admit, is denoted in speech by the subjunctive. But the *Vorstellungskomplex* itself, especially if it is expressed in speech, corresponds to an attitude; and it is the intent to express this attitude in regard to a given imagined state or action, rather than the factor of ideal subordination, that is the main fact accompanying the use of the subjunctive.

¹ Ricken here remarks that this is somewhat different from his own thought; he had explained such a case not as two statements of "rejoicing" and "finding," but as one statement of "rejoicing at finding." The main idea, that of *Unterbindung* of thought, he thinks, is the same.

The latest exponent of the "subordination" theory is C. de Boer.¹ Except for the optative notion expressed in main clauses and in the descriptive relative clause the function of the modal element, in his opinion, is always the same, viz., psychological subordination. The effect is determined in each case by the meaning of the verb, the context, the conjunction. Modality represents only one of the causes that contribute to produce such effects. The subjunctive does not express anything in dependent clauses, but only indicates psychological subordination. He conceives of the principal clause as having subordinating force. If this force is strong, the subordination is effected (or denoted ?) by the subjunctive, and the subordinate clause is colored with the same modality as the principal clause. Thus, if as subordinating force the principal clause contain a strong negative element, the effect of the subordination is a negative one, although slight (example: *Je ne savais pas qu'il eût un père*).² Likewise in *Je cherche une maison qui ait six chambres* the sense of the verb *chercher* and the subordination of the idea expressed by the subjunctive are enough to produce the effect known as *la qualité requise*, but which the subjunctive does not and cannot express.³ In other words, the subordinating force of the main clause being volitive, the effect of the subordination must be a volitive connotation. Against the idea of the subjunctive having any particular force in itself he uses this argument: Of *Dites-lui de venir*, which is equivalent to *Dites-lui qu'il vienne*, we do not say that *venir* is an *infinitivus optativus*; why then speak of *viene* as *subjunctivus optativus*? The infinitive like the subjunctive serves here to subordinate the idea, and this subordination in the context, i.e., together with other elements, suffices to produce the desired effect. Again, if in *On mange pour qu'on puisse vivre*, the subjunctive alone expresses volitive purpose, does the same verbal phrase *puisse vivre* in *bien qu'il puisse vivre* express by itself concession? Surely the conjunction in each case determines the force of the verb.⁴ In the two sentences: *Coutât-il tout le sang qu'Hélène a fait répandre, je ne balance point*, and *Lui restât-il un soupçon, un seul, elle était perdue!* he thinks the subjunctive serves only to subordinate, and that this subordination plus the inversion plus the context all together suggest the ideas of

¹ *Essai de Syntaxe française moderne*, Paris et Groningue, 1923.

² *Ibid.*, p. 93.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 86.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 87.

concession and of unreal condition. Without these elements it is indeed difficult to see how the force of the mood in these two cases could be distinguished; which of course does not prove that the mood has no force. I hope to prove toward the end of this article that it often has a definite force.

A fuller idea of M. de Boer's theory may be gained from the following passage:

Dans une *analyse complète* ... il faudrait commencer, pour chaque cas, par formuler la règle, c.-à-d. par établir le rapport entre la communauté et l'individu. On verrait alors si la règle formulée est une véritable règle, ou seulement une application d'une règle plus générale. Ensuite il faudrait déterminer dans chaque règle la part de l'élément psychologique et de l'élément conventionnel, formel. Enfin il faudrait déterminer la nuance, c.-à-d. l'effet produit et voulu par la subordination. Dans une *description complète*, des "Remarques" pourraient servir à faire des observations historiques, stylistiques (p.e. mesurer dans chaque *exemple* la force de la psychologie *individuelle*, dépendant du plus ou moins de liberté que la communauté laisse à l'individu et des besoins stylistiques de l'individu), des comparaisons avec d'autres langues, etc.¹

If subordination of idea is discoverable in a dependent clause, De Boer invariably refers such subordination to the feeling of the "community" that such and such an expression in the main clause has subordinating force. Now it seems that such phrases express mental attitudes or feelings, if ever so slightly; therefore we are referred ultimately to the affective-psychological element in his attempt to explain modal choice.

The issue between De Boer and his critic van der Molen, who advocates the "psychological" or "psychic" explanation, seems to come to this: Does the subjunctive in the dependent clause express the nuance, or is the nuance of the context communicated to the dependent clause through the subordinating force of the context? That the nuance is connoted, and not actually expressed by the subjunctive, appears to be a satisfactory working hypothesis, which does not, however, preclude the possibility of the mood having some force.

Van der Molen² particularly criticizes De Boer's reiterated statements that "la grammaire, la communauté, la règle moderne exige, impose, prescrit, permet, préfère ou défend la subordination psycho-

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 89

² *Op. cit.*, p. 27.

logique ou subordination d'idée," and that "la subordination psychologique est obligatoire dans tel et tel cas" and thinks that the substitution of "subjunctive" for "psychological subordination" would not alter the value of such utterances. However, as psychological subordination depends on the subordinating force of the idea of the principal, which in turn depends on the psychological situation, i.e., the preponderance of the subjective or negative element in the predication, it is fairly plain that De Boer refers us ultimately to the very same element as does van der Molen, viz., subjectivity.

Van der Molen sees no difference in the force of *dites* in the two sentences *Dites-lui qu'il vienne*, and *Dites-lui qu'il doit venir*.¹ Surely "tell" in its primary sense is declarative, and only volitive when by the context or situation it is clearly imperative. In the second sentence, *doit* is sufficient to express the volition, and clearly *dites* in that sentence is declarative. If imperative, as it is in the first sentence, it has, according to De Boer, subordinating force. Van der Molen's objection then remains without much force.

Of *Je cherche une maison où il y ait dix chambres* and *Je cherche une maison qui doit avoir, qui aura, qui aurait dix chambres* De Boer had said, "La communauté permet au besoin l'indépendance psychologique; la nuance volitive est introduite alors dans la relative par une forme spéciale: futur, conditionnel, verbe auxiliaire." Van der Molen wonders why volition can be expressed by the conditional and not by the subjunctive, and he even doubts if in this sentence with the verb in the conditional there is really psychological independence, since as De Boer says, "la relative forme psychologiquement un tout avec l'antécédent."² Why not then regard *aurait* as the equivalent of (*il y*) *ait*? Is it not possible to see in this *conditionnel* clause³ a case of subordination and of volition being expressed by the context plus the subordination, and accompanied by the *conditionnel* instead of the subjunctive? Perhaps we should admit that the auxiliary *doit* expresses volition; then in the first sentence *je cherche* means "I wish to find," and in the second sentence, since volition is sufficiently expressed by *doit*, *je cherche* is simply declarative.

De Boer had explained the subjunctive in *Je ne savais pas qu'il eût un frère* as due to the subordinating power of the principal which

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 28.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 107.

³ A further reason will appear later.

contains a strong negative element. Van der Molen asks if *ne savais pas* in *Je ne savais pas qu'il avait un frère* has not the same negative element. The obvious answer is that while the latter has a negative element, it is not the *same* negative element, for *savais* is all that is negated here, whereas in the former sentence there is implied a doubt of any force amounting to a denial of the action stated in the dependent clause. The psychological situation in the two sentences, then, is different. While van der Molen criticizes De Boer's analysis of many cases, his main objection is evidently to the explanation of the subjunctive as determined by psychological subordination. According to De Boer's theory, as we have seen, the subordinating force of the idea of the principal depends on the psychological situation, i.e., the preponderance of the subjective or negative element in the predication, and subordination of the idea of the dependent clause causes such subjective or negative element to be infused throughout the whole sentence.

With M. van der Molen the subjunctive is simply the mood of subjectivity.

Ce mode a pour effet de teindre l'action de cette nuance subjective qui est inhérente au mode subjonctif, partout et toujours, aussi bien dans la proposition principale que dans la subordonnée. Autour du sens logique du verbe flotte une atmosphère sentimentale qui l'enveloppe, le pénètre, et lui donne, suivant le contexte, des colorations particulières; ce sera tantôt un ordre ou une prière, tantôt une certaine réserve ou hésitation, dictée par la politesse ou la prudence, tantôt une certaine bienveillance, une concession en faveur de l'interlocuteur, tantôt un désir ou une crainte de voir se réaliser l'action; mais on ne perdra jamais de vue que ce sont là autant d'attitudes psychiques du sujet parlant, et que l'élément commun est celui de la subjectivité. Grâce à ce caractère subjectif du mode, il se mêle à la notion abstraite et générale qu'exprime le verbe, une nuance particulière, affective, expressive. Entre ces nuances il y aura des transitions comme dans le spectre solaire, mais non pas des différences tranchées et irréductibles. Ainsi le subjonctif se trouve avoir moins de fonctions et de significations que les logiciens ont voulu lui prêter, mais nous lui laisserons sa valeur modale, psychologique. S'il était permis d'appliquer à notre sujet une image empruntée au philosophe Bergson,¹ nous pourrions dire que la forme du subjonctif dessine autour de la représentation intellectuelle proprement dite une frange indistincte et floue; le subjonctif est comme la nébulosité vague, faite d'émotivité, qui entoure un noyau lumineux, notre pensée conceptuelle et logique.²

¹ *L'Evolution créatrice*, p. 50.

² *Op. cit.*, pp. 36, 37.

We have seen that this writer has defined the moods¹ as the forms by means of which is indicated the *psychic* attitude of the speaker with regard to the idea presented. He preferred "psychique" to the "mentale" of M. Meillet.² The reason now is plain. The affective element, rather than intellectual processes, he associates largely with the subjunctive. As "attitudes psychiques" are definitely adopted, and are not vaguely fluctuating emotion, the majority of the modalities could be called psychic; for the rest, the author does not ignore the part played by convention and tradition in syntax,³ although he believes that a psychological basis could always be found.⁴

As regards the function of the subjunctive, we gather that the mood itself overcasts with a subjective hue the action represented; that the subjunctive mood is actually the means of mingling the special affective expressive tone with the abstract general notion expressed by the verb; and that the only value of the subjunctive is psychologic or rather psychic.

Contrasting this with the theory of De Boer, we find that, whereas the latter is of the opinion that as a subordinating instrument the subjunctive is the means of casting by reflection over the whole sentence the modality of a principal, van der Molen prefers the view that the subjunctive, not by virtue of any subordinating power, but by its own power of expressing subjectivity reflects the modality of the principal upon the dependent clause.

Fortunately we have besides the passage quoted above, another,⁵ in which M. van der Molen admits that the subjective-affective interpretation will not meet every case. With M. de Boer he recognizes a formal, conventional, traditional element in syntax, the importance of which, however, should not be exaggerated to the point of forming a purely mechanical conception of language. Beside the comparatively fixed, conventional or organized element, one must admit an active individual element. The obscure, apparently illogical character of some of the traditional rules he considers due to confusion between logical relations and modalities. Moreover, he believes that there must be a psychological basis for even the conventional and

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 15.

² *Ibid.*, p. 1 ff.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 39.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 40.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 39.

traditional. "La 'racine psychologique' du subjonctif est partout la même: l'action se présente toujours sous un aspect subjectif."¹

The theories of three of the more recent German writers on modal syntax may now be summarized. In the latest work of J. Haas² the subjunctive is represented as the mood of unreality. He distinguishes³ between unreality that is equivalent to non-existence, and unreality that is a modification, an altered concept of reality due to some state of consciousness that may be conditioned by other ideas or by a psychic condition. For the latter kind it might be suggested that imaginative representation (*Vorstellung*) is a more exactly descriptive term. It seems more appropriate also, since the author recognizes the *Vorstellungskomplex* that underlies the use of the mood. Clinging to this idea of unreality, Haas calls illogical all uses of the subjunctive where the state or action represented corresponds to objective fact.

In Soltmann's work⁴ the idea of uncertainty is held to underlie the use of the subjunctive. The author distinguishes⁵ three degrees of uncertainty felt by the speaker regarding the stated content: (1) real uncertainty, (2) uncertainty because the content is merely assumed, (3) uncertainty assumed for the sake of caution, i.e., where the content is real, but is recognized as likely to be questioned. Approximately, the indicative is the mood of certainty, the subjunctive that of uncertainty, while the imperative is that of will.⁶ In actual practice, however, the distinction is not sharply drawn.⁷ Illustrating the exchange of function, he notes that several types of uncertainty are expressed by the indicative, e.g.: *L'aimerais-je? se demanda-t-elle* (doubt); *Où donc est Malène? Elle aura voulu prendre l'air* (supposition); *Je ne saurais vous le dire* (caution); also that the uncertain element present with desire leads to the use of the subjunctive and the future (the forms associated with uncertainty) as means of *Willensspiegelung*.

An obvious objection to this theory is that there are cases of the use of the subjunctive where no uncertainty of any kind—not even

¹ van der Molen, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

² J. Haas, *Französische Syntax*, Halle, 1916, § 457.

³ *Ibid.*, § 458.

⁴ H. Soltmann, *Syntax der Modi im modernen Französisch*, Halle, 1914, § 4.

⁵ *Ibid.*, § 9.

⁶ *Ibid.*, § 7.

⁷ *Ibid.*, § 8.

of the author's third class—can be imagined directly or indirectly on the part of the speaker or the listener. No amount of ingenious argument can reduce the subjunctive in clauses adversative, causal, and concessive of fact to this single principle.

Unlike the above-mentioned German writers of the psychological school, Eugen Lerch in his earlier work¹ bases his theory upon functional distinctions in Latin. He argues that since the functions of the Greek subjunctive and optative were combined in the Latin subjunctive, the subjunctive in Romance languages must perform two main functions. J. H. Schmalz,² basing his classification on that of Eduard Bottek,³ reduced these functions to five, which Lerch arranges according to the negation used, as follows: *ne*: *hortativus*, *optativus*, *concessivus*; *non*: *deliberativus*, *potentialis*. The first (*ne*) class, he considers, expresses desire, the second (*non*) uncertainty.

Van der Molen attacks this theory by quoting M. Meillet,⁴ who explains the fusion of the optative and the subjunctive into one mood thus:

Optatif et subjonctif s'équivalent, et l'un des deux devait disparaître ... l'histoire de toutes les langues indo-européennes montre que le subjonctif et l'optatif n'ont pu se maintenir à la fois,

and that

l'existence de deux modes distincts, de sens assez voisins et tous deux opposés au mode qui indique le fait positif, l'indicatif, ne se rencontre que dans la période ancienne des deux langues indo-européennes attestées par les textes de la date la plus haute, à savoir, l'indo-iranien et le grec. ... En latin, seuls des restes de l'optatif, comme *sit velit*, sont entrés dans la catégorie du subjonctif;

all of which really has little to do with the question.

What interests us more than the reduction in the number of the mood-forms and the reason for this reduction is the question whether the main functions of the older optative and subjunctive are operative in the Latin subjunctive. William Gardner Hale tells us that they are.⁵

¹ Eugen Lerch, *Die Bedeutung der Modi im Französischen*, Leipzig, 1919, pp. 10 ff.

² J. H. Schmalz, *Lateinische Grammatik*, in *Handbuch der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*, II, 476 ff.

³ *Die ursprüngliche Bedeutung des Konjunktivs in lateinischen Nebensätzen*, Vienna, 1899.

⁴ Meillet, *Aperçu d'une Histoire de la Langue grecque*, 2d ed., Paris, 1920, pp. 209-14.

⁵ William Gardner Hale, "The Harmonizing of Grammatical Nomenclature, with Special Reference to Mood-Syntax," *P.M.L.A.*, XXVIII, 437.

After speaking of constructions that may be called the inherited subjunctive or optative, which are, he says, generally speaking, common to all the languages under consideration (i.e., the commoner school languages), at least in the fundamental powers which appear in them, and after mentioning the special Latin developments with certain Romance descendents, in which the subjunctive expresses facts, he says: "The subjunctive of the speech from which all the languages under consideration are descended, expressed either volition or anticipation. ... The optative of the parent speech expressed wish, obligation, natural likelihood, possibility, or ideal certainty." Now these very functions of both moods of the older speech are the functional divisions that are found in his classification of the Latin subjunctive,¹ as well as in his scheme of leading mood-ideas found at the end of the above-mentioned article.

Further, Hale observes that of all the languages in which the subjunctive and the optative have fallen together into a single group of mood-forms, Latin alone presents us with any means of external distinction among mood-forces: its negative for volition and wish is *ne*, for all other forces the negative is *non* (in the expression of obligation-propriety, however, either negative may be employed); and that this partition cuts across the two moods, not between them. Now, Hale logically analyzes the so-called *potentialis*, and discovers in it the mood-ideas: natural likelihood, possibility, and ideal certainty; possibly some cases of anticipation would also be classified under this heading, while others would come under the *deliberativus*.

As Schmalz probably regarded obligation-propriety as volitive (which it often is not), and his *hortativus* and *concessivus* are volitive, we shall see that his classification approximates that of Hale. The latter, it is true, in his grammar,² calls the *deliberativus* volitive. Its negative, however, is *non*; therefore by his other statement quoted above it may be here considered other than volitive or optative, and we will class it as such. (It really involves the idea of propriety.)

With this explanation, the identity of the two schemes as given below will be clear.

Schmalz gives: *ne: hortativus, optativus, concessivus; non: delibera-*

¹ Hale and Buck, *Latin Grammar*, Boston and London, 1903, pp. 257-58.

² *Op. cit.*, § 503.

tivus, potentialis. Hale gives: *ne*: volition, wish, and (seldom) obligation-propriety; *non*: anticipation, possibility, natural likelihood, ideal certainty, and (usually) obligation-propriety. Now, Lerch states that uncertainty is expressed in all cases of the second (*non*) class. A glance at Hale's classification above will show that natural likelihood and ideal certainty, two definite mood-ideas of the mis-called *potentialis* in Latin, are ideas distinctly opposed to uncertainty.

Lerch later realized the inadequacy of the term "uncertainty." Clearly with him, as with Soltmann, the term "uncertainty" does not connote merely the modality "uncertainty," nor to Haas does "unreality" connote merely mental reserve. Much confusion and controversy might have been spared, had they simply used the term *Vorstellung*, i.e., mental representation, a term consistent with the views of Armstrong,¹ Clédat,² Kalepky,³ A. Wallensköld,⁴ and Gildersleeve and Lodge.⁵

For Lerch's reconsidered view of the subjunctive, no more need here be said than that for the subjunctive of "uncertainty" he has substituted that of the "psychological subject" (the idea about which something is predicated), for the discovery of which he employs an analysis resembling that used by Venzke, Ricken, Hasenclever, and De Boer to discover psychological subordination; and that the single volitive principle underlies every use of the subjunctive.⁶

After professing to discover two distinct functions in Latin and Romance alike, and two only, this *volte-face* is surprising, the more so as the "psychological subject" is offered merely as a substitute for the "subjunctive of uncertainty." Can anyone discern the slightest tinge of volition in the *potentialis* class of Schmalz, which Hale more correctly divided into the mood-ideas of natural likelihood, possibility, and ideal certainty, in statements of which surely the mental attitude of the speaker is neutral?

Then again, certain categories included in the volitive class in Lerch's first theory are open to criticism. The impersonal verb *il faut*

¹ *Syntax of the French Verb*, New York, 1915, p. 51.

² *Rev. de phil. fr.*, 1923.

³ *Zeits. f. rom. Phil.*, XVIII, 165.

⁴ *Neuphilol. Mitteilungen*, 1919, p. 125.

⁵ *Latin Grammar*, Boston, 1907, § 255.

⁶ For discussion see the present writer's "Finite Modal Usage in Dante's Italian Prose," *Diss. Chicago*, 1925, pp. xxv-xxix.

cannot generally be said to express *Begehren*,¹ although there are cases where it may do so; usually it is only an expression of obligation or propriety. Hale's distinction between volition and obligation-propriety is sound. *Il est juste* is of the latter and not the former class; it expresses opinion. It is true that a statement of opinion is often an expression of approval or disapproval, and we often approve what we desire. But we sometimes desire what our judgment does not approve. If then a judgment is not invariably volitive, this class of expressions should not be termed volitive.

The reference of functional classification to historic mood-ideas advocated by Lerch, Spitzer, and others was a distinct advance. No acknowledgment of indebtedness, however, has been made by any of these writers to Hale, who formulated the method eight years before the appearance of *Die Bedeutung der Modi* and of the *Syntaxe historique du français* of K. Sneyders de Vogel.²

We may now inquire into the actual value of a diachronic study of modal syntax. Is there in the ancient languages any evidence of the original unity of modal function to justify the single-principle theories of these writers? In other words, can the mood-ideas developed and associated with the subjunctive and optative mood-forms be traced to an original single function? Giles writes:

The original meaning of these moods and the history of their development is the most difficult of the many vexed questions of comparative syntax ... In later treatises Delbrück has to some extent modified his view of the development of these moods, and now admits that it is impossible to trace certainly all uses of the subjunctive to the original notion of will or desire that something should or should not take place, or all uses of the optative to the original idea of wish.³

Some authorities oppose Delbrück's view, holding that "the subjunctive was originally and essentially a form for expressing future time, which the Greek inherited, with its subdivisions into an absolute future negatived by *οὐ*, and a hortatory future negatived by *μή*, and used in independent sentences,"⁴ while the primitive optative also, "before it came into the Greek language was a weak future form, like 'he may go,' and 'may he go,' from which on one side came its potential use and on the other side its use in exhortations and wishes. These uses would naturally all be established before

¹ *Bedeutung der Modi*, p. 26.

² Groningue, La Haye, 1919.

³ *Manual of Comparative Philology*, London, 1901, § 556.

⁴ Goodwin, *Moods and Tenses*, 1889, p. 375.

there was any occasion to express either an unreal condition or an unattained wish."¹

Giles observes that while Goodwin thus surmised an original future and Delbrück an original expression of desire (since will and wish meet in the higher conception of desire), some important original distinction might be fairly supposed to be implied by the differences of stem and person suffixes in the two moods.² It should be observed that Delbrück's theory was later so modified as to agree with Hale's distinction between the volitive and anticipatory subjunctive,³ so that it could no longer serve as a basis for Lerch's single-principle theory of *Begehren*. Goodwin's theory of a future force, hortatory and weaker belonging to the original subjunctive and optative respectively, will presently be seen to support the view that two important classes of subjunctive verbs have future force; nor will it be adverse to the theory that all dependent subjunctive verbs perform the primary function of purposive imaginative representation.

It is of less importance to know in what order the volitive, deliberative, and prospective functions of the subjunctive developed in ancient speech, or the time-relation of *Vorstellung* to wish in the optative (both apparently still open questions),⁴ than to know the mood-ideas themselves associated with the ancient subjunctive and optative, and of their practical identity with the mood-ideas associated with the Latin and Romance subjunctive.

First, then, the subjunctive served in the parent speech to express futurity.⁵ The anticipatory force is especially strong in Latin; the futures even go back to the subjunctive forms. In Old Latin the subjunctive forms at times even take on an absolute future meaning; cf. *Nec me miserior femina est neque ulla videatur magis* (Plaut. *Am.* 1060). In Homer "we find a considerable use also of the independent subjunctive,⁶ in the approximate sense of a future indicative. So do we along with the dependent subjunctive of the same force, in Vedic Sanskrit, Old Persian, and Avestan." Cf. *οὐ γάρ πω τοιους ἴδον ἀνέρας οὐδὲ ἴδωμαι* (*Il.* A 262) and in Attic Greek: *τί πάθω*; (Plato *Euth.*

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 388.

² *Op. cit.*, § 557.

³ Delbrück, *Vergleichende Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprachen*, IV, *Syntax II*, Strassburg, 1897, p. 368.

⁴ F. Sommer, *Vergleichende Syntax der Schulsprachen*, Leipzig and Berlin, 1921, §83, III.

⁵ *Ibid.*, §§ 71, 82.

⁶ Hale, *op. cit.*, *P. M. L. A.*, 1911, p. 409.

302d) cited by Sommer.¹ In the ancient languages, then, the subjunctive and the future were often identified.

A future force is also seen in the volitive deliberatives:

τί ποιῶ, quid faciam? What shall I do? *ἐπιπῶμεν ἢ σιγῶμεν*; in the volitive indignant questions: — *μηδ' . . . ἐρωμαι*, I shall not even ask? *huic cedamus?* Again, in exhortations and prohibitions the willing or not willing of a future action is expressed:

residamus, si placet;
ne dubitaris mittere.

In the expression of will, in the indignant question, and in the deliberative, then, the force is clearly of the vivid future kind.

In dependent volitive clauses the same vivid force is seen: *saepe stilum vertas, iterum quae digna legi sint scripturas; librum peto a te ita corrigas ne mihi noceat; ne filii quidem hoc nostri resciscant volo* ("that not even our sons shall hear of this"); *timeo ne non impetrem* ("that I shall not get what I ask for"). Evidently the vivid future force in these examples is the same as in the anticipatory clause "many a day will dawn before he shall obtain his freedom." Nor is a different force discernible in the indirect deliberative question: *est certum quid respondeam*.

On the other hand, we find in independent clauses expressing certain other modalities a future force of a less vivid kind. Such force is seen in expressions of realizable wish: *sint beati*; in optative paratactic conditions: *naturam expellas furca, tamen usque recurret*; in expressions of obligation or propriety: *legibus non recedamus*, as in the Greek prescriptive of similar modality: *τῷ μὴ τις ποτε πάμπαν ἀνὴρ ἀθεμιστιος εἴη ἀλλ' ὁ γὰρ σιγῇ δῶρα θεῶν ἔχοι*, "therefore (it is meet that) a man should never be impious, but that he should accept in silence the gifts of the gods"; and even in the Vedic: *dāmpatē aṇīyātām*, "let the master and the mistress of the house eat"; in expressions of natural likelihood: *quare desinat esse macer?* of intentional modesty: *hoc sine ulla dubitatione confirmaverim*; of possibility: *aliquis dicat mihi; εἴποι ἄν τις ἡ ἐμὴ (σοφία) φαύλη τις ἄν εἴη* (Plato *Symp.* 175e); of ideal certainty: *ire per ignis et gladios ausim*.

One and the same less vivid future force is in all the foregoing sentences. Nor is it plain how anything but the mood-form itself could

¹ F. Sommer, *op. cit.*, § 84.

be the instrument of these effects (modalities). Evidently the sense and feeling of the context serve as sure guides to the modality, but the mood itself in all the independent clauses given above expresses the modality: in these cases the attitude of the speaker in regard to what is viewed as merely possible in the future.

Turning to dependent clauses after optative expressions, we may discern the same less vivid future force: *optemus ut eat in exilium*, as in concessions of indifference: *haec sint falsa sane, invidiosa certe non sunt*; in imaginative comparisons not plainly contrary to fact: *tamquam si claudus sim*, "just as if I might be lame"; in comparative clauses: *perpessus est omnia potius quam consocios indicaret*; in less vivid future conditions: *nihil enim proficiant nisi admodum mentiantur*; in generalizing conditions: *philosophia, cui qui pareat, omne tempus aetatis sine molestia possit degere*; in clauses of proviso: *oderint dum metuant*; after expressions of obligation or propriety: *nihil est quod pocula laudes*; after expressions of natural likelihood: *quantumvis quare sit macer invenies*; after expressions of possibility: *est unde haec fiant*; after expressions of ideal certainty: *nil est aeque quod faciam lubens*.

Of the independent types previously mentioned, the volitive and the optative have survived, and are in full vigor in Romance.

Of independent clauses other than volitive or optative, the only survival in Romance is probably that of softened statement (in the French *je ne sache*). The other types are rendered with the aid of auxiliary verbs, by the future indicative, the so-called conditional, or in a paraphrase such as the equivalent of *feri potest ut*.

Of the preceding dependent types of subjunctive clauses, practically all have survived in Romance; functionally they are identical with the Latin types, which, as has been seen, have a future force of a more or less vivid nature. How is it possible to deny the same force to the subjunctive in these Romance clauses? The recognition of this force, which is the power of imaginative projection into the future, does not of course preclude classification on the basis of modality to be determined by the context. Indeed, this power, being anticipatory, is a modality of a secondary kind. It is possible to classify on the basis of the primary modality, and further to classify according to the degree of futurity involved in the imaginative process.

But we find the subjunctive in many types of clauses, the content of which is real. Imaginative projection into the future is here out of the question, for such clauses deal with fact present or past. This class of subjunctive clauses is found largely, but by no means exclusively, in formal reasoning. In such cases the subjunctive seems to be the sign of imaginative representation of a fact that is offered for judgment, or of a state or action that is considered in connection with some judgment. Furthermore, in this class of clauses of actual content is found the type in which facts are represented as contingent, i.e., dependent upon chance, possibly because of uncertainty before the event. This last is a Latin type: *accidit ut esset luna plena*.¹

Not unrelated to this type is that of the fact represented as having stirred some feeling. It might be argued that for a fact to excite emotion it could not have been entirely expected, or at least wholly realized, or accepted in advance with a complete resignation amounting to philosophic insensibility. The realization of what before had not been envisaged as inevitably actual results in a complex which demands the imaginative representation of the fact in the expression of the emotional attitude towards it. Yet because of the actual content of such clauses, it seems better to class them with others representing fact.

A last group of clauses of unreal content for more obvious reasons contain a subjunctive verb. Corresponding to the use of the ancient optative to represent imaginatively unreal states or actions (cf. *εἴθε' ὥς ἡβώοιμι*, "I wish I were still young"), is the function of pure *Vorstellung* of the Romance subjunctive in all clauses that stand with expressions that imply a doubt as to the reality of the content of the clause.

Thus the subjunctive seems to possess the primary function of purposive imaginative representation, in the performance of which in certain cases the force of anticipation of a more or less vivid kind is present. In independent subjunctive verbs the modality as well as this anticipatory force is evidently operative. As regards dependent

¹ Armstrong (*op. cit.*, p. 73), discussing clauses of result, points out that the indicative is employed when the result is looked on as something which actually happens; the subjunctive when it is looked on as something which tends to happen. While this is true of one type (cf. *Filosofia è quando l'anima e la sapienza sono fatte amiche, sì che l'una sia tutta amata da l'altra*, Dante, *Conv.* III, xii, 4), yet it does not explain the type *accidit ut esset luna plena*.

clauses, although the modality is sufficiently expressed in the context, it is not impossible that the subjunctive should connote or reflect such modality; through lack of evidence, it seems impossible to decide whether this is so, or whether the sole purpose of the subjunctive in dependent clauses is imaginative representation that frequently involves a mental projection into the future. The subjunctive is also the instrument of intentional imaginative representation of facts, as well as of states or actions that are not known to correspond to actuality.

Another example of the actual value of a diachronic study of modal syntax may be given. Reference to Latin will shed some light on the vexed question of the reason for the subjunctive after superlatives, the idea of first, etc. We recognize the type in *Omnium oratorum, quos quidem ego cognoverim, acutissimum* (Brut. 48. 180); *M. Antoni, omnium eloquentissimi quos ego audierim* (Tusc. 5. 19. 55).

Comparing a similar Romance sentence: *C'est le meilleur homme que je connaisse*, we notice that the antecedent present in the Latin sentences is lacking in Romance, for of course no one imagines that *homme* is the real antecedent of *que*. The supplying of such an antecedent in Romance, however, will not solve the difficulty, unless we have the certainty that this antecedent is indefinite. Referring to Latin, it appears that the subjunctive is seldom used in such expressions unless *quidem* accompanies the verb. Now *quidem* expresses the speaker's modesty; he evidently means to say: *of any whom I at least have known*. This may not explain satisfactorily every case of this type, but we have in the Latin and several Romance equivalents at least a perfectly logical expression of the kind, on the analogy of which possibly the subjunctive came to be used, first after any superlative, then after some adjectives of exclusive idea, then after limiting ordinals, and lastly after some other ordinals.

This explanation of the mood is purely grammatical. There remains the logical function of these limiting clauses to be considered. It appears that in such clauses the Fact is imagined as a standard of comparison by which the main statement (which is otherwise relative) may be measured. Closely allied to this latter class is the clause that forms the second member of a comparison.¹ In *Clarisse est belle et*

¹ Erich Müller, *Die Vergleichungsätze im Französischen*, Diss., Göttingen, 1900, pp. 113 ff.

sage autant que dans Paris il en soit de son âge (Corneille, *Le Menteur*, II, 5); and in *Il a la voix aussi forte qu'il l'ait jamais eue* (Boileau); we have clearly clauses serving thus as standards of comparison, as also in *Non dimandare più che utile ti sia; La stella talora altrimenti che sia la vera sua condizione* (Dante, *Conv.* III, x, 1). Possibly the relativity of the first statement may influence the choice of mood. There is certainly nothing unreal or uncertain in the content of the dependent clause. Fact is the standard by which the first statement is to be measured. But the content, although objectively true, is not definitely affirmed for its own sake, but rather represented mentally for the purpose of furnishing such a standard. In *dice che'l disciplinato chiede di sapere certezza ne le cose, secondo che ne la loro natura di certezza si riceva* (*Conv.* IV, xiii, 8), is seen a very similar function. Knowledge being relative the standard is fixed by the clause (cf. *autant que je sache, quod sciam*).

If from this review and discussion of theory any conclusions might be ventured, they would be stated as follows:

1. That there was probably never disagreement between language and thought when the subjunctive was first used in any given type of clause in the living language; yet, because modal choice may have been influenced by analogy, and also because certain expressions later became "petrified," the reason for the use of the mood in a given text may not be apparent, and may then be termed "mechanical." In this case the origin of the expression should be sought.

2. That logic alone often cannot arrive at the reason for modal choice. In this case, psychological analysis should be attempted, for it is the attitude of the speaker toward the content of the clause that has influenced his choice.

3. That the affective element (i.e., the subjective light in which the speaker regards the content of the clause) explains many, but not all uses of the subjunctive.

4. That "psychological subordination" is not a principle to which all cases of the subjunctive can be referred without oversubtle reasoning. Such subordination, moreover, is an abstraction that cannot explain modal choice in the living language, since it could not be readily perceived, much less understood, by the people. The vivacious peoples of the Romance territory, keenly perceptive of and responsive

to subtleties, would be far more likely to feel that certain expressions naturally required the representation of a state or action as purposively imaginative because denied, uncertain, unreal, or mentally considered, rather than affirmed. Again, the "psychological subject" is just as abstract as "psychological subordination," and is not easily discernible in all cases. Tendencies in organic speech are to be traced to real causes rather than to abstract principles; modality, therefore, explains modal choice more satisfactorily than does any *ex post facto* theory.

5. That the subjunctive mood in Romance in dependent clauses is possibly the instrument of connoting or reflecting, but not of expressing the modality of the context which is expressed by the context. Evidently the main purpose of the subjunctive in dependent clauses is purposive imaginative representation which frequently involves a more or less vivid mental projection into the future, and which accounts for the occasional substitution of the future or past future for the subjunctive. In independent clauses in Romance the subjunctive verb may express will, wish, ideal certainty, and (in one case) the potential nuance of intentional modesty; the expression of these modalities generally involves also a more or less vivid anticipatory power. Mental reserve is potential, i.e., of ancient optative origin. This mood connoted weak futurity, and such a force is sometimes apparent in clauses of unreal content. Where, however, these clauses represent the action as present or past, no such futurity, of course, is involved.

6. That all the uses of the subjunctive cannot be referred to any one modal principle such as unreality, uncertainty, volition, or even to two modal principles only, such as: volition (in the larger sense) and uncertainty, but that its only basic function is the subjective presentation of a state or action. Despite the fact that often in clauses of unreal content futurity is connoted by the verb, it will be useful for the purpose of classification to distinguish between the mood of volitive-optative origin with its connotation of futurity and the mood of imaginative representation of present, or past (and sometimes future) states or actions, whether corresponding to actuality or not.

The accompanying classification of all dependent clauses has been made on this basis. . . .

PURPOSIVE IMAGINATIVE REPRESENTATION]

- I. Of a *vivid future* state or action
 - A. After volitive expressions in
 - 1. Substantive clauses
 - 2. Descriptive clauses
 - 3. Clauses of plan or purpose
 - 4. Indirect questions
 - B. In anticipatory expressions that are
 - 1. Clauses of vividly anticipated states or actions
 - 2. Clauses of result vividly anticipated (also subjunctive clauses of anteriority, historical anticipation).
- II. Of a *less vivid future* state or action
 - C. After optative expressions (of request, wishing, trusting, hoping, consent, indifference, and after the impersonal expression of advisability, advantage, and necessity, if the *wish* of the speaker is expressed) in
 - 1. Substantive clauses
 - 2. Descriptive clauses
 - 3. Concessive clauses of indifference
 - 4. Imaginative comparisons (similes), the content of which is not plainly *contrary to fact*
 - 5. Relative clauses in similes
 - D. 1. In less vivid future conditions (including optative paratactic and hypotactic conditions not contrary to fact)
 - 2. In generalizing conditions
 - 3. In dependent clauses of proviso
 - E. After expressions of fear and caution in *quod*-clauses
 - F. After expressions of obligation and propriety (also present or past) in
 - 1. Substantive clauses
 - 2. Dependent clauses of reason
 - 3. Dependent questions (deliberation, perplexity)
 - 4. Descriptive clauses
 - G. After expressions of natural likelihood (also present or past) in
 - 1. Substantive clauses
 - 2. Dependent clauses
 - H. After expressions of possibility including those of belief that is not known to be mistaken (also present or past) in
 - 1. Substantive clauses
 - 2. Potential relative clauses
 - 3. Descriptive clauses after an incomplete descriptive word or indefinite expression, or a less vivid future condition
 - 4. Questions of fact

5. Clauses serving as a standard of comparison by which the main statement may be measured,
 - a) After superlatives: first, last, only, etc.
 - b) In the second member of a comparison: of inequality; of equality
- J. In less vividly anticipatory expressions (*cf.* I, B) that are
 1. Determinative clauses
 2. Descriptive clauses
 3. Clauses of state or action less vividly anticipated
 4. Clauses of result less vividly anticipated.
- III. Of *real* content occurring largely in formal reasoning; often as a means of offering a fact for judgment; but also associated with contingency
 - K. In clauses that represent
 1. The fact as a logical conclusion
 2. The fact as a proposition to be proved or explained
 3. The fact in a statement or definition that is explanatory of a preceding more general expression
 4. The fact conceded, but recognized as not impairing the main contention
 5. The fact recognized as conflicting with the main affirmation
 6. The fact as a cause
 7. The fact that the speaker does not doubt, does not ignore, of which he is not unaware
 8. The fact considered as contingent
 9. The fact in the light of obligation-propriety
 10. The fact as naturally likely
 11. The fact as having stirred feeling
 12. The fact as consecutive, and as such serving as a basis for conjecture
 13. The fact indirectly in a persuasive or conciliatory manner, at times imagining possible objections to it.
- IV. Of *unreal* content after expressions that involve mental reserve or negation in
 1. Descriptive clauses after a negative expression, questions implying a negative
 2. Clauses in which the imagined unreal state or action is consecutive
 3. Clauses of negative result
 4. Negative causal clauses (which may contain a rejected reason)
 5. Clauses in indirectness after an expression of belief that the speaker knows to be doubtful or mistaken
 6. Clauses in indirectness after positive expressions of doubt, negations, questions

7. Conditions contrary to fact
8. Optative paratactic conditions contrary to fact (past tense)
9. Imaginative comparisons plainly contrary to fact.

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THE ETYMOLOGY OF FRENCH *flanc*

A number of explanations of the origin of French *flanc* have been attempted but none has proved acceptable. A development proposed by Diez¹ (that it represents a nasalized form of Lat. *flaccus*) is very improbable, since there is no trace of an adjective **flancus* either in Latin or Romance. For, if we accept his semantic development that "flank" was "the soft part under the ribs," then we must presuppose an adj. form, **flancus* ("soft"), as parent-form. The only other explanation that has received any consideration has been the derivation from Ger. **hlanka*, OHG *lancha* ("Hüfte, Lende"), proposed over eighty years ago by Wackernagel,² which, though combated by Diez, seems, probably for want of a better explanation, to have been accepted by some etymologists.³ This derivation involves the unusual consonant shift *hl > fl*, for which only one Germanic word can be cited as evidence, viz., Ger. **hlupa-*, the first element forming compound proper names like *Hlupaving > Floovent*, *Hlupahari > Flovier*, *Hlupeward > Flodoard*, *Hlupeberht > Flobert*, etc.⁴ Advocates of this development, desiring other evidence than proper names, see in Fr. *flou* also a development from Ger. **hlāwa-*, NHG *lau*, etc.⁵ This seems far-fetched, however, in view of the fact that Fr. *flou* can easily be explained from forms in *fl-*, Baist, for example, explaining it as a derivative of Lat. *flavus*.⁶ But even disregarding this very questionable phonetic change, the most telling objection to this source was raised by Diez when he pointed out that OHG *hlanca* is feminine and would have given Fr. *flanke* f. and not *flanc* m., for almost without exception Germanic feminines in *a* retain their gender with feminine *e* in Romance.

¹ *Etym. Wb.*, I, 137, s.v. "flanco."

² *ZfdA*, II, 556.

³ Kluge, *Etym. Wb.*, apparently accepts it without question, so also Falk-Torp, *Etym. Wb.* Weigand, *DWb.*, is doubtful, and the French dictionaries, for the most part, reject it, declaring the origin unknown.

⁴ Cf. Mackel, "Die germanischen Elemente in der französischen und provenzalischen Sprache," *Französische Studien*, VI, 135.

⁵ Cf. Meyer-Lübke, *Gram. des Langues Rom.*, I, 37, and Gröber, *Grundriss*, I, 508.

⁶ Kluge, *op. cit.*, s.v. "flau." For a Ger. base **flāwa-* synonymous with **hlāwa-* see Falk-Torp, *ibid.*, s.v. "flau."

That Fr. *flanc* is a loan-word there can scarcely be any doubt, but how early it appeared is difficult to say. It must have been in current use in the latter part of the eleventh century. The earliest recorded occurrence, so far as I have been able to discover, is in the *Chanson de Roland*,¹ but it is recorded almost simultaneously in the *Prudentius Glosses* in the British Museum which Napier² puts around 1100 A.D. Here is written *flances*, translated by "ilia." The earliest meaning of the word, therefore—and this all the quotations from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries corroborate—was "the fleshy part of the side of man or animal between the ribs and hip." That the word was in common usage in the Old French period is attested by the large number of derivatives from the stem, such as *flanche*, *flanchel*, *flanchet*, *flanchiere*, *flancor*, *flanquade*, *flanquier*, etc.,³ some of which appear for the first time, however, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The development of meaning is also fairly clear. From the idea, "the muscular part of the body between ribs and hips," naturally came such meanings as "side, belly, womb, bosom, etc." From "side" developed "the side of anything," such as "house, hill, fortification, etc." In the sixteenth century the word was specialized as a military term meaning "side of the army," and then developed the verbal idea *flanquer* referring to movements of bodies of troops. These military terms were then borrowed by other European countries, in the latter part of the century by the Dutch, and in the seventeenth century by the Germans who spelled the word at first after the form of the verb, viz., *flanque*, later changing the *qu* to *k*. In England the word was borrowed much earlier, being quoted in the original meaning as early as the fourteenth century in the form *flanke*.

But to return to the question of the origin of the word. In the writer's opinion the word is not a derivative from the Ger. **hlanka* but from a Ger. **flank-*, a stem found in all the important High German dialects. Compare the following: Bav. *flank* m., "Funke; f. herumziehende, liederliche Weibsperson," *flanken*, *flänkeln*, *flankieren*, "sich hangend bewegen, die Flügel, die Arme schwingen, sb. Stück,

¹ "Graisles es flancs et larges les costez," l. 3158; "Les dous costez li desceivret des flancs," l. 3467.

² *Acad.*, XLV, 457.

³ Cf. Godefroy, *Dict.*

mit dem Nebebegriff des Niederhangens und Schwankens; Fetzen," *flänkel*, "Flügel"; Swab. *flanke* plu., "grosse Schneeflocken," *flankieren*, "nach allen Richtungen sich hin u. her bewegen"; Als. *flankieren*, *id.*; Carinth, *flanke*, *flankl*, "ein in der Luft wehendes Stück Tuch," *flankn*, "flattern, herumschweifen." Ablaut forms in *flink*- and *flunk*- as in MHG *kupfervlinke*, "flimmerndes Kupferschüppchen," NHG *flinken*, *flinkern*, "flimmen, glänzen," *flink* adj., "munter u. mit Leichtigkeit geschwind," *flunkern*, "Zitterschein von sich geben, schimmern," Bav. *flunken*, "Funke," etc., are common to both High and Low German dialects.¹

Related forms with Ger. **flang*- we have in Swiss *flanggen*, "Stück, z.B. Fleisch; Fetzen, Lappen; Flügel, Zipfel des Kleides," *flanggieren*, "schwingen, z.B. mit einer Rute hin u. her fahren," etc. Belonging to the same base are MHG *v lanc* (*ges*), "Funke" (cf. the Bavarian form above), OSwed. *flenga*, "strike," Swed. *flänga*, "hin u. her rennen," ME *flingen*, "hurl," NE *fling*, etc.

An OHG *flank* borrowed by the French would have become OFr. *flanc*, as may be seen by comparing other borrowed forms, e.g., Bav. *flinke* f. is Fr. *flingue*.² Phonetically, therefore, there can be no objection to the foregoing derivation.

The primary meaning of the foregoing group of Germanic words was "move quickly back and forth," and from this primary meaning also develop the meanings of OFr. *flanc*. The OHG word, the parent-form of OFr. *flanc*, meant primarily "that [part of the body] which moves to and fro [in breathing]." Names of parts of the body as well as other object names were primarily descriptive terms, and since that part of the body, especially in animals such as the horse, cow, dog, etc., after violent exertion showed a particularly noticeable heaving, and even in repose gave evidence of constant movement to and fro in breathing, this characteristic caused a term to be applied to it from the verbal idea. Thus *flank*, "that which moves to and fro," would be just as naturally derived from *flanken*, "move to and fro," as, for example, OHG *sweif*, "that [part of the body] which swings, i.e.,

¹ These words may be regarded as nasalized forms of Ger. **flik*-, **flak*- stems, in OE *flacor*, "flying," *flacerian*, "flutter"; MHG *vlackern*, "flackern," etc., with a primary meaning, "make a quick movement, move back and forth." Cf. Wood, *Color Names*, I, 19.

² Cf. Meyer-Lübke, *Rom. Etym. Wb.*, s.v. "flingue."

the tail," is derived from OHG *sweifan*, "swing," and innumerable similar cases. That there was such a form as *flanken*, even though not recorded in the older dialects, is very likely, judging from its wide occurrence in the High German dialects and the large number of derivatives from this stem. Being most likely a dialect word, it naturally would not be found in the records of the literary language.

That the semantic development indicated here is not only possible but probable will be clear from an examination of the development of meaning of designations for such parts of the body as are mobile. For example, the head is named as "that which nods" in OE *hnifol*, "forehead," *hnipian*, "bow the head"; ON *hnipa*, "hang the head"; MHG *nipfen*, "gleiten, stürzen, einnicken";¹ or "that which sways and bobs to and fro" in Sax. *gimms*, "Kopf"; Swiss *gimslen*, "sich hin und her bewegen"; or E dial. *niddick*, "head, skull"; ME *nodile*, "head"; NE *nod*, "incline the head with a quick motion"; E dial. *noddle*, "make light and frequent nods." More significant still are names for "belly," almost synonymous with our word in its earlier meaning, in Swab. *hudel*, "Lumpen, Bauch"; Swiss *hudlen*, "schlottern, bammeln"; or Swiss *nötter*, "grosser, dicker Wanst"; Swab. *nottlen*, "etwas hin und her bewegen, wackeln."²

That the flank was thought of as something moving to and fro is further shown by the French idiom *se battre les flancs*, "faire des efforts inutiles," and NHG *flankenschlagen*, "gewaltsame Bewegung in den Seiten eines Tieres, gewöhnlich Vorbote seines Todes."³

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¹ Wood, *IF*, XVIII, 30.

² For many other examples see Arnoldson, *Parts of the Body in Older Germanic and Scandinavian*, Chicago, 1915, and Baskett, *Parts of the Body in the Later Germanic Dialects*, Chicago, 1920.

³ Grimm, *DWB*, s.v. "*flankenschlagen*."

NOTES AND COMMENTS

A noteworthy conference is that called to meet in Paris, December 18 and 19 of this year, under the joint auspices of the Société des anciens Textes français, founded in 1875, and the editor of the journal *Romania*, which was founded in 1872. Both organizations have functioned for fifty years, and it is now proposed, in a convocation of the friends and subscribers of both, to re-examine the field of their activities and lay detailed plans for the future. Among the subjects to be considered are: a general list of texts, Old French and possibly also medieval Latin, whose publication is desirable; revision of the practical rules for text-editing which were drawn up by Paul Meyer, in 1909; a project for an Old French dictionary, utilizing the materials already assembled by Godefroy, Tobler, and others; a project for a dictionary of proper names; organization of a regular service for the multiplication of manuscript materials; establishment of a bibliography of Romance philology and particularly of medieval literary history. All students and scholars who are interested in any of these practical matters are invited to attend the conference, or, if that is impracticable, to convey their ideas in writing at once to the secretary, M. Edmond Faral, 7, rue du Centre, à la Varenne-Saint-Hilaire (Seine).—T. A. J.

From its beginning *The Review of English Studies*, under the editorship of Dr. R. B. McKerrow with the co-operation of a score of able scholars, gave promise of being an excellent journal. It has lived up to expectations and, as its first year draws to a close, already occupies an outstanding position in the field of English scholarship. The contributions, covering many fields and periods, include reviews, bibliographies, collections of notes on literary history, philological and bibliographical studies, critical articles, such sound discussions of problems as Chambers' "Integrity of *The Tempest*," significant constructive studies like Greg's "Evidence of Theatrical Plots for the History of the Elizabethan Stage," and investigations involving important discoveries like Ward's "Authorship of the *Arte of English Poesie*." Indeed, a number of articles have been significant contributions to English literary history, and the inevitable quota of mediocre work has been small. It is to be hoped that the journal will receive the recognition which it deserves and that English and American scholars will subscribe to it in such numbers as to assure its continuance.—C. R. B.

To the series of French histories of literature which includes M. Lanson's *Histoire de la littérature française* has just been added a noteworthy *Histoire de la littérature anglaise* by the two distinguished masters of English studies

at the Sorbonne, MM. Émile Legouis and Louis Cazamian.¹ It is impossible in the few lines at our disposal to do justice to the merits of constructive thinking, literary tact, and fresh scholarship which make this new history, all things considered, probably the most intelligent and suggestive general survey of English literature which has yet been written. The two collaborators have brought, of course, quite different qualities to their task—M. Legouis a fine clarity and exquisite sense of art, M. Cazamian a no less unusual grasp of psychological and philosophical values and a power of synthesis which, though it sometimes results in formulas that are a bit abstract and overschematic, yet never fails to stimulate. In spite of these temperamental divergences, a real unity of purpose and attitude animates the work as a whole. Unlike most of the single-volume histories of English literature published hitherto, it is not a mere manual of facts. Conceived in the spirit and after the model of M. Lanson's *Histoire*, its extremely compact and substantial pages are addressed to mature students who may be supposed already familiar with the principal facts and texts. For such students it aims to furnish, along with the more essential biographical and bibliographical data, an ordered interpretation of the development of literature in England in which the main divisions are made to rest—and here the superiority of the work to the chaotic *Cambridge History* is strikingly evident—not upon irrelevant political or biographical events, but upon fundamental changes in the character and direction of literary feeling. Written thus "from the inside," stressing the various impulses, psychological, philosophical, social as well as artistic, which led writers to create in the forms they did, subordinating consistently the lives of authors and the development of genres to the general movement of taste, it is hardly an exaggeration to say that it is the first comprehensive survey of English literature that deserves to be called a "synthetic history" in the true sense of that term. Some of its generalizations, especially in the second part (1660–1914), are fresh and illuminating to a degree. The pages, for example, in which M. Cazamian sketches the alteration in the tone of English letters at the end of the seventeenth century (VI, vii), those in which he marks the relations of Defoe and the periodical essayists to the ascent of the commercial middle class (VII, iv), his treatment of the revolutionary literature of the last decade of the eighteenth century (IX, vi), the distinction which he draws between the two generations of romantic poets (X, i, iv), his definition of the changes which took place in the late Victorian period (XII, i), his courageous attempt to bring order into the chaos of post-war literature (XII, v)—it would be an unusual reader who could not find in these sections matter for fruitful reflection, reflection all the more fruitful, perhaps, for occasionally issuing in disagreement.

We would not leave the impression, however, that the distinguishing merits of the new history are to be found exclusively in its qualities of organization. Along with a typically French concern for clearness of general outline,

¹ Pp. xlii + 1312. Paris: Hachette, 1924.

its writers exhibit a rare sense of the unique traits, the individualizing complexities of authors, and within the firm but flexible framework of historical movement which constitutes the backbone of the work they have given us a series of portraits many of which are masterpieces of compression and of psychological and literary penetration. As examples of particularly suggestive characterizations we may refer to the pages of M. Legouis on Spenser, Burton, Marvell, and Cowley; and to those of M. Cazamian on the Butler of *Hudibras*, Thomson, Crabbe, Hazlitt, and Thackeray. The scholarship of the book, too, is of a high order. Both writers, it is evident throughout, speak from a prolonged first-hand acquaintance with the original texts. There is abundant evidence also, both in the bibliographies—especially in Part II; those in Part I are many of them in need of being brought up to date—and in the text, that they have written in constant awareness of the more significant results of recent scholarship, American as well as French, German, and British. In short, though specialists will no doubt have their reservations about this or that detail or interpretation, and though MM. Legouis and Cazamian will no doubt find many things to alter in a second edition (we hope they will be guided by M. Lanson's example in the matter of alterations as they have been in other features of the work), the book as it stands does high honor both to them and to French scholarship, and it will long prove a helpful and stimulating guide, not only to the younger French "anglicisants" for whom it was written, but also to their many fellow-students throughout the world.—R. S. C.

The literature of monographs dealing with early eighteenth-century English writers has been enriched, within the last few months, by two important French publications.

In his *Daniel De Foe et ses romans*¹ M. Paul Dottin has given us a detailed study of *Crusoe* and the "secondary novels," preceded by a substantial and in many ways a fresh interpretation of Defoe's life, and followed by a list of his writings. The execution of the work bears some signs of haste. There is frequently a regrettable lack of precision in the references; the organization of the second part (on *Crusoe*) is less compact than M. Dottin was capable of making it; the exposition is sometimes unnecessarily diffuse. It is possible to take exception, also, to certain features of the method. Thus, while there can be little doubt that Defoe's writings are full of passages that reflect his early experiences in London and on the Continent, it may be questioned whether M. Dottin is warranted in drawing from them all the inferences that appear in chapters i and ii of his first part. On the other hand, the merits of the work as a contribution both to our knowledge of Defoe's life and psychology and to our understanding of his novels are far from negligible. Thanks to a painstaking exploration of contemporary newspapers and of hitherto unknown or unexploited manuscript materials at the British Museum

¹ Pp. x+896. Paris: Presses Universitaires, 1924.

and the Record Office, M. Dottin has been able to throw new light on a number of obscure points in Defoe's career—on the date of his birth (pp. 10–11), on his family (*ibid.*), on his father-in-law (p. 48), on the date and circumstances of his change of name (p. 74), on his rôle as a political spy under William (pp. 93–94), on his arrest and imprisonment in 1703 (pp. 106 ff.), on the details of his journeys to Scotland (chaps. ix, x, xi), on his second arrest in 1713 (pp. 215–23), on his relations with Mist (pp. 236–39, 253–56). A similar freshness characterizes much of his treatment of the novels in Parts II and III. For the first time we have something like an adequate history of the fortune and influence of *Crusoe* in Europe. For the first time, too, we have a really serious study of the "secondary novels" in their relation both to one another and to the earlier and contemporary popular production out of which they sprang; M. Dottin's most valuable contribution, indeed, is probably to be found in the two hundred and fifty pages which he devotes to these hitherto unduly neglected narratives. If his biographical method occasionally sins on the side of imprudence, he abundantly atones for his earlier lack of caution by the good sense with which he handles many of the problems raised by the novels. There is a sanity, for example, about his discussion of the "sources" of the first part of *Crusoe* that comes as a refreshing contrast to a great deal that has been printed recently concerning Defoe's masterpiece.

The other work—*Swift: les années de jeunesse et le "Conte du Tonneau,"* by M. Émile Pons¹—is the first part of a comprehensive study of Swift and his writings projected before the war. The portion now published comprises two books—the one, a critical survey of the literature on Swift; the other, an account of Swift's career to about 1701, culminating in an elaborate examination of the two great early satires, the *Battle of the Books* and the *Tale of a Tub*. M. Pons displays considerable acuteness in his handling of the enormously difficult problems of Swift's personality and conduct in this formative period of his life. In the nature of things he has not been able to add much in the way of new fact, though he has made good use, for the first time in an extended biography, of a number of letters and other documents which have come to light only in recent years. The distinctive and valuable features of his book are his analysis of the growth of Swift's satirical temper between 1689 and 1696, his reconstruction of Swift's reading at Moor Park, and his study of the genesis and meaning of the *Tale of a Tub*. The last is a contribution of the first importance, a model of psychological and philosophical insight. More clearly and fully than any of his predecessors M. Pons brings out the rôle which myth, and especially what he calls the "mythe animal," played in Swift's satiric imagination; he shows in a most illuminating way how the other myths of the *Tale*—that of the clothes-worshippers and that of the *Æolists*—are related to this fundamental myth; and he throws into sharp relief the religious attitude which underlies the allegory of the three brothers. His analysis is suggestive in the extreme. If he falls short in any particular

¹ Pp. xli + 410. Strasbourg: Comité des Publications de la Faculté des lettres, 1925.

of what we might legitimately expect of him, it is in his too great neglect of purely historical considerations. Swift emerges from his pages too isolated, too much cut off from the stream of seventeenth-century thought. A few interesting paragraphs on the intellectual atmosphere of Trinity College in the eighties (pp. 124-29); some suggestive remarks on the importance of Montaigne, La Rochefoucauld, and Hobbes in Swift's culture (pp. 217-18); an important discussion of the analogies between Erasmus and the "Digression on Madness" (pp. 385-87)—the effort which M. Pons makes to "situate" the Swift of the early satires in his century goes very little beyond these few uncoordinated developments. That much more might have been done will be evident to anyone who has read R. F. Jones's monograph on the "Background of the *Battle of the Books*" ("University of Washington Studies," 1920)—M. Pons seems not to know this excellent study—or who has examined the analysis of seventeenth-century "anti-rationalism" contained in F. B. Kaye's recent edition of Mandeville's *Fable of the Bees*. M. Pons, however, is to be congratulated on having written the most interesting book on Swift's early work that has yet been published. We shall be impatient until we learn what he has to tell us about *Gulliver*.—R. S. C.

Students of medieval literature will welcome Professor Warnke's third edition of the *Lais* of Marie de France (Halle, 1925). With the help of Georg Cohn, the editor has once more revised the text; and it is significant that he now designates the language of Marie as "Old Francian" or "Norman," in accordance with the hypothesis of Gertrud Wacker (see now A. Långfors in *Romania*, LI, 295 ff.). Introduction and notes have also been brought up to date, and an appendix gives the text of the *Lay of Guingamor* (edited by P. Kusel), which many scholars have long since assigned to Marie. Of especial interest are the sound arguments brought against the rather ingenious theories of Ezio Levi: Warnke continues to date the *Lais* as prior to the *Ille et Galeron* by Gautier d'Arras (1167-68); but his argument would have been strengthened had he consulted F. A. G. Cowper's article in *Modern Philology* (XX, 1922). Moreover, some reference should have been given to T. P. Cross's valuable studies on the Celtic sources of Marie: *Revue Celtique* (XXXI [1910], 413 ff.); *Kittredge Anniversary Papers* ([1913], pp. 377-87), and *Modern Philology* (XII [1915], 585-644) (an important study on the Lanval and Graellent theme). This would have been more useful than giving space to a refutation of Winkler's ill-starred attempt to identify Marie with her namesake, the Countess of Champagne.

Another noteworthy work now in its third edition is Voretzsch's *Einführung in das Studium der Altfranzösischen Literatur* (Halle, 1925). The author's own *Lesebuch* (published separately) is to be followed by a *Lesebuch des späteren Mittelalters*, the editor of which is Kurt Glaser (Marburg). Besides notable bibliographical additions (it is remarkable that despite the blight of the war-period so few important titles are missing), Voretzsch has revised his

material in such a way as to show more clearly its historical development. This has affected chiefly the treatment of Ovid, the *lais*, and the courtly romance. In most respects, the improvement has been considerable. The more is it to be regretted that we should still find such statements as "[*Tristan*] *von haus aus keltisch, wie besonders G. Paris, J. Loth and Thurneysen gezeigt haben*" (p. 280). The fact is that Gertrude Schoepperle was the first to point out the real Celtic analogues of the Tristan story, and that Thurneysen's article is mainly a corroboration of her discoveries. Again, no reference is made to Cross's studies on the *lais* (see above), and the general bibliography (pp. 518 ff.) should have mentioned Ch.-V. Langlois' *La Connaissance de la nature et du monde au moyen âge* (1911) and J. W. Wells's *Manual of the Writings in Middle English* (1916), a work in which so much of the material is French.—W. A. N.

With the recent appearance of the eighth fascicle of the Tobler-Lommatzsch *Altfranzösisches Wörterbuch*, the end of the first volume (including the letters A-B) has been reached, after regrettable delays. Adolf Tobler announced his project of an Old French dictionary as long ago as 1872; in 1880, Godefroy began the publication of his monumental but uncritical *Dictionnaire de l'ancienne Langue française*, and Tobler postponed his own undertaking, although his plan differed in some respects from that of Godefroy: Tobler was to confine himself to printed texts, omitting manuscript sources and legal documents. In March, 1915, the publishers (Weidmann, Berlin) announced that the materials assembled by Tobler during his long lifetime (he had died in 1910) had been made ready for publication by Erhard Lommatzsch and would appear in some twenty-five fascicles, thanks to a subvention of the Prussian Academy of Sciences. There is no doubt but that this work will immediately assume a place of importance for all scholars who interest themselves in medieval French language and literature; indeed, it is probable that those who subscribe to the dictionary at this stage will save themselves considerable expense. The present work not only has the benefit of Godefroy's extensive collections, but utilizes also the immense critical labor embodied in Meyer-Lübke's *Romanisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch* (1911-20) and in scores of special shorter treatises. It therefore marks a great stride forward in the field of French lexicography. There is every reason to hope that the complete work may now appear without further delay.—T. A. J.

The last dissertation to be written under the direction of the late Professor H. A. Todd is probably that of Dorothy Turville, of London, Ontario, entitled *French Feminine Singular Nouns derived from Latin Neuter Plurals*.¹ Miss Turville has divided her treatment into six divisions: "Names of

¹ Printed by Carranza and Company, New York, forming an attractive volume of 236 pages. It is unfortunate that the book is not for sale; it can be obtained only as an exchange thesis from Columbia University.

Fruits," "Doublets," "Forms of the Dual Number," "Nouns in *-aille*," "Nouns in *-aie*," "Miscellaneous Nouns." There is also a bibliography, list of texts quoted, an Appendix containing in chronological order quotations from those who have previously discussed the problem, and an index of the two hundred and thirty-three words which form the basis of the discussion. The work has been carefully done, the examples are plentiful, and an accurate account has been taken of theories previously presented, such as Meyer-Lübke's discussion of *feuille* and Oliver M. Johnston's remarks apropos of *pomme*. It is to be regretted that there is no attempt to interpret the evidence; there are no general conclusions of a psychological nature. This was to be expected when Miss Turville confined herself to Old French with practically no reference to Italian, but the problem really goes much farther even than the Romance field. For a thorough understanding it must be studied in relation with similar psychological processes in other languages, the use of the singular verb with neuter plurals in Greek, the occurrence of feminine singular adjectives with the broken plurals in Arabic, and so on. It is ultimately a subject for the general philologist, and Miss Turville, of course, did not aim as high as that.—URBAN T. HOLMES.

Among the best contributions to the fourth centenary of Ronsard¹ is *Ronsard et son temps*, by Pierre Champion, brother of the well-known publisher. As the title indicates, the book is a biography of the poet, rich in detail and written in a graceful and *dégagé* manner, a veritable "illustration" of the humanist of the sixteenth century. What it lacks is any thorough-going, critical appraisal of Ronsard's art: the doctrine for which he stood and the various periods of his artistic evolution. On the other hand, the author sketches in the background more fully than any of his predecessors (see Longnon and Jusserand). Especially noteworthy is the chapter on "The Court of Henry III," and the belated justice done to that interesting monarch. From these pages the reader will get a vivid impression, not only of Ronsard, but also of Daurat, Cassandre, Marie, Hélène, and Michel de l'Hospital. The value of the book for scholars is increased by its excellent Index (pp. 485-502). The notes, at the foot of the page, give ample bibliographical references, at times of an original character, and the beauty of the volume is enhanced by twenty-four fascinating *planches*.

A rather trying task, admirably executed, is the doctoral thesis (?) *Les épitaphes de Ronsard* (Presses universitaires, 1925), by Margaret de Schweinitz. This study is not only exhaustive as regards Ronsard, but it also gives interesting suggestions on the rise of the French epitaph as a genre.—W. A. N.

The celebration in May, 1925, of the eleventh centenary of the foundation of the University of Pavia was the occasion of a publication, by L. C.

¹ See R. C. Williams, *Mod. Lang. Journal*, IX, 489.

Bollea, "Gli Studenti ultramontani all' Università di Pavia," in *Universitatis Ticinensis Saecularia undecima die XXI maii an. MCMXXV* (Pavia, 1925). A second article by the same author, on British professors and students at the University of Pavia in the fifteenth century, has been furnished us in translation by Professor K. McKenzie and is reproduced herewith:

A recent investigation of the attendance of foreigners at the University of Pavia in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, when French and German visitors were especially numerous, has brought to my attention the names of several British professors and students. This recalled to my mind what Lewis Einstein wrote in regard to Anglo-Italian relations in the fifteenth century: "The influence of Italy on English learning during the Renaissance differed in several respects from that exercised by the other European nations. It was first in the field, and for that reason long single in its power. Its individual influence, moreover, proved the greatest factor in modifying existing intellectual conditions, while it supplemented the entire mediaeval fabric of learning by the new system it had itself originated."¹

Considering the importance of this influence on English culture, and the fact that "the field can be narrowed still further by remembering that during the fifteenth century in England, learning was almost entirely confined to the universities,"² it seems to me worth while to call the attention of English-speaking scholars to the presence of these British students and professors at Pavia in the fifteenth century.

Einstein studies admirably the influence of the humanistic movement in England; but he limits his study to Duke Humphrey of Gloucester, son of Henry IV—the great patron of this new intellectual movement and the friend of Pier Candido Decembrio, of Leonardo Bruni, of Guarino Veronese—and to a few humanists like Thomas Beckinton, Bishop of Wells and a Doctor of Laws of Oxford, Thomas Chandler, William Grey, Nicholas Bildstone, Archdeacon of Winchester, Richard Pettworth, Richard de Bury, Osbern Bowkenham, Reynold Chicheley, Andrew Ols, John Free, Robert Flemming, Gunthorpe, and John Tiptoft.

If, however, around these greater humanistic luminaries we also allow the lesser ones to shine with their modest light, the cultural firmament of England will become much more luminous. The Germans have understood this fact in their own case, and have devoted patient research to the reconstruction of the whole goliardic movement from Germany to Italy; in this they have attained remarkable results, the most important being the publication by Friedländer and Malagola of the roll of German students at Bologna, and the investigation of these students by Knod. The French, likewise, have appreciated the importance of the migration of their students to Italy during the humanistic period; a few years ago, Picot published two studies concerning the French professors and students at the universities of Pavia and Padua.

So far as I am aware, the only similar studies concerning Englishmen are those of Andrich,³ dealing with Padua; but similar studies should be made for

¹ L. Einstein, *The Italian Renaissance in England*, p. 1. New York: Columbia University Press, 1902.

² *Ibid.*, p. 2.

³ J. A. Andrich, *De natione Anglica et Scota Juristarum Universitatis Patavinae, Padua*, 1892; *Rotulus et matricula DD. Juristarum et Artistarum Gymnasii Patavini a MDXCII* (in collaboration with Brugi), Padua, 1892.

Ferrara, Bologna, Turin, Pavia, Rome, Florence, all of which were important university centers in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. To aid in such studies, many individual investigators will have to prepare the way; in every university city in Italy, some investigator should point out to English-speaking scholars the names of Englishmen who came to Italy to study; and then someone in England could proceed to study the career of each one of these migrating students. This last should be a relatively easy task, considering that "intellectual activity centred almost exclusively around Oxford," so that sufficient biographical information concerning these Englishmen who went to Italy to study could doubtless be found there.

The few names that I can offer of Englishmen who studied at Pavia—the Dominican John Palz, who studied theology there; Arnaldo and William of Sceyfordia, who studied canon law; Thomas Kent of England, rector of the Collegio Castiglioni at Pavia, professor of canon law and lecturer for the ultramontane students on civil law—confirm Einstein's statement that "excepting Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester, they were churchmen."

This Thomas Kent of England can be identified, I believe, with the man of the same name of whom Einstein, following Leonardo Bruni, speaks: "Much later, Leonardo Bruno said of Thomas of England, an Augustinian monk who went to Florence to purchase manuscripts, and lectured there in 1395, that he keenly loved the new Italian humanism, as much as one of his nation was able to understand it."¹

These students and teachers of canon law and theology, as well as John Keyf, a student of the Collegio Castiglioni, and Thomas Stranger of London, who received his degree in medicine at Pavia,² belong to the period of which Einstein says: "About the middle of the fifteenth century, the chief progress in English humanism came through the journeys of university students to Italy"; it is doubtless true that "in all likelihood they were unaware of the significance of the movement they had started afresh. It probably seemed to them only a continuation of the mediaeval migrations which in former days united the learned world, before the feeling of the intellectual kinship of Europe had disappeared amid the struggles of rival nations," but nevertheless they were unconsciously bringing the influence of humanism to bear in England. "During the Middle Ages, English scholars were by no means unknown in Italy," and "at the University of Bologna there was an English 'nation,' and both Vicenza and Vercelli had English rectors, while on the registers of Padua, British names appear frequently";³ but Englishmen were no less known at the University of Pavia, as the names mentioned above indicate. Coming beyond the period of humanism, Pardi⁴ mentions an Englishman named Gabriel Gistiano of Ivons, who after having studied at Toulouse, Paris, and Bologna, passed several years at the University of Pavia, and finally received his doctorate in Ferrara, July 30, 1550.—L. C. BOLLEA.

Bruno Borowski's monograph, *Lautdubletten im Altenglischen*,⁵ treats a more extensive field than the word "doublets" in its title suggests; it is, in

¹ Einstein, *op. cit.*, pp. 2, 15, 18.

² R. Malocchi, *Codice diplomatico dell' Università di Pavia (1400-1450)*, II, Pavia, 1915.

³ Einstein, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

⁴ G. Pardi, *Titoli dottorali conferiti dallo Studio di Ferrara nei secoli XV e XVI*, Lucca, 1900.

⁵ Pp. vii + 84. Halle: Niemeyer, 1924.

fact, a study of old English words for which two or more forms seem to have existed, e.g., *Uhtred*, *Uhterð*; *Æfelwulf*, *Æfewulf*; *-fæst*, *-fest*. As these variations are often found in syllables which do not bear principal stress, they involve many difficult problems of sound-change. To their solution the author brings a comprehensive and exact knowledge of the methods and results of modern linguistic study, and he is usually able to give a reasonable explanation of most of the cases. As the volume is provided with an index of the words studied, it is useful as a supplement to the reference books on old English grammar.—J. R. H.

The fourth edition (Halle, 1923) of Adolf Noreen's *Altisländische und Altnorwegische Grammatik* is such a book as only Noreen, with his long years of training, could have given us. The xvi+466 pages, giving succinctly the results of modern research to date, furnish a grammar that will long be the standard and can never be entirely superseded. Nothing but praise should be accorded the book, yet from the viewpoint of Germanic and Indo-European linguistics an objection might be raised here and there against some of the explanations given. In § 292, *fjórer*, "four," may better be referred to Germ. **fegwōriz*: OE *fēower*, OHG *fior*, rather than to Goth. *fidur*-, *fidwōr*-. The WGerm. form would represent pre-Germ. **peqwōres*, with *-qw-* abstracted from the IE word for "five." Too little attention is given to *w*-gemination (§ 279, 2). Here should have been added such examples as *qþrom megom* (§ 278) and many of the words found in § 318. Apparently my article on "Germanic *w*-Gemination" did not come into Noreen's hands. Some of the comparisons made in § 318 are hardly allowable, certainly not *knōþa*, "knead": *knútr*, "knot." The first word has a developed *u*, the second an original *u*. By the same token I should put *sofa*, "sleep," and *vefa*, "weave," in the fifth, not the fourth series, in spite of the *o* in the pret. part. For this *o* is original IE *u*: **suponós*, **ubhonós*, and therefore not the same as in *borenn*, *stolenn*, etc. But aside from a few unimportant items like these the book is all that could be desired, and, in any case, indispensable.—F. A. W.

The fascicles of Docent Olof Östergren's *Nusvensk ordbok* appear with the greatest punctuality. The last fascicle, Number 24, gets as far as *glas* and nearly completes the second volume. From the scale on which the work is being done it will require about seven volumes. Not until then will Sweden possess a satisfactory dictionary, for the dictionary of the Swedish Academy is planned on such a huge scale that it will take another century to complete. The Östergren dictionary is unique among modern works of its scope in that it is to the last details the work of one man, and also in that, while a model of philological accuracy, it is, by its choice of illustrative citations and its crisp and fitting language, a work in which a rich personality has found expression.—C. N. G.

¹ *Mod. Phil.*, XVIII, 79 ff., 303 ff.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES

La Peinture des mœurs de la bonne société dans le roman français de 1715 à 1761. By FREDERICK CHARLES GREEN. Pp. 259. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1924.

Brunetière remarked in his book on Balzac that French novelists owe to the influence of Walter Scott a realization of the importance of "*tous ces détails que nous tenons pour expressifs de la vie et qui le sont, le mobilier, le costume, les usages de la vie journalière, la manière de manger ou de se divertir.*" This Mr. Green considers tantamount to the assertion that the *roman de mœurs* appears in France only in the nineteenth century. One infers that he will undertake to prove the incorrectness of such a view. If such was his intention, he seems fortunately to have lost sight of it, for it would have led chiefly into an unprofitable discussion of terms. Brunetière does not himself hesitate to name both Lesage and Marivaux in connection with the *roman de mœurs*, which proves that he had no intention of being exclusive when he granted to Scott a certain influence in the development of the Balzacian technique. One must not overlook the fact that to authors prior to 1830 material details had little importance in themselves. When not vague, they usually have a satiric value in connection with a type of which the writer is making sport. But the house, the clothes, and the pocket-knife of Grandet have a value of their own; they complete the physical and the moral picture of the central personage and carry no additional ironic implication.

Except for Marivaux, none of the better-known eighteenth-century novelists appear in Mr. Green's study. The author limits himself to the *roman de mœurs*, in which is painted the manners of polite society, "*ou, si l'on veut, de la bonne société.*" The genre he defines thus: "*un roman qui consacre une grande partie de ses pages à des tableaux de la manière de vivre, d'agir et de penser qui est particulière à certaines catégories de la société*" (p. 2). He excludes *Gil Blas* because of the dominant satiric element and the universal character of the personages. Yet, so far as one may judge from the excerpts given in the text—for the reviewer has access to very few of the books mentioned—the prevailing tone in the works from which he draws is satiric. Prévost, too, is left out, as are Mme de Tencin, Crébillon fils, and Mme Riccoboni. Only three or four of the thirty-nine novels used as sources are listed in Lanson's *Manuel bibliographique*, and none, except those of Marivaux, appear in Lebreton's *Roman au XVIII^e siècle*. Mr. Green has sought his material in little-known or forgotten authors, some of whom, like the Marquis d'Argens and La Morlière, are better known through their connection with the *mouvement philosophique*

than as novel writers. Here, then, one may test the theory that lesser authors provide the best sources for the study of contemporary tendencies.

The study consists of two main parts. In the first and longer of these, entitled *Tableau des mœurs dans le roman*, the author examines in considerable detail the contents of thirty-nine of the three hundred and more novels that were published within the period, selecting therefrom the elements that illustrate upper-class life: the nobility, the upper middle class, the church, the stage, the army, and high finance. The second main division is devoted to a "vérification du tableau des mœurs" from other sources: memoirs, diaries, critical and controversial writings of the period, as well as recent scientific studies of eighteenth-century society. The arrangement, though logical, is not a happy one for the reader, who would enter with more zest into a critical study of the evidence if this followed immediately after the summary of the novelists' contributions to the history of manners.¹

In the Introduction (pp. 2-30) the author examines the eighteenth-century view of the novel. The genre is still held to be of minor value. Verisimilitude is demanded. Critics like La Bataille, the Abbé de la Porte, and Delasolle insist that men shall be presented as they are rather than as they ought to be, as had been the practice of older authors. However, scenes from common life are not admitted, and critics justify the existence of novels only in so far as they are useful. That is, eighteenth-century critics seem to accept the view commonly held by seventeenth-century novelists, almost the only ones in their time to ascribe to the genre any other merit than that of being entertaining. The concessions made by a number of critics of the eighteenth century—Voltaire was not among the kindly disposed—indicate that the genre had made some progress toward winning greater esteem in the Republic of Letters.

A perusal of the six chapters comprising the *Tableau des mœurs* does not materially alter the reader's conception of eighteenth-century society, obtained from acquaintance with better-known authors. The lesser novelists bear out the observations of Marivaux on the barriers in the way of a match between an aristocrat and a nobody. The town gentry are frivolous and corrupt as one sees in *Le Paysan parvenu*. Gambling and debauchery are their chief diversions. *La petite maison*, of Bastide (1763), describes in detail one of the numerous "nids d'amour" of the time, decorated by contemporary artists. As for the *haute bourgeoisie*, the corruption of magistrates and the tendency of judges and doctors to ape the dissolute and haughty bearing of

¹ It is regrettable that more care was not exercised in reading the proofs. Page references for the evidence used are often lacking, as are adequate bibliographical details for many items in the list of *Ouvrages consultés* (pp. 254-59). Quotation marks are used erratically (cf., e.g., pp. 9, 85), and evident misprints are: *Freliding* for *Fielding* (p. 21); *respectacle* for *respectable* (p. 76); a totally illegible note (p. 88, n. 2); a misplaced note reference (p. 115); *lunapar* for *lupanar* (p. 168); proper name incomplete (p. 174); *conviendrait* for *conviendrait* (p. 177); commas omitted (p. 183); *s* of *des* dropped to line below (p. 185); *fut* for *fût* (p. 195); *renseigné* for *renseignés* (p. 210); *remarquerq* *u'il* for *remarquer qu'il* (p. 215); *Janse* for *Jansé* (p. 256; cf. p. 245 and Lanson, No. 7467); *Jeçe* for ? (p. 256); *du Sauust* for *du Sauzet* (p. 259).

the nobility provide matter for comment, as they had done for Sorel and for Furetière. Daughters and sons of noble families forced to choose between the church and undesirable marriages, and younger children driven into the church as the one means of livelihood in order that estates may be kept intact for their seniors; the corruption found in religious houses; the abbés *petits-mâtres*—these phenomena appear as well in the better-known fiction of the time—many of them in *Manon Lescaut*, a work which is excluded from the purview of this study as giving less attention to the *mœurs* of the time than to other concerns.

Les Lettres de Thérèse, of Bridard de la Garde (1737), give a detailed description of the theater: the actors and the way they read their lines; the authors, with Voltaire in their midst; and the dandies on the stage, more interested in drawing attention to themselves than to the play. Sainte-Colombe, too, in *Les Plaisirs du jour* (1746), adds to this picture characterizations of contemporary artists of note: Mlle Clairon, Mlle Dumesnil, Mlle Gaussin, MM. Le Kain, Delainville, Belcourt, Dubois—and indicates the *engouement* of the public for Italian music and actors at the expense of the native product. De Mouhy, in *Anne de Moras* (1739–40), depicts vividly the spectators gathered at the Comédie Française to see *La Métromanie*, with Crébillon fils and, perhaps, Prévost among them.

Novels by Mauvillon, Mme Levesque, and others depict army life. The professional officer had little chance of promotion without protection or purchase, was often invalided on a tiny pension after years of service, and had small occupation in peace times except drinking, gaming, and loving, details which confirm the accuracy of Prévost's presentation of the chief interests of Manon's brother. Similarly, the minor novelists confirm what we know of the wealthy financier of the epoch from Labruyère, from *Turcaret*, from *Manon*, and from *le Paysan parvenu*. He has won his fortune by fraud or extortion, and uses it to live luxuriously and to win admission for himself and his children to the highest social circles.

An examination of the evidence regarding the reliability of the pictures given by the novelists leads Mr. Green to conclude that their representation of the situation in the church, on the stage, among the nobility, in the army, and among the *nouveaux riches* is substantiated from other sources, and consequently, that the contemporary novel bears reasonably reliable witness to the manners of the period. One may add that this study is more than a resuscitation of authors, more or less deservedly forgotten. It serves—even though quite indirectly—to enhance the merit of authors like Marivaux and Prévost, whose work has remained fresh with life, for it confirms the essential truth and adequacy of their portrayal of contemporary polite society. In addition, the work of these authors has the advantage of bearing the stamp of great talent, which appears to be conspicuous chiefly by its absence in the volumes so carefully analyzed in the study before us. Mr. Green is, therefore, in a certain sense, the victim of a well-known view of literary history. In many

cases, it has been justified by its fruits. Not infrequently, however, its followers must journey along knowing that mountain peaks are hidden in the cloud-band on the horizon, but forbidden by their consciences to allow their attention to wander toward the heights, away from the flat and slightly arid plains.

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Les relations de voyages du XVII^e siècle et l'évolution des idées. Contribution à l'étude de la formation de l'esprit du XVIII^e siècle. By GEOFFROY ATKINSON. Paris: Librairie ancienne Édouard Champion, 1925. Pp. 220.

Having thoroughly familiarized himself with certain very fascinating and romantic material in *The Extraordinary Voyage in French Literature before 1700* (1920) and *The Extraordinary Voyage in French Literature from 1700 to 1780* (1922), Professor Atkinson has now written a small, but substantial, volume which relates this and additional material of a related sort to the history of ideas in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. His work is another excellent demonstration of the old contention that "literature" in its proper sense is the most inclusive of all studies, combining and assimilating the essentials of philosophy, history, sociology, religion, and economics in addition to its own more popularly recognized functions.

Stated briefly, Professor Atkinson's thesis is that the lacuna preceding certain well-known eighteenth-century theories and doctrines which culminated and received their best expression in the encyclopedists and the Revolution, is bridged by an intelligent perusal of the accounts of the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century voyages, some true, some fictitious, but all having Montaigne's idealistic essay on cannibals as their indirect fountain-head. From this source grew the "rationalism" of the eighteenth century, in the sense of "*science fondée sur l'expérience*" and "*sur la méthode expérimentale*." To the proof of this thesis the author devotes ten chapters, all stimulating, though in different degrees. The only question which might be raised is whether the thesis is treated sufficiently in the light and perspective of trends of thought from other quarters during the same period.

In general, the documentation of the work is very satisfactory, although Professor Atkinson states beforehand that his conclusions are based on only about a hundred accounts. The first chapter, "Les philosophes et les idées," is perhaps the most general in respect to references, although certainly this method is superior to the far too prevalent one in some places today of asserting source-indebtedness on the flimsiest of foundations. The second chapter, "Théories et faits politiques," discusses suggestively the motto, "Liberty, equality, fraternity," as finding its origin in the observations of travelers

upon the conditions of so-called "savage" states. Here—and, as a matter of fact, in many of his chapters—there is a certain amount of unavoidable repetition, because of the necessary overlapping of conclusions based on the idealization of primitive societies. Thus, "equality," the second member of the redundant slogan named above, would really imply the rest of the triad. These theories, however, are then shown as reaching their practical application in "*Les 'républiques' d'outre-mer*," of native as well as of missionary and emigrant formation.

Two interesting chapters, especially to students of English literature, are those on "*Le bon sauvage*" and "*Le sage chinois*." If Professor Chauncey B. Tinker could have read the first before writing his *Nature's Simple Plan*, he would not have betrayed the lack of perspective that he did in discussing the novelty of the enthusiasm for the "State of Nature" in late eighteenth-century England. The similar craze for criticisms of English society through the mouth of some foreign observer, especially a Chinaman (a craze attaining its height in Goldsmith's *Citizen of the World*), may be proved to have had an early origin in France.

The chapter, "*Critique politique et économique*," is not so interesting as that on "*Les idées déistes*," which itself is surpassed by that on "*Les idées anti-chrétiennes*." This chapter, treating as it does the direct and indirect undermining of some of the accepted facts and precepts of Christianity by showing how the effects of Adam's fall as described in Genesis (such as childbirth in pain and shame at nakedness) failed to be corroborated among the savages, is the most original and ingenious of them all—in fact, in one or two cases such as the foregoing, one wonders whether the ingenuity does not overshadow the validity, since absolute links connecting these observations with Genesis are practically missing. But, on the whole, the points on "*Immortalité sans Révélation*," "*Enfants nés de vierges*," "*Chronologie*," "*La tradition chrétienne*," etc., are well taken.

A miscellaneous chapter, "*Autres idées*," composed of fragmentary discussions of the ideas of "progress," "Ancients and Moderns," "relativism," "the exotic spirit," "sensibility," and "rationalism," is followed by one entitled "Conclusions." This latter is frankly disappointing, since it contains little more than a summary of what has been said very clearly before. If the last two or three pages, showing the influence of all these streams of thought on a leader like Pierre Bayle, had only been developed into a concrete indication of the effect of this "voyage literature" on the intellectual leaders of the Revolution, the book would have ended on the major chord the rest of it (despite slightly faulty proofreading) deserves.

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¹ R. S. Crane and H. J. Smith have already shown how greatly indebted Goldsmith was to the *Lettres chinoises*, by the Marquis d'Argens (1739). *Of. Mod. Phil.*, XIX (1921), 83-92.

Heinrich von Kleist's Conception of the Tragic. By WALTER SILZ.
Hesperia No. 12. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1923.
Pp. 95.

In view of the lack of any comprehensive study of Kleist's conception of the tragic, Dr. Silz investigates this theme, which he considers essential to an understanding of the dramatist. He asserts that Kleist's view of the tragic is marked by an organic development from the catastrophe of pure misunderstanding to the genuine tragedy of will and character, in which reason, once the tempter to destruction, becomes the deliverer from misfortune and the vanquisher of tragedy. A division of Kleist's works is made into three groups, each of which marks a distinct stage in an evolution based upon personal experience.

The plays of the first group—*Die Familie Schroffenstein*, *Robert Guiskard*, *Amphitryon*—are designated as the product of Kleist's disillusionment over Kant. Like Kleist, the characters are baffled by forces which are unintelligible to them; they grope about blindly in a world where pure truth cannot be attained. In *Die Familie Schroffenstein*, which is dominated by the impotence of reason, the mind and the heart prove equally invalid as guides of life. Dr. Silz views *Robert Guiskard* as a more intense formulation of the same view of tragedy. The hero, an individual of almost superhuman proportions, is a victim of a natural phenomenon, of the plague. This has no causal connection whatsoever with his acts, but intervenes capriciously, irrationally, and unintelligibly, thwarting Guiskard at the very moment when he is about to complete the carving out of a gigantic destiny. Kleist's growing ability to portray an impressive character merely serves to heighten the effect of tragic irrationality. *Amphitryon* is characterized as in keeping with Kleist's spiritual development and as a "tragedy of the fallibility of feeling in a human being who stands under the shadow of an uncomprehended fate." Here the seat of the tragedy is entirely within the soul of the heroine, Alcmena.

The works of the second group—*Die Marquise von O*, *Penthesilea*, *Das Käthchen von Heilbronn*—are viewed as representing a period of transition, and as preparing for the conception of the individual as a member of society. The problem in *Die Marquise von O* is related to that of Alcmena, in that both women experience the tragic perplexity attendant upon finding themselves innocently guilty. But in this narrative the superhuman element is lacking, and the forces at work are humanly comprehensible. This serves to establish a basis in reality for purely human tragedy. The loneliness peculiar to Kleist's characters is emphasized in the case of the Marquise. Dr. Silz states that the tragedy of *Penthesilea* is based upon her attempt to unite two incompatible views of life. For although destined to wreck the foundations of the Amazon state, she nevertheless feels a loyalty to that state. In her case, tragedy is seen to result from the limitation of human reason, from the unreliability of reason, and from conflicting feeling. *Das Käthchen von Heilbronn* is

characterized as a deviation from the direct course of development and as a drama in which there is "no conflict or confusion of feeling, hence no tragedy in Kleist's sense" (p. 57). After more than nine pages of analysis the author concludes that this drama portrays a compensatory ideal and that in a negative way it presents an indictment of the disorder and unhappiness in this world. I regard it as a decidedly unfortunate expedient to devote to a play, that avowedly lacks tragic content, approximately one-tenth of the space of a monograph intended to deal with the conception of the tragic.

In the third group—*Michael Kohlhaas*, *Die Hermannsschlacht*, *Prinz Friedrich von Homburg*—the important element is the conception of the state and the relation of the individual to it. Tragic effect in *Michael Kohlhaas* is seen to arise out of a peculiar irony. Through an idealistic devotion to justice, Kohlhaas himself becomes unjust, a robber, and a murderer. This situation develops out of the conflict between the inflexibly abstract, idealistic conception of justice peculiar to him and the relative view of justice, based somewhat on expediency, held by the state. The latter is represented as far from deserving unqualified respect and devotion. *Die Hermannsschlacht* is another drama which is discussed at length although the author states that no element of the tragic is developed in it. To be sure, some reference to this drama as well as to Kleist's life is necessary in portraying the development of Kleist's changing attitude toward the state. Yet, in spite of his admission that *Die Hermannsschlacht* is not inherently tragic, the author has devoted practically one-seventh of his monograph to its discussion. *Prinz Friedrich von Homburg* is characterized as the first instance of tragedy in the purest sense, since here the old favorite theme of the inadequacy of reason as a cause of tragedy is outweighed by serious weakness in the character and will of the hero. The tragic problem of the Prince seems insoluble as long as he regards it from an egocentric point of view, but it is overcome as soon as he relates it and himself to a higher unit—to the state. Kleist's final conception of the tragic is summed up as follows: "Tragedy ceases to be tragic when it is seen in significant relation to a higher necessity" (p. 92). And again:

In *Prinz Friedrich von Homburg* a new view of the tragic is asserting itself, a view that sees tragedy no longer as a blind and final catastrophe, but as a mere transient incident in the moral development of the hero. . . . The tragic experience is not an irretraceable descent; it does not terminate the career of a hero in glory or disaster, but it serves instead to create the hero; it is a phase, and a salutary phase, in his evolution [p. 93].

In view of the extended analysis of *Das Käthchen von Heilbronn* and of *Die Hermannsschlacht*—both of which have no inherently tragic content—it is rather surprising that no word of explanation is given to account for the omission of some of Kleist's prose narratives that contain tragic situations. Failure to do so lays the author open to the charge of arbitrary selection. If one were disposed to be contentious, one might argue with Dr. Silz over such points as pronouncing Kleist a philosopher, including no bibliography of

works referred to, and not always (pp. 33, 75) citing by title. Yet these are minor points, some of which are merely a matter of technique. The conclusion might have been strengthened considerably by a terse formulation of the points established. The clarity of style is admirable. Dr. Silz has treated an important subject in a stimulating, thought-provoking manner and has carefully related Kleist's personal experience to his theory of the tragic.

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Sir Gawain & the Green Knight. Edited by J. R. R. TOLKIEN and E. V. GORDON. New York: Oxford University Press, American Branch, 1925. Pp. xviii+211.

Not in sixty years has there been occasion for reviewing a new edition of *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, and Richard Morris' edition of 1864 had so poor an apparatus that recent reprints of it omitted Introduction, Notes, and Glossary. The reason for the apparent neglect of one of the best medieval English poems is the enormous difficulty of vocabulary and style. The work, on the Oxford Dictionary, new editions of other alliterative poems, and the increasingly exact knowledge of English dialects, Old French, Old Norse, and Celtic have thrown new light on the vocabulary of *Sir Gawain*, however, and though they may not have revealed the precise meaning and connotation of strange words, they have replaced sheer guessing with probabilities or at least possibilities. All of this material the editors of the new edition have used to the full; they have given a complete Glossary, in which words are associated with some possible etymological source or at least with words known elsewhere. Moreover, they have printed a conservative text, with few emendations, some (not highly important) corrections of previous misreadings, and (as far as I can find) no misprints. They have punctuated the text admirably. Hence the edition is a good one; for it makes the poem available to readers who have not an extensive knowledge of Middle English and do not wish to spend hours hunting for information about rare words.

To some students the edition may seem the best possible, but to others it will seem, like most things made by human minds, faulty in some respects. The Introduction will seem to many not quite satisfactory. Its "History of the Legend," in particular, is a very slight sketch of one theory of the relations between *Sir Gawain* and the other poems which have a head-cutting episode. Further, its "Select Bibliography" omits many important items, articles which in some cases the editors undoubtedly used. The bibliography of *Sir Gawain* is not so extensive as to preclude giving a fairly complete list of articles, and if space was precious, one can see no reason for including one book of selections (out of the many which print a part of *Sir Gawain*), unless that had been Maetznor's, or for listing *A New English Dictionary*, knowledge of which surely might be assumed (its date, by the way, should be 1884—).

One general feature of the edition which will seem to some a defect is the failure to acknowledge the indebtedness of the editors to other scholars. Actually one who knows the "literature" of the subject perceives that the editors have been able to contribute very little new material to the elucidation of the poem. Their work has been the patient collection of details, the selection of the best explanations, the decision to accept or reject emendations; and that they have done well. But they do not credit emendations to their authors, and often they do not name the scholar from whom they received ideas or facts for their notes. For instance, in line 1467 they mention two scholars whose treatment of the word *schafted* they do not accept, but they fail to state that their explanation is that of Professor Knott.

Fuller information about the views of scholars when they are not accepted would be desirable also, for readers might not agree with the editors. For instance, the explanation of *dryuez to* in line 1999 seems to me unconvincing, and hence Napier's emendation should be mentioned. Again in line 681, the explanation of *hadet* as (be)headed is possible (I had made the guess myself), but hardly more likely than Napier's *hakel* (which is not mentioned). The one implies error in writing *a* for *e*, the other, in writing *d* for *k*. A case which is not an emendation is line 438, where the manuscript's *ho we* is given as *he were* (following Morris). Professor Knott suggested that it should be *nove*, the first stroke on the *n* being just a bit high, and examination of the manuscript causes me to agree. Yet Knott's reading is not given. The effort to avoid emendation in lines 1623-24 seems to me unconvincing. Here Professor Thomas' suggestions should be mentioned; so should his suggestion about *bay* in lines 967. Other examples of the same sort might be added.

Of the few emendations accepted, some are unnecessary. The *New English Dictionary* cites another example of *forænes* (l. 646). It also gives examples of *caryez* used intransitively with meaning "go" (to these may be added *Sege of Jerusalem*, l. 255). In lines 777, *gedereʒ* is paralleled by *Patience*, line 105; hence, though Napier's reasons for the emendation are cogent, it would have been best to keep the original reading and give the emendation in a note. In line 1014, *&* need not be changed to *pat*. In line 1386, the same emendation is unnecessary, and *wonnen* need not be inserted (literally, "and I have this, in worthy fashion, within dwellings").

In general the Glossary gives the best meanings which are now known for words. But if one looks up *lede* and *leue* for line 98, one gets meanings which do not give sense in the passage: *lede* is derived from the source of *lead* and given the meaning "set (risk) against," which is unlike any meaning I can find for the word in the *New English Dictionary*; *leue* is glossed "to allow" (what can "each one allow other" mean?). Professor Ker used to read this, "life laid for life, each to trust other." In line 295, *elles* surely means "provided that." In some way either Glossary or Notes should make clear the facts about words of doubtful meaning, but they generally do not. For instance, *in her first age* (l. 54) is glossed "in the prime of life," without citation

of evidence. *Aneled* (l. 723) is a problem, which may or may not be solved by the definition given. *Bi mount* (l. 718) is given a meaning entirely different from that which the *New English Dictionary* assigns to it, without comment. In line 958, *chymbled* is given a meaning and derivation that are very uncertain. In line 1284, *lode* is given different meanings in Glossary and Notes, both of them dubious. In some cases (e.g., the notes to ll. 327, 457, 1074) the editors do give excellent discussions of difficult words.

The notes are in general pertinent and sound. Those to lines 33, 35, 36, however, are not warranted: the passage does not imply that the source was written in "alliterative staves" or that there was "continuity of alliterative tradition." The meaning of lines 67-68 seems to me probably this: When people met each other on New Year's Day, the first who called out "Year's gift" received a present from the other; hence the "other" was said to have lost. (A similar custom exists among the negroes in the southern states.) "As wares" should be omitted from the Glossary's definition of *ʒezed*. In line 90, the fact that reference is made to Arthur's custom of not starting dinner till an adventure had been reported, and that the custom is mentioned in another story which contains the head-cutting game, is not evidence that "the author got it from his original." Reference should be made to the *Vulgate Romances*, which give the origin of the custom (Sommer's edition, II, 320). In line 709, such information as I have been able to find indicates that Madden's citation of the Chapel of the Grene in Cumberland is of no value for the poem. Its proper name should be Grune or Groyne. In explaining their preference of *lord* to *knyzt* (l. 991) as the emendation for *kyng*, the editors say, "lord is more than thirty times applied to Sir Bercilak"; but numbers haven't much significance in such a case as this: the question is, Is it more likely that the scribe miswrote *kyng* for *knyzt* or for *lord*? Examples of scribal confusion of *kyng* and *knyzt* abound (Professor Knott mentioned some, but many more could be found). The assumption that *kyng* was miswritten for *lord* is altogether less likely, and the editors give no examples of such an error. Moreover, Bercilak is called *knyzt* in lines 1581 and 1936. The editors add: "Alliteration rather than internal rhyme agrees better with the general practice of the poem in the 'wheel.'" But *knyzt* gives alliteration with *comaundet*, and the fact that *knyzt* and *lyzt* rhyme is a mere chance.

As will be seen from the foregoing, the present edition of *Sir Gawain* does not solve all the problems of the poem. In particular, we have much to learn about the poet's diction, the exact meaning and connotation of his words, and the poet's reasons for using some of the unusual ones. Dr. Brink in his *Stab und Wort in Gawain* (which seems not to have been known to the editors) has thrown considerable light on the poet's methods of using words, but much remains to be done. Date and place of composition, the question whether the author of *Sir Gawain* wrote the other poems in the manuscript or any other poems which have remained to us, and the audience for whom he wrote, are still unsolved problems. The editors of this edition, by making

available in compact form most of what is now known of the poem, have done a meritorious service to scholarship, and the Oxford Press is to be congratulated for the beauty of the book which it has produced.

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

J. R. HULBERT

A History of Restoration Drama: 1660-1700. By ALLARDYCE NICOLL. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1923. Pp. vi+397.

A History of Early Eighteenth Century English Drama: 1700-1750. By ALLARDYCE NICOLL. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1925. Pp. xii+431.

The first history of English drama to show adequate documentation of Restoration materials was issued in 1923 by the Cambridge University Press for Professor Allardyce Nicoll. This year another volume from the same hand carries the story on to 1750 in the encyclopedic manner of its predecessor. Both books are filled with new facts from contemporary periodicals and state records and have pointed comments on the plays in question. Thus the two volumes constitute a timely continuance of Chambers' noteworthy history of the Elizabethan stage. Mr. Nicoll has used a great mass of facts in his critical study. He has gathered the necessary materials for a real history of the playhouses and the dramatic companies and has studied the plays themselves with extraordinary diligence.

The text of the first volume is divided into three parts designated as "The Theatre," "Tragedy," and "Comedy." In the volume on the early eighteenth century a fourth part seemed necessary for an account of its operas, pantomimes, and burlesques. Each part is divided into smaller units of dramatic measurement and the whole is drawn to scale. The last third of each book is devoted to appendixes giving many new and valuable data under three heads: "The History of the Playhouses," "Select Documents Illustrating the History of the Stage," and a "Handlist of Plays." The Indexes that follow are satisfactory except for a loss of items under the letter *L* in the 1923 volume that seems due to the dropping of a sheet. Perhaps the most remarkable proof of careful research is in the Handlist for the 1700-1750 period; therein Mr. Nicoll presents itemized records of all known performances of every play named as new during that time. In plan and execution the two works are satisfying, and as reference works for dates and titles virtually indispensable.

Each main division of *The History of Restoration Drama* has something to arouse other scholars to further research. The history of the playhouses is developed from a critical examination of stage directions in the quartos and by notes on the musical and dancing accompaniments of the spoken parts. In the space given to tragedy, much is said regarding the origins of heroic drama in earlier English materials, thereby lessening the credit of French

tragedies and romances for that specific *genre*. In fact, the main thesis of the first book is to establish an unbroken tradition for English drama from Elizabethan to modern forms, a program of accomplishment more feasible in the realm of tragedy than elsewhere.

In the part on comedy there is skilful use of old as well as of new methods of criticism. The usual attributions to French sources are given for various plays, and then fresh estimates of how the borrowings were utilized. This is particularly well done in the analysis of Molière's influence. When showing the English sources, Mr. Nicoll in similar style runs over the general debt of Restoration comedy to Jonson, Beaumont and Fletcher, and Shirley, with few changes of the established opinions regarding their influence. He then restates the case of Shadwell to prove that dramatist's diversity and also his interchange of comic method with Congreve and others. Some of the best criticism in the book brings out the various borrowings of one writer from another within the Restoration group. In rating the work of single authors Mr. Nicoll shows the same sort of independent thinking. Wycherley, for example, is given much the same historical position as in the studies of C. Perromat (1921) and G. B. Churchill (1924); then comes a critical valuation of his contradictory emotional appeals and shortcomings in taste.

The History of Early Eighteenth Century Drama defaults only in the omission of the Licensing Act of 1737 as being too well known for inclusion. Otherwise the book is remarkable for its full and orderly record of evidence. The analysis of tragedy gives critical categories that will become basic in all later histories of the period, for actual proofs of growth from seventeenth-century materials justify immediate recognition of Mr. Nicoll's terminology. Of minor significance are the high rating given Charles Johnson, who has been emerging as a strong influence on Lessing and other Continental dramatists; the new perspective given for Addison's *Cato* and other plays that have had constant attention; and many additions to our knowledge of scenes, costumes, and stagecraft.

In the matter on comedy there is a still more analytic study of kinds. The difficulty is greater because much of eighteenth-century comedy had no singleness of purpose; also, our critical terminology has been confusing rather than discriminating. Mr. Nicoll points out basic characteristics of early sentimental comedy in a way to remove some of the perplexities that arose from attempts to make "sentimental" an inclusive term; yet in using the studies of previous critics Mr. Nicoll has built upon their work instead of demanding an entirely new valuation. He has given the "reformed" and "genteel" comedy of 1696-1722 a clear relation to contemporary taste whereby the truly sentimental works may be felt as distinctly of their own character. Quite as significant is the evidence of a reviving interest in romantic comedy amid the influence toward classical restraint. Here there is gratifying addition to Odell's study of the Shakespeare vogue by a thoroughgoing study of repertoire. In showing exactly what plays were staged in London during

given seasons Mr. Nicoll illustrates how thoroughly he has searched the periodicals for theatrical records, and he thereby draws attention again to the painstaking labor behind his handlists of plays.

The attention of all interested in this field of English studies is directed to the indicators used in the two handlists to mark plays known to Mr. Nicoll by name only. A starred title may be found in the catalogue of some library here or abroad, whereupon the location of the copy and the characteristics of the play should be made known. A few such additions to the items of Mr. Nicoll's lists have been found in the United States, and from such manuscripts as are in the Huntington Library many more unpublished plays may be brought to light. These additions will barely indicate our great obligation to Mr. Nicoll for laying the groundwork of all further research in this field.

DAVID HARRISON STEVENS

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Some Native Comic Types in the Early Spanish Drama. By WILLIAM SAMUEL HENDRIX. *The Ohio State University Bulletin*, "Contributions in Languages and Literatures," No. 1. 1924.

This study, a doctoral dissertation of the University of Chicago, is an attempt to analyze the main comic characters in the Spanish drama from Juan del Encina to Juan de la Cueva. It is divided into four parts as follows: (1) "The Churchman"; (2) "Some Foreign and Dialectal Types" (including the negro, Moor, Italian, Frenchman, German, gypsy, *salvaje*, Jew, *vizcatno*, language plays); (3) "The Stupid Group" (including the shepherd, *bobo*, *simple*, etc.) and "The Clever Group" (including the confidential servant, *rufián*, braggart soldier, etc.); (4) "Some Comic Devices" (including language, sleeping, eating, burlesque or parody, genealogy, asides, boasting, quarreling, fear, etc.).

Professor Hendrix has read with care the readily accessible sixteenth-century plays and has presented to us the stage traditions regarding the various comic characters. We might wish that a more adequate background had been given for the first two sections. Here, as elsewhere, the author quotes occasionally from non-dramatic literature, but no definite attempt is made to link stage traditions with the testimony of other writers or with historical records. The criticism of dishonest and dissolute members of the clergy on the stage is interesting as reflecting popular opinion, but it forms only a small portion of the protests voiced in a more serious vein by countless high-minded persons of that day. There is lack of perspective, for example, in the statement that Sánchez de Badajoz, a curate, most of whose plays were performed before clerical audiences, "for some reason did not like the clergy" (p. 8). The Moor was ridiculed for his aversion to wine and pork, and the negro for his ignorance of the language, though he knew his prayers after a fashion, but with respect to the social status of these unhappy creatures we still know next to nothing.

Professor Hendrix emphasizes the virtual identity of the jargon of Moors and negroes. It seems to me that with the exception of the language of the negress Margarita in Güete's *Comedia Tesorina* the speech of the Moor and negro differs considerably in our plays. With due allowances for inconsistencies of transcription by playwrights and printers, some of these texts give us a fair idea of the way Moors and negroes pronounced "Spanish." A line in Vicente's *Cortes de Jupiter*, namely, "*mi no saber que exto zer*," contains the three errors most commonly made by Moors in our texts: inability to use subject pronouns correctly; the use of the infinitive to express all persons, numbers, and tenses of the verbs; and the pronunciation of *s* as the voiceless prepalatal fricative *x*. We are familiar with the last-named peculiarity in the explanation of *xabón*, *jabón*, from *saponem*. The negro jargon found in Castilian and Portuguese texts deserves special study, but in general it may be said that the negroes pronounced initial and medial *d* as *r* (*turo*, *riabo*); *j* as *s* (*vieso*, *hisilo*); and *l* as *r*, of which we have a good example in the *Farsa teologal* of Sánchez de Badajoz:

rabame cara semana
cando rababa ros paños.

The occasional loss of *s* before a consonant in the negro jargon (as *elar*, *pator*) may have led Professor Hendrix to speak of the language of Moors and negroes as *cecear*, of which we have good examples in the speech of the gypsies and in the pronunciation of Fray Vegecio in the *Comedia Tesorina*. It probably lay outside the scope of Professor Hendrix' volume to study the dialect used by the shepherds in the plays of Encina and other playwrights, but such a study should be made along the same lines as in Eckhardt's monograph on *Die Dialekt- und Ausländertypen des älteren englischen Dramas*.

In dealing with the foreign types, the amusing French (or Italian) dentist in the *Farsa teologal* is not mentioned. The reference to "the borbon, the Condestable" (p. 23) who leads the attack in Juan de la Cueva's *El saco de Roma* is scarcely adequate in dealing with a well-known historical figure.

Greater unity of treatment would have been secured, in my opinion, if the third and fourth sections had been combined. Since most of the comic devices were employed by the so-called "Stupid Group," a considerable amount of repetition would have been avoided by considering them together. I doubt whether many will agree that in the expressions "Am I dreaming? Am I asleep?" and in the comic use of dreams is found the suggestion of the theme of *La vida es sueño* (p. 73).

There are a number of errors in the bibliography of plays which serves as the Appendix. "Guillén de Avila" should be "Diego de Avila"; *Nise lastimosa* and *Nise laureada*, of Bermúdez, were published in 1577, not 1551; The author of the *Tragedia de Narciso* was Francisco de la Cueva y Silva, not Francisco de las Cuebas, etc. The many misprints that occur here and throughout the text will be readily corrected by the reader.

J. P., WICKERSHAM CRAWFORD

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The Roxburghshire Word-Book. By GEORGE WATSON. Cambridge: The University Press, 1923. Pp. viii+343.

The present work is an account of "the special vernacular vocabulary of the county of Roxburgh," by which limitation is meant in this case that standard English words are omitted, and also words that are generally Scottish; in addition there is an appendix of specimens of the dialect. The author, who is of the staff of the *New English Dictionary*, is a native of Jedburgh, Roxburghshire, and he used the dialect, he says, until he was twenty-six years old. In his work on the Oxford Dictionary his knowledge of vernacular was often of the greatest help, and he soon began to realize the philological importance of his own dialect, and to note down matters of interest. Of the inception of the investigations that followed and of the plan of the *Word-Book* he tells us in the Preface, and more fully in an article entitled "Recent Records of the Scottish Speech," printed in the *Hawick Archaeological Society's Transactions* for 1924. The latter contains first an account of Roxburgh dialect material so far published, glossaries, etc., and the work done by the Scottish Dialect Committee, appointed in 1907, and of that of the Philological Society, as well as individual authors. As far as Roxburghshire is concerned, however, the work accomplished is largely the work of Mr. Watson, both in the matter of collecting, aided by selected helpers, and in the matter of articles on this or that phase of the vocabulary. Thus he published in the *Kelso Chronicle* in 1914-16, and in June, 1921, a number of articles on localisms, dialect centers, and other topics, and on such special subjects as "Provincial Terms in Agriculture," "Kelso Plant-Names," etc. Further, in April-July, 1915, he discussed "The Dialect of Upper Teviotdale" in seven articles in the *Hawick Express*, and finally he wrote thirteen articles for the *Jedburgh Gazette* in 1915-16 on words of that particular region.

Roxburghshire has three subdialects ("Recent Records," p. 4): Tweeddale, Teviotdale, and Liddesdale. Thus we have again an illustration of how dialects grow up in valley centers. The author early observed that the various centers are characterized by notable differences in respect of vocabulary; and through correspondence and personal investigation he has sought to make his work as complete as possible upon this point. And right here he makes an exceedingly interesting observation which I will quote:

On one occasion I sent a particular word-list for annotation to an aged correspondent of extensive knowledge in Kelso district, and in this he especially marked one term connected with the recreations of youth as "long obsolete; never heard now; very common when a boy." On my sending a duplicate list to a young man in the same locality, he annotated this term as "very common among boys, and in everyday use," or words to that effect.

By taking advantage of the lesson taught by this the author has been able to show that many a word thought obsolete or obsolescent is in living use there at the present time. As we grow away from the diversions of childhood, we forget the words, but the diversions and the vocabulary connected with them live on for the most part.

It was observed above that the delimitation adopted excluded standard Scottish.¹ There is a drawback in this: we do not get a complete picture of the use of words; words generally Scottish may often, I would judge, reveal a use here that is rare or lacking elsewhere. Also it must often be hard to draw the line: such words as *byre*, "cow-house," *lowe*, "flame," *stoond*, "sharp pain," and *gar*, "to cause," can easily be assumed to be current, but there will no doubt often be less clear cases. However, I have a good deal of confidence in the judgment of the author also upon this point. He has wished to offer a book of words that are "distinctive of Roxburghshire, past and present, gathered from its literature, as well as from living witnesses old and young." It is not the purpose here to review in detail what the author has accomplished in this volume. I shall merely note some things that characterize the dialect as here presented. Mr. Watson's book is a contribution of major importance to the study of English-Scottish dialects in general; it is painstaking, thorough, and scholarly. It is doubly welcome because so little has been done for Scotland in the way of glossaries or studies of particular dialects, aside from that fundamental investigation, *The Dialect of the Southern Counties of Scotland*, by J. A. H. Murray in 1873. In this connection I am especially glad to learn from Watson's "Recent Records," page 6, that there are in active preparation at present studies in the vernacular of East Dumfries, Northeast Roxburgh, Ayrshire, Midlothian, Forfar, and Buchan, while an etymological dictionary of the dialect of Orkney had before been announced.²

The following may here be noted. Page 15: In Teviotdale the normal pronunciation is with *iu* for *u* in all such words as "blue," "blew," "threw," "rue," etc. The rule is stated as follows: "It [that is, *j*] is also developed, giving *ju*, between *l*, *j*, or *r* and *u*," which I assume is a misprint in listing *j* also with *l* and *r*. Hence the above words are spoken *blju*, *thrju*, and *rju*. This is also the pronunciation in rapid speech elsewhere, we learn. Teviotdale exhibits the most striking dialectal development, as particularly in the extensive developments of the diphthongs *ou* and *ei* (hence the name "the *yow* and *mei* dialect of Teviotdale," p. 31). That is, the pronoun "you" is not pronounced *yu*, but *yow*, "through" becomes *throw*, etc.; similarly *i* (written *e*) in "he," "me," "we," "be," etc.—these are not pronounced *hi*, *mi*, *wi*, and *bi*, but, diphthongally, *hei*, *mei*, *wei*, *bei*. And similarly diphthongation to short *ow* in *bout*, *browt*, *thout*, for English "bought," "brought," "thought." It is to be noted, too, that here the equivalent of English *o* with a vanish (*oʷ*) is this diphthong *ow*, as in the words "scope," "choke," "pony," etc., hence *scowp*, *chowk*, and *powni*; here, then, we may say, roughly speaking, that the development of the diphthong has passed from the initial stage of English *sco*"*p*, halfway, in *scowp* toward the diphthong *au*. I note here that in connection with the examples *yow*, *yours*, etc., is also listed the verb *lowæ*, which is

¹ Some exceptions to this rule are noted, "Recent Records," p. 5, as words rich in Philological interest.

² Professor W. A. Craigie, of Oxford, now of the University of Chicago, is preparing a dictionary of the earlier Scottish language, from the twelfth to the seventeenth century ("Recent Records," p. 6).

equated with "to loosen." If it be the English verb, then it is a case in point. But Scottish *louse* (*louse*) is probably from ON adjective *laus*, and the verb *louse* is possibly here also of the same source.

Pages 32-34, under suffixes: The rather extensive use of the ending *-ar* for English *-ary* may possibly be wholly due to French influence, for the words are apparently all of French origin (*ordinar*, *necessar*, etc.). On the other hand, the ending *-it*, so characteristic of Scottish, is perhaps chiefly due to Norse influence, as in *baggit*, *ballit*, etc. Norse dialects all have masses of such adjectives; and in the Scottish-Norse dialect of the Shetland Islands it is the prevailing adjective ending, and almost any adjective may have this form. Of Scottish suffixes, *-ie* is perhaps the commonest in Roxburgh; and, as in Lowland Scotch in general, it is very often diminutive in function, and sometimes of pejorative force. But its scope is apparently wider still in Roxburgh, as in such instances as *crowdie*, "oatmeal and water," *baikie* (also *blaikie*, with strange *l*-infix), "wooden collar for a cow," *bauwie*, "a broad shallow milk-dish," and *birtie*, "a spindle-whorl." It may be noted first that the suffix *-ie* is used with nouns or adjectives, as a term for a thing or a person, from the point of view of appearance or characteristic activity, as a *beardie*, "one with much beard," *batchie*, "a baker" (from *batch*, "baking"), and *blekie*, "an imp" (from *bleck*, "smut," "black man"). Of great interest is another very large group of such forms in which the ending *-ie* replaces the second part of a compound or other omitted element, illustrated by the author on page 34 in such examples as *bantie* for "bantam," *bullie* for "bullfinch," *goldie* for "goldfinch," *hangie* for "hangman," *postie* for "postman," etc. (Of those listed, *hankie* for "handkerchief" is also American, but hardly any of the others so far as I know.) In *baggie* (also American) for "rutabaga, rutabago," through the pronunciation *rutabaggie*, we have, of course, merely a case of subtraction of the first part.

Page 39: *Aftercast*, "consequence." I am inclined to regard this as a Norse use; cf. OIc *efterkost*, noun plural, "after-effect."

Page 61: *Blinker*, "a lively, engaging girl." Cf. Norwegian *blinka*, "to give signs with the eyes," "to wink."

Page 63: *Bolgan*, "a swelling that becomes a pimple," quoted from Jamieson. Gaelic *bolgan*, "pimple," is suggested as the source. ON *bolginn*, "swollen," is also to be compared, as the source of both; but the Scottish form would indicate direct borrowing from Gaelic.

Page 83: *Chatty-puss*, and *cheetie*. The author compares French *chat*; however, the *-tt-* of the first rather suggests the Norse *kjetta* (and Norwegian *pus*), but this, on account of the *ch-*, would then require the assumption of a change from *kettie* to *chettie* under modern influence, or a borrowing in modern times.

Page 119: *Dunner*. This is clearly just the noun "thunder," and only more remotely OE *dun*, ON *duna*.

Page 137: *Fottie*, "a short-legged, plump child," "a young dog" (and *fotty*, adjective, "of hens: having feathery legs"). With formations of this kind

based on the word for "foot" are to be compared numerous Shetlandic and Scandinavian formations.

Page 139: *Frig*, "a female of light-hearted disposition." Compare Norwegian dialect *frigga*, "en stor grov Kvinde" (Ross). But perhaps not to be referred to the pagan goddess *Frigg*. The Scottish noun is apparently to be referred directly to the verb *frig*, "to act vainly," etc.

Page 150: *Glunt*, "a scowl." There is a whole body of words here corresponding to semantically similar formations with mainly the gradation vowel *-u-* in Norwegian dialects, Shetlandic, etc.

Page 155: *Grimin*, "a sprinkling or thin covering of snow." With this is to be compared Norwegian dialect *grim*, "fint Nedbør af Sne eller Regn under svag Vind" (Ross), and *grima*, ON "covering," "mask." The Scottish word would show earlier verbal use of *grime*, "to cover," "conceal."

Page 158: *Guiss*, "a pig," and *guissie*, "a pig, sow, or swine," for which the author gives the variant *gissie*, and the compound *guissie-pig*. It is doubtful if the Norwegian *gosse* cited is the direct source, though the vowel allows this etymology (as Scottish *buird*=English "board"). But just as in Norwegian dialects *gris*, "pig," used in calls to pigs, becomes *gis* or *giss*, so possibly here the form *gissie* is from *gris*+suffix *-ie*; and of this, then, the form *guissie* is a variant. By the side of *guiss* (*goss*) there should be (or once have been) a form *giss*.

The above are merely a few matters that have occurred to me as I have been going through the book¹; there are a great many other things I have marked, but I have already taken more space than I intended. Perhaps, elsewhere, I shall be able to discuss more fully some other things of the contents of this exceedingly valuable and to me interesting collection of Lowland Scottish dialect material. I shall finally quote the following brief specimen of the dialect, retaining the usual spelling: "[The devil's presence was announced by a] gowstie wind, which soupit owre the houses, and often tirlid the thack to the bare bougars:² and though it gar'd the divots stour off the house riggins and every caber dunner, his lang black gown hang straucht to his cutes ne'er i' the least caruffled."

There is no attempt to determine the extent of the different language elements in the dialect in the present volume.³ I am able to say, however, that according to a letter from Mr. Watson, dated March 9, 1925, he is considering the writing of a series of articles for the *Scottish Border Papers* on the "Cymric, Scandinavian, Gaelic, Flemish, and Old Northumbrian features, and chapters on the newer word-lore, writers, etc." It is hoped that he will do so, and that this material will then also be published in book form.

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¹ On page 10, ON *drukn* should be *drukken* (apparently purely a misprint).

² "Beams."

³ An appendix shows that there are over fifty words of gypsy origin in the dialect of Roxburgh.

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THE PRE-CHIGI FORM OF THE *CANZONIERE* OF PETRARCH

The earlier of the two extant forms of the *Canzoniere* of Petrarch, the form preserved in the Chigi MS L.V. 176, is divided into two parts, the first containing one hundred and seventy-four poems, and the second forty-one poems. The poems of Part I are those which appear in the final form as Nos. 1-120, the *ballata Donna mi viene spesso alla mente*, and those which appear in the final form as Nos. 122-56, 159-65, 169-73, 176-78, 184-85, and 189. The poems of Part II are those which appear in the final form as Nos. 264-304. Professor Phelps has recently shown¹ that within each of these two parts the poems are as a whole arranged with great artistic care upon three principles: (1) the maintenance of a generally chronological order; (2) the securing of variety in form; and (3) the securing of variety in content. In accordance with the second and third principles, for instance, *canzoni* are so placed as to prevent the existence of long series of sonnets, and political poems are so placed as to prevent the existence of long series of love poems. The application of these two principles leads to free infringement of the first principle.

Miss Phelps has also shown that when Petrarch prepared the final form of the *Canzoniere* he took the Chigi form as a point of departure, altered somewhat the constitution and the order of the group of poems at the end of Part I of the Chigi form, and from time to time added, now to Part I and now to Part II, other poems, selected from among

¹ Ruth S. Phelps, *The Earlier and Later Forms of Petrarch's Canzoniere*, Chicago, 1925. The present study is made possible by, and rests upon, this work.

those he had on hand. She has further shown that the two addenda thus created do not evince the same artistic care in arrangement which had characterized both parts of the collection in the Chigi form, but that each of the two addenda, considered as a whole, is relatively haphazard in respect to chronological order, and gives little indication of concern to prevent the existence of long series of sonnets or of poems similar to each other in content.

Each of the two parts of the final form of the *Canzoniere* consists, therefore, of an original group of carefully ordered poems, followed by an addendum of poems much less carefully ordered.

I

In the present study I shall attempt to show that the Chigi form itself appears to be related to a still earlier (and now lost) form of the *Canzoniere* in much the same way that the final form is related to the Chigi form.¹

Part I of the Chigi form consists of one hundred and seventy-four poems. Now while it is true that this block of poems is as a whole arranged with great care upon the three principles referred to above, inspection of the last thirty-odd poems of the group reveals a notable disregard of those principles.

The series of self-dated poems in Part I runs as follows:

| Number of the Poem | Words Indicating Date |
|--------------------|-------------------------|
| 30..... | sett' anni |
| 50..... | decim' anno |
| 62..... | undecimo anno |
| 69..... | quartodecimo anno |
| 101..... | sette e sett' anni |
| 107..... | quintodecim' anno |
| 118..... | sestodecim' anno |
| 122..... | dicesett' anni |
| 145..... | il mio sospir trilustre |

The order, it will be observed, is exact through No. 122; but the insertion of No. 145 at the point where it stands is inconsistent with that order. It is quite true that *trilustre* is not as specific as the phrases containing the word *anno*. It is quite true also that the poem

¹ The reader will find it convenient to have before him, for reference, Miss Phelps's Table IV (pp. 179-84), which lists the poems of the Chigi manuscript with entries for date, form, and content.

may have been written not just at the completion of the third lustrum, but at any time up to the completion of the fourth lustrum. But it is also true that the poem may have been written before the completion of the third lustrum, since Petrarch would have been more likely to exaggerate than to understate in such matters; and it is very unlikely, for the same reason, that Petrarch would have used this word had the poem actually been written when the fourth lustrum was more than half spent. More important, however, for our purposes, than the actual date of the poem is the impression as to date which it naturally makes upon the reader. That impression is certainly an impression of fifteen-ness, and as such is inconsistent with the preceding references to the sixteenth and seventeenth years of Petrarch's love.

Of the remaining poems of Part I, the only two that are datable, Nos. 172 and 173, are on good and sufficient grounds generally thought to have been written in 1333. Their appearance at this point is therefore a very striking breach of chronological order: for all of the other datable poems from No. 30 on (except No. 103, a poem of friendship), are subsequent to 1333, and all the datable poems from No. 118 on are presumably subsequent to 1339.¹

Among all the poems up to and including the *ballata*, which stands as No. 149, there is much variety in form. The prevailing form is, of course, the sonnet; but in addition to the sonnets there are ten *canzoni*, six *ballate*, five *sestine*, and four madrigals; and these poems are in general so placed as to prevent the existence of long series of sonnets. There are but three instances in which more than ten sonnets stand together (Nos. 38-49, twelve sonnets; Nos. 81-104, twenty-four sonnets; and Nos. 107-18, twelve sonnets). But the series of poems beginning with No. 150 and extending to the end of Part I, twenty-five poems in all, consists exclusively of sonnets.

Among all the poems up to and including No. 144, which is addressed to Sennuccio del Bene, there is much variety in content. Most of them, to be sure, are love poems pure and simple; but in addition to these there are about a dozen poems which, while dealing with love, have their specific character from references to other themes (absence, death, repentance, travel, religion, despair), or at least

¹ Miss Phelps, chap. II and Table IV.

stress such themes equally with love;¹ and there are some thirty poems which are not love poems at all, but deal with friendship, politics, religion, etc.; and these poems are in general so placed as to prevent the existence of long series of poems which are love poems pure and simple. There is but one instance in which more than ten poems which are love poems pure and simple stand together (Nos. 41-52, twelve poems). But the series of poems beginning with No. 145 and extending through No. 171, twenty-seven poems in all, consists exclusively of poems which are love poems pure and simple. And of the three remaining poems the first two are poems of "love and travel" and the last is a poem of "love and despair."

It is then clear that the last poems in Part I show a notable disregard of the three principles which governed the arrangement of poems in the preceding portion of Part I.

Having in mind the general analogy of the way in which Petrarch built up Part I of the final form of the *Canzoniere* by using Part I of the Chigi form as a point of departure and adding poems thereto from time to time, with less care as to the total effect of arrangement than had characterized his control of the Part I of the Chigi form as a whole—having this analogy in mind, I draw from the considerations thus far advanced in this study the conclusion that Part I of the Chigi form was itself made by taking as a point of departure the carefully ordered Part I of a still earlier, or pre-Chigi, form, and adding poems thereto from time to time, with less care as to the total effect of arrangement than had characterized the control of Part I of the pre-Chigi form.

The theory that the poems at the end of Part I of the Chigi form are not ordered with the same care as the preceding poems and are not fully integrated with them is confirmed by the fact that when Petrarch came to the making of the final form, while he undoubtedly took as his point of departure the Chigi form as a whole, he took liberties with the last eighteen poems of Part I of the Chigi form, rearranging some of them, and inserting sixteen others with them.²

¹ I class as "love poems pure and simple" those which in the last column of Miss Phelps's Table IV have the entry "love" alone or followed by a parenthesis; and I class as "poems which, while dealing with love, have their specific character from references to other themes" those which have the entry "love" followed by a further designation in italics, but not in parenthesis.

² Miss Phelps, p. 6.

Just where did Part I of the pre-Chigi form of the *Canzoniere* end? The question could hardly be answered with certainty unless some fortunate chance should reveal either a manuscript preserving that earlier form, or a manuscript of the Chigi form revealing paleographically such a clear story of the process of addition as that revealed by the partially autograph manuscript of the final form, Vat. Lat. 3195. The question may be answered, nevertheless, with a considerable degree of assurance.

It will be remembered that No. 145 is the first datable poem which breaks the chronological order; that a series of twenty-five sonnets begins with No. 150; and that a series of thirty love poems begins with No. 145. It seems probable, for the chronological reason indicated, that No. 145 belongs to the Chigi addendum rather than to Part I of the pre-Chigi form. The two preceding poems (Nos. 143 and 144) are both undatable, are both sonnets, and both deal with love, although neither is a love poem pure and simple. Neither has any specific character of finality: neither could well have been chosen to close a carefully ordered first part. But the next preceding poem (No. 142) is the *sestina A la dolce ombra de le belle frondi*, which is an elaborate reminiscent poem of love and religion. It would have made a dignified and appropriate ending to Part I—and it would have served admirably to close a Part I which was in the intent of the author to have been followed by a Part II beginning with *I' vo pensando*. Consider in particular the last three lines:

Altr' amor, altre frondi et altro lume,
 Altro salir al ciel per altri poggi
 Cerco (che n'è ben tempo) et altri rami.

I conclude, therefore, that it is probable that Part I of the pre-Chigi form of the *Canzoniere* ended with the *sestina A la dolce ombra de le belle frondi*.

The process of analysis applied above to Part I of the Chigi form fails to yield results when applied to the Part II of the Chigi form. Part II of the Chigi form consists of forty-one poems, all of which, after the first three, were written, so far as the dated poems indicate, between the time of Laura's death in 1348 and the close of 1353. There is, indeed, no certainty that any one of them is later than 1351. All the poems of Part II of the Chigi form, after the first seven, are son-

nets, and all after the first eight mourn Laura, though one of them, at about the middle of the group (No. 287 in the final form) mourns Sennuccio also. When Petrarch started work on Part II of the final form, he accepted the forty-one poems without change.

II

An examination of the much-studied fragmentary collection of autograph sheets containing drafts of the *Rime*, now assembled as Vat. Lat. 3196,¹ will afford confirmation of the foregoing conclusions, will supply a basis for a probable conclusion as to the content of Part II of the pre-Chigi form, and will yield some other items of interest.

Table I lists those poems which appear both in V.L. 3196 and in the final form of the *Canzoniere*, arranging them in the order of the final form and referring to them by numbers indicating their position therein; notes the pages of V.L. 3196 on which they stand; cites exactly the form of each entry in V.L. 3196 indicating transcription from that manuscript² which may have reference to a transcription *in ordine*;³ and quotes the date of the transcription, if it is given in that manuscript.⁴ The entries to the left are for poems in Part I of the *Canzoniere*; those to the right for poems in Part II. The poems listed in the first two horizontal divisions of the table appear in the Chigi form; those in the three remaining divisions do not. The further significance of the horizontal divisions will appear below.

¹ My statements as to this manuscript rest, unless otherwise noted, on C. Appel, *Zur Entwicklung italienischer Dichtungen Petrarca's*, Halle, 1891.

² I.e., each entry consisting wholly or in part of some form, complete or abbreviated, of the verb *transcribo*.

³ In the case of the longer entries (those for Nos. 23, 77, 78, 207, 211, 265, 268, and 324) I cite only the words which are in point for the purposes of this study. I disregard the following entries as not having reference to a transcription *in ordine*: the entries for Nos. 23, 207, 268, 270, and 323, which specify a transcription *in alia papiro*, and certain other entries for Nos. 23, 270, and 324. Two of the entries here disregarded, one for No. 23 and one for No. 268, are quoted below, on p. 264.

⁴ I do not regard the dates given for Nos. 49, 58, 64, 145-46, and 159 as having reference to a transcription *in ordine* from V.L. 3196. The date entry in each of these cases appears to have been written at a time different from that in which the transcription notation was written. The dates for Nos. 49, 58, and 64 have reference either to the composition of the poems or to their copying in V.L. 3196; that for Nos. 145-46 has reference either to their copying in V.L. 3196 or to the sending of copies to a friend; and that for No. 159 has reference to the sending of a copy to a friend. These last two entries are quoted below, on p. 265.

TABLE I

| Division of This Table | Poem Number | Page of V.L. 3196 | Notation as to Transcription | Date of Transcription | Poem Number | Page of V.L. 3196 | Notation as to Transcription | Date of Transcription |
|------------------------|----------------|-------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------|---------------|-------------------|---------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| First | 23 | 11r and v | <i>tr</i> in <i>ord</i> | 1356, Nov. 10 | 285, 288, 270 | lost 12v 12r | <i>tr</i> t <i>ord</i> <i>tr</i> in <i>ord</i> | 1356, Nov. 6 1356, Nov. 11 |
| | 34a | 9v | <i>ceptis inscribj et</i> <i>tecp ab hoc loco</i> <i>transcp</i> <i>transcp</i> | 1342, Aug. 21 | | | | |
| | 35 | 10r | <i>t</i> | | | | | |
| | 36 | 7v | <i>t</i> | | | | | |
| | 41 | 8r | <i>t</i> | | | | | |
| | 42 | 7r | <i>t</i> | | | | | |
| | 43 | 8v | <i>t</i> | | | | | |
| | 44 | 7v | <i>t</i> | | | | | |
| | 45 | 8v | <i>t</i> | | | | | |
| | 46 | 7v | <i>t</i> | | | | | |
| Second | 48 | 9r | <i>t</i> | | | | | |
| | 58 | 16v | <i>t</i> | | | | | |
| | 60 | 7v | <i>t</i> | | | | | |
| | 64 | 16r | <i>t</i> | | | | | |
| | 68 | 9r | <i>t</i> | | | | | |
| | 73 | 6r | <i>t</i> | | | | | |
| | (6 lines only) | | | | | | | |
| | 77 | 7r | <i>{tr' isti duo</i> <i>{ ord</i> | 1357, Nov. 29 | | | | |
| | 78 | | | | | | | |
| | 145 | 5r | <i>tr'</i> | | 297 | 3r | <i>tr</i> | |
| Third | 146 | 5r | <i>tr'</i> | | 298 | 3r | <i>tr</i> | |
| | 147 | 5r | <i>tr'</i> | | 300 | 3v | <i>tr</i> | |
| | 150 | 5v | <i>tr'</i> | | 301 | 3r | <i>tr</i> | |
| | 151 | 5v | <i>tr'</i> | | 302 | 3r | <i>tr</i> | |
| | 152 | 4r | <i>tr'</i> | | 303 | 3v | <i>tr</i> | |
| | 153 | 4r | <i>tr'</i> | | | | | |
| | 154 | 4r | <i>tr'</i> | | | | | |
| | 155 | 3v | <i>tr'</i> | | | | | |
| | 156a | 3v | <i>tr'</i> | | | | | |
| | 159 | 5v | <i>tr'</i> | | | | | |
| Fourth, Fifth | 160 | 4r | <i>tr'</i> | | | | | |
| | 188a | 1v | <i>tr' p Jo</i> | | | | | |
| | 179 | 8v | <i>tr' p me</i> | | 319 | 1v | <i>tr' p me</i> | |
| | 181 | 1v | <i>tr' p me</i> | | 321a | 2r | <i>tr' (p) me</i> | |
| | 182 | 1v | <i>tr' p me</i> | | | | | |
| | 183 | 2r | <i>tr' p me</i> | | | | | |
| | 184 | 2r | <i>(tr') p me</i> | | | | | |
| | 186 | 2r | <i>tr' p me</i> | | 322a | 1r | <i>(tr') p me</i> | |
| | 187 | 2v | <i>tr' p me</i> | | 323 | 2v | | |
| | 189 | 15r | <i>tr' t ord' mbranis</i> | 1368, Oct. 23 | (in part) | | | |
| | 207 | | <i>tr' t ord' mbranis</i> | 1369, June 22 | 324 | 14r | <i>tr' in ord'</i> | 1368, Oct. 31 |
| | 211 | 5r | <i>tr' t ord'</i> | | | | | |

NOTES TO TABLE I

- * The words *et teep* are canceled.
- * An earlier draft is on f. 5v.
- * An earlier draft is on the same page.
- * The t of the sign of transcription is no longer legible.
- * See Appel, pp. 14-15 and 129.
- * An earlier draft is on ff. 13r and 13v.
- * The p of the sign of transcription is no longer legible.
- * The t of the sign of transcription is no longer legible.

Attention is called to the following facts (the first three of which, already well known, are repeated here merely for convenience).

1. A transcription *in ordine* was in process in 1356 and 1357, entries being made now in Part I, now in Part II. Arranged chronologically and by parts, the data are as follows:

| Date | Poems in Part I | Poems in Part II |
|-------------------|-----------------|------------------|
| 1356, November 6 | | 265 |
| 1356, November 10 | 23 | |
| 1356, November 11 | | 268 |
| 1357, November 29 | 77 and 78 | |

2. A transcription *in ordine* was in process in 1368 and 1369, entries being made now in Part I, now in Part II. Arranged chronologically and by parts, the data are as follows:

| | | |
|------------------|-----|-----|
| 1368, October 23 | 207 | |
| 1368, October 31 | | 324 |
| 1369, June 22 | 211 | |

3. A transcription of some sort was initiated on August 21, 1342, with the copying of No. 34.

4. In the cases of Nos. 35 and 36, and in those cases only, transcription was indicated by the use of the notation *trāsc'pt'*.

5. In the cases of Nos. 41-69, and in those cases only, transcription was indicated by the use of the letter *t'*.

6. In the cases of Nos. 145-60 and 297-303, and in those cases only, transcription was indicated by the use of the letters *tr*, with or without a following apostrophe-like sign. That sign is used for Nos. 145-55, 159, and 160; disused for No. 156 and for Nos. 297-303.

7. In the case of No. 188, and in that case only, transcription was indicated by the use of the formula *tr' p Jo*.

8. In the cases of Nos. 191-97, 319, 321, and 322, and in those cases only, transcription was indicated by the use of the formula *tr' p me*.

9. Examination of the heliotype reproduction of V.L. 3196¹ shows that the *trāsc'pt'* and *t'* which are used as signs of transcription for Nos. 35-69 stand in every case above the center of the poem in question; and that the *tr'* or *tr* or *tr p Jo* or *tr' p me* used for No. 145

¹ Il manoscritto vaticano latino 3196 riprodotto in eliotipia a cura della Biblioteca Vaticana, Rome, 1895.

and later poems stands in every case near the left upper corner of the poem in question.

Two entries in V.L. 3196, not reported in my table, indicate that a transcription *in ordine* of some sort was in process in 1349 and 1350. The first, for No. 23, is as follows (I expand the abbreviations in this and in the following case):

1350. Aprilis. 3. mane visum est et hanc in ordine transcribere. sed prius hic ex alijs papiis elicita scribere.

The second, for No. 268, is as follows:

Scripta non in ordine sed in alia papiro 1349. novembris 29. mane.

An interesting series of entries in V.L. 3196, not reported in my table, relates to the sending of copies of certain poems to friends. These entries, arranged in the order of the poems in the final form, are as follows (I expand the abbreviations):

POEMS IN PART I

| Number | Entry |
|-----------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 145 and 146 | <i>Habet dominus Bernardus hos duos 9 aprilis 1360</i> ¹ |
| 146 | <i>habet Lelius</i> |
| 154 | <i>habet thomasius</i> |
| 159 | <i>hoc dedi Jacobo ferrariensi portandum thomasio etcetera 1359 octobris 18</i> |
| 160 | <i>habet dominus fridericus</i> |

POEMS IN PART II

| Number | Entry |
|-----------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 298 | <i>habet Lelius</i> |
| 300 and 303 | <i>hos duos misi tomasio simul cum illo. In qual parte del cielo</i> ² <i>etcetera et dominus bernardus habet hos 2 tantum</i> |
| 303 | <i>habet Lelius</i> |

The following considerations and conclusions appear now to be in order.

A. The second division of my table is so delimited as to include all of the poems concerned (i.e., all of the poems appearing in both V.L. 3196 and V.L. 3195) which fall within the group which I have designated, in the earlier pages of this study, as the group added to Part I of the pre-Chigi form at the time when the Chigi form was

¹ Or 1359; see N. Quarta, *Studi sul testo delle rime del Petrarca* (Naples, 1902), pp. 64-66.

² I.e., No. 159.

made. The fact that the poems immediately preceding No. 145 do not appear in V.L. 3196, the fact that Nos. 145–60, alone among the poems of Part I,¹ appear on folios 3–5 of V.L. 3196, the fact that Nos. 145–60, alone among the poems of Part I, have *tr'* as a sign of their transcription, the fact that the *tr'* is located near the left upper corner of the poem instead of above the center of the poem (as is the case with the *t'* of the preceding poems), and the fact that certain poems of the series 145–60, alone among the poems of Part I, bear notations regarding the transmission of copies to friends—the two dates given being only a few months apart—indicate that these poems were as a group associated with each other and dissociated from the poems immediately preceding No. 145. This conclusion confirms my earlier conclusions as to Part I of the pre-Chigi form; and, incidentally, serves to indicate that the entry *tr'* in these cases denotes transcription into the lost manuscript which was the original of the Chigi form. I realize that the separation of the preliminary sheets (now lost) for the poems immediately preceding No. 145 from the preliminary sheets (contained in V.L. 3196) for Nos. 145 ff. may have been fortuitous, and that the lost sheets may have had transcription notations of the type *tr'* and may have borne notations regarding the transmission of copies to friends; and it is because I realize these facts that I treat this evidence as confirmatory rather than as independently significant, and the new inferences drawn therefrom as probable rather than certain. But it is certainly possible, and indeed it seems to me inherently probable, that the separation of the sheets is due ultimately to their being handled by Petrarch at different periods of time.² And it is, of course, entirely possible that the lost sheets had transcription notations of the type *t'*, and that they either lacked nota-

¹ Except No. 211, which was not admitted to the *Canzoniere* until 1369, as we know from a long entry in V.L. 3196; see Appel, p. 51, or Miss Phelps, p. 3.

² Quarta, pp. 82–83, maintains that the absence of other preliminary sheets is due to their destruction by Petrarch on the ground that they, unlike the sheets preserved in V.L. 3196, contained only poems which had been transcribed *in ordine*. But ff. 11–12 of V.L. 3196 contain only material (Nos. 23, 270, and 268) which was transcribed *in ordine*. Furthermore, the few sheets of V.L. 3196, containing only forty of the poems which appear in the *Canzoniere*, contain also eleven poems by Petrarch not included in the *Canzoniere*, and four poems by other writers; and it does not seem reasonable to suppose that none of the necessarily many preliminary sheets used for the three hundred and more other poems included in the *Canzoniere* were of the same mixed nature. Nor is it a safe assumption that Petrarch would have been likely to destroy a sheet containing only poems which had been transcribed; these preliminary sheets, with their various marginalia and records of composition and revision, may well have been very dear to him.

tions regarding the transmission of copies to friends—or, if they bore such notations, had in connection with them dates considerably earlier than those given for Nos. 145–46 and 159.

B. The fact that Nos. 297–303, alone among the poems of Part II, appear on the same pages of V.L. 3196 as Nos. 145–60, the fact that Nos. 297–303, alone among the poems of Part II, have a sign of transcription virtually identical with that peculiar to Nos. 145–60 among the poems of Part I, and the fact that certain poems of the series 297–303, alone among the poems of Part II, bear notations regarding the transmission of copies to friends similar to the notations borne, exclusively among the poems of Part I, by certain poems of the series 145–60 (Nos. 300 and 303 having indeed been sent to Thomasius together with No. 159) render it probable that Nos. 297–303 bear the same relation to Part II of the pre-Chigi form that Nos. 145–60 bear to Part I of the pre-Chigi form. It is probable, that is, that Part II of the pre-Chigi form ended with some poem preceding No. 297 (the question as to just where it ended will be treated below); and, incidentally, that the entry *tr* in these cases denotes transcription into the lost manuscript which was the original of the Chigi form.

C. The first stage in the writing of Vat. Lat. 3195 consisted in the transcription by a scribe of Nos. 1–120, the *ballata Donna mi viene spesso alla mente*, Nos. 122–65, and Nos. 264–304; the second stage consisted in the transcription by the same scribe of Nos. 166–78 and 180–90, and Nos. 305–18.¹ The third division of my table is so delimited as to include the only poem concerned which falls within the group copied by the scribe in the second stage of his work. This poem, No. 188, and this poem alone, bears the notation *tr' p Jo*. This notation clearly has reference to a direct copying by the scribe from V.L. 3196 into V.L. 3195; and appears to be the only notation in V.L. 3196 which has such reference.²

D. The third and final stage in the writing of V.L. 3195 consisted in the transcription by Petrarch himself of Nos. 121 (in place of

¹ M. Vattasso, *L'originale del Canzoniere di Francesco Petrarca, Codice Vaticano Latino 3195, riprodotto in fototipia a cura della Biblioteca Vaticana* (Milan, 1905), p. viii, n. 5, and p. xxxvii, nota aggiunta.

² Cf. Vattasso, p. xiii, n. 3: "A nostro avviso, solo il son. *Almo sol* [No. 188] . . . venne trascritto dal copista nel 3195 di sull'attuale codice degli abbozzi; gli altri componimenti, che si trovano in questo ms. e che hanno la postilla *transcriptum* [Vattasso means to include by this term all entries of the types *trascrpt'*, *t'*, and *tr'* or *tr*], vennero coplati di su quel codice in altra raccolta anteriore al 3195."

the *ballata Donna mi viene spesso nella mente*), 179, 191-255, and Nos. 319-63. The fourth division of my table is so delimited as to include all of the poems concerned which fall within the group copied by Petrarch. Nine of these poems, Nos. 191-94, 196, 197, 319, 321, and 322 and these nine poems alone, bear the notation *tr' p me*. This notation clearly has reference—as has, indeed, long been recognized—to the direct copying by Petrarch from V.L. 3196 into V.L. 3195.

E. As the poems of the pre-Chigi form stood in the order which is indicated by the entries of the years 1356 and 1357 for transcription *in ordine*, it is clear that the making of the pre-Chigi form was in progress in those two years. In view of the relation of poems to dates as indicated in the paragraph numbered 1 above, and in view of the fact that Petrarch had a staff of copyists, it is obviously probable that the making of the pre-Chigi form began in 1356 and that it was completed in 1358 or 1359. Some indication that it was completed before October 18, 1359, is afforded by the fact, noted above, that on that date Petrarch sent to a friend copies of Nos. 159, 300, and 303, which were not included in the pre-Chigi form, but are included in the Chigi form. If at this time the pre-Chigi form had still been in the making, and Petrarch had had these sonnets in hand and had thought well enough of them to send copies to a friend and to make note of that fact, he would presumably have included them in the pre-Chigi form. He did not; therefore the pre-Chigi form was presumably complete before that date.

F. In 1357 Petrarch caused to be prepared for Azzo of Correggio a copy of the *Canzoniere* as it then was.¹ Since it is probable that the pre-Chigi form was in the making in 1357, it is obviously probable that the pre-Chigi form was the form copied for Azzo. It would indeed perhaps be justifiable to refer to the pre-Chigi form as the Correggio form.

G. As to the dates of the making of the Chigi form, no specific evidence is available. In view of the difference, brought out in the first pages of this study, between the artistic control of the arrange-

¹ This we know from the entry in V.L. 3196, for Nos. 77-78 (I expand the abbreviations): "1357 novembris 29 et iam Jerolamus ut puto primum quaternum scribere est adortus pergamenum pro domino Azone, postea pro me idem facturus."

ment of the poems of Part I of the pre-Chigi form and the lack of such control in the case of the poems added thereto when the Chigi form was made, it would appear probable that a considerable amount of time elapsed between the completion of the pre-Chigi form and the making of the additions by which it was enlarged into the Chigi form. It might be thought that the fact, just noted, that Petrarch was interested, in 1359-60, in certain sonnets which were added in the Chigi form would indicate that he was at that time engaged in the making of the Chigi form; but this does not necessarily follow. The scribe began work on the final form about 1366.¹ The making of the Chigi form certainly falls within the period 1359-66. All in all, it would seem probable that it falls within the period 1361-65.

With regard to the transcriptions of 1342 and of 1349-50, I have nothing to say at the present time except to hazard the merely tentative opinion that in these collections the sonnets were separated from the *canzoni*.²

III

When a poem contained in V.L. 3196 was transcribed therefrom, it was in some cases canceled by the drawing of one or of two lines through it. Study of the different types of cancellation³ used produces only fragmentary results, and I have therefore not included them in my table; but so far as they go they confirm the conclusions previously reached, and they yield one or two other items of interest.

For Nos. 34-36 and 44-69, all of which are sonnets, and for these poems only, there is used a type of cancellation consisting of two diagonal strokes, one drawn downward from left to right through the left-hand portion of the poem, the other drawn upward from left to right (or downward from right to left) through the right-hand portion of the poem (thus: $\diagdown \diagup$).⁴ Numbers 41-43, alone among the poems of the series 34-69, appear in V.L. 3196 in order upon a single page. In the case of this page the cancellation consists of two diagonal strokes, each drawn from top to bottom of the page. The identity of the type of cancellation used for Nos. 34-36 with that used for Nos. 44-69

¹ Vattasso, p. xviii.

² Cf. Quarta, pp. 49 ff.

³ Based on examination of the reproduction referred to above, in n. 1, to p. 264.

⁴ In the case of No. 45 no left-hand stroke is perceptible.

affords some indication that the transcription of Nos. 44-69 (and of Nos. 41-43) was not long subsequent to that of Nos. 34-36.¹

For Nos. 23, 268, and 270, all three of which are *canzoni* transcribed in 1356, and for these poems only (except for Nos. 41-43, already referred to), the cancellation consists, for each page concerned, of two diagonal strokes, each drawn from top to bottom of the page.

The two sonnets, Nos. 77 and 78, which stand together in V.L. 3196 and were transcribed in 1357, are canceled by a single diagonal stroke drawn from left to right from the top of No. 77 to the bottom of No. 78.

Among the poems included in the second division of my table, the only one canceled is the sonnet No. 156. In this case there are two diagonal strokes, each drawn downward from left to right (thus: $\diagdown \diagup$).

The poem included in the third division of my table is not canceled.

Among the poems included in the fourth division of my table, only six are canceled. The sonnets Nos. 194 and 196, which stand together in V.L. 3196, No. 196 preceding No. 194, show a single diagonal stroke drawn from left to right from the top of No. 196 to the bottom of No. 194. Nos. 207, 323, both *canzoni*, and No. 324, a *ballata*, the first and third of which were transcribed in October, 1368, are canceled each by a single stroke drawn downward diagonally from left to right in the first two cases, and almost vertically in the third. Number 211, a sonnet transcribed in 1369, is—alone among the sonnets—canceled by a single diagonal stroke drawn from the upper left corner to the lower right corner of the poem.

Of the several poems included in V.L. 3196, but not admitted to the *Canzoniere*, there are three, *Più volte il dì mi fo vermiglio et fosco* (f. 9r), *Quando talor da giusta ira commosso* (f. 10v), and *Quella che gli animai del mondo atterra* (f. 16v), all sonnets, which are canceled. In all three cases, and in these cases only, there is used a type of can-

¹ The fact that the transcription notation for Nos. 44-69 differs in form, in script, and in ink from the notation for Nos. 34-36 leads Quarta, p. 61, to assert that "non ci cade il menomo dubbio che non sia di parecchi anni posteriore ad esso." But the change from the longer to the shorter form of notation is a natural one, and changes in script and ink, though they do indicate a certain passage of time, may indicate, in the case of Petrarch, only a short passage of time: witness the many changes in script and ink in the autograph portions of V.L. 3195.

cellation consisting of two diagonal strokes, one drawn upward from left to right, the other drawn downward from left to right (thus: $\diagup \diagdown$).

IV

I return now to the question as to just where Part II of the pre-Chigi form ended. The conclusion stated above in the paragraph headed B is to the effect that it ended with some poem preceding No. 297. Number 292, the sonnet *Gli occhi di ch'io parlai sì caldamente*, has a specific character of finality, and would in itself be excellently adapted to close a carefully ordered collection. Consider in particular the last tercet:

Or sia qui fine al mio amoroso canto:
 Secca è la vena de l'usato ingegno,
 E la cetera mia rivolta in pianto.

Of the four following sonnets, Nos. 293-96, no one has any specific character of finality. Numbers 293 and 295 might possibly have been thought appropriate in themselves to close a carefully ordered collection—but the addition of just one, two, or three poems after the tercet quoted above would certainly seem inappropriate. Neither No. 294 nor No. 296 would seem appropriate in itself as a close for the collection, and No. 294 is apparently the first of two poems thought of as a pair (No. 294 begins "*Solcasi . . .*"; No. 295, "*Soleano . . .*").

I conclude, therefore, that it is probable that Part II of the pre-Chigi form of the *Canzoniere* ended with the sonnet *Gli occhi di ch'io parlai sì caldamente*.

V

In the pre-Chigi form of the *Canzoniere*, Part I contained one hundred and forty-two poems or thereabouts, identical with the corresponding poems of the final form, except that the *ballata Donna mi viene spesso alla mente* stood as No. 121, instead of the present No. 121. Part I probably ended with No. 142, the *sestina A la dolce ombra de le belle frondi*. Part II probably contained twenty-nine poems or thereabouts, identical with the corresponding poems of the final form. It probably ended with No. 292, the sonnet *Gli occhi di ch'io parlai sì caldamente*. Each part was arranged with great artistic care, upon the three principles referred to on the first page of this

study. In point of arrangement, the pre-Chigi form is the one perfected form of the *Canzoniere*. It lacks, of course, many of the most beautiful poems of the final form.

Each of the two parts of the Chigi form of the *Canzoniere* consists in reality, therefore, of two series of poems. In each case the first series, very carefully arranged, represents an entire part of the pre-Chigi form, while the second, much less carefully arranged, is a later addendum. In Part I the addendum, beginning where the pre-Chigi series ends, contains the poems which in the final form follow that point, up to and including No. 156, and the eighteen poems which in the final form appear as Nos. 159-65, 169-73, 176-78, 184-85, and 189. In Part II the addendum, beginning where the pre-Chigi series ends, contains the poems which in the final form follow that point, up to and including No. 304.

Each of the two parts of the final form of the *Canzoniere* consists in reality, therefore, of three series of poems. In each case the first series, very carefully arranged, represents an entire part of the pre-Chigi form; the second and third series, much less carefully arranged, are later addenda—the second series, the addenda by which the pre-Chigi form was changed and enlarged into the Chigi form; the third series, the addenda by which the Chigi form was changed and enlarged into the final form. In Part I the third or final series consists of Nos. 121, 157-58, 166-68, 174-75, 179-83, 186-88, and 190-263; and in Part II the final series consists of Nos. 305-63.¹

In a forthcoming article I shall endeavor to define as closely as possible the several periods in which the poems of the final addenda were transcribed in V.L. 3195.

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¹ Miss Phelps, pp. 5-6.

GOLDSMITH'S INDEBTEDNESS TO VOLTAIRE AND JUSTUS VAN EFFEN

I

The recent publication of *Les Sources françaises de Goldsmith*, by A. L. Sells,¹ proves that Goldsmith was indeed a "citizen of the world" in more ways than one. R. S. Crane and H. J. Smith had previously shown Goldsmith's extensive indebtedness to the *Lettres chinoises* of D'Argens when writing his own series of Chinese letters for the *Public Ledger*.² The chief discovery of Mr. Sells concerns the intimate relationship in spirit and substance between the writings of Marivaux and of Goldsmith. The influence second in importance, however, as Mr. Sells points out, is that of Voltaire. "On peut dire qu'à l'exception de Marivaux, Voltaire, l'homme et l'œuvre, ont occupé Goldsmith plus que tous les autres écrivains français ensemble."³

Ample as is the evidence brought forward to support this assertion, it is nevertheless far from complete, as the following passages, unacknowledged as to source by Goldsmith, and unnoted by Sells or other commentators, show.

In the seventh number of Goldsmith's periodical, *The Bee* (November 17, 1759), nearly four hundred words from his essay "Of Eloquence" are an unacknowledged translation of an article on the same subject which Voltaire had contributed to Diderot's *Encyclopédie*. Moreover, Goldsmith has further padded the essay by extensive borrowing from another article (by D'Alembert) in the same volume of the *Encyclopédie* entitled "Élocution."

| | |
|-----------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>Encyclopédie</i> , art. "Éloquence," | <i>The Bee</i> , No. VII, November 17, |
| V (Paris, 1755), 529: | 1759 (<i>Works</i> , ed. Gibbs, ⁴ II, 420 ff.): |

| | |
|-------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| L' <i>Eloquence</i> ... est née avant les | Eloquence has preceded the rules |
| regles de la Rhétorique, comme les | of rhetoric, as languages have been |

¹ Paris: Champion, 1924 ("Bibliothèque de la *Revue de littérature comparée*," Vol. XII).

² "A French Influence on Goldsmith's *Citizen of the World*," by R. S. Crane and H. J. Smith, *Modern Philology*, XIX (1921), 83-92. Professor Smith will publish shortly a more extended survey of the sources of *The Citizen of the World*.

³ *Les Sources françaises*, p. 59.

⁴ The references to Goldsmith throughout this article are to *The Works of Oliver Goldsmith*, ed. by J. W. M. Gibbs, Bohn Standard Library, London, 1884-85.

langues se sont formées avant la Grammaire. La nature rend les hommes éloquens dans les grands intérêts & dans les grandes passions. Qui-conque est vivement ému, voit les choses d'un autre œil que les autres hommes. Tout est pour lui objet de comparaison rapide, & de métaphore: sans qu'il y prenne garde il anime tout, & fait passer dans ceux qui l'écoutent, une partie de son enthousiasme.

Un philosophe très-éclairé a remarqué que le peuple même s'exprime par des figures; que rien n'est plus commun, plus naturel que les tours qu'on appelle *tropes*. Ainsi dans toutes les langues le cœur brûle, le courage s'allume, les yeux étincellent, l'esprit est accablé: il se partage, il s'épuise: le sang se glace, la tête se renverse: on est enflé d'orgueil, enivré de vengeance. La nature se peint partout dans ces images fortes devenues ordinaires. ...

C'est cette même nature qui inspire quelquefois des débuts vifs & animés; une forte passion, un danger pressant, appellent tout-d'un-coup l'imagination: ainsi un capitaine des premiers califes voyant fuir les Musulmans, s'écria: *Où courez-vous? ce n'est pas là que sont les ennemis. On vous a dit que le calife est tué: eh! qu'importe qu'il soit au nombre des vivans ou des morts? Dieu est vivant & vous regarde: marchez.*

Ibid., art. "Élocution," V, 520:

Qu'est-ce qu'être éloquent? ... Être éloquent, comme je l'ai dit ailleurs, c'est faire passer avec rapidi-

formed before grammar. Nature renders men eloquent in great interests, or great passions. He that is sensibly touched, sees things with a very different eye from the rest of mankind. All nature to him becomes an object of comparison and metaphor, without attending to it; he throws life into all, and inspires his audience with a part of his own enthusiasm.

It has been remarked, that the lower parts of mankind generally express themselves most figuratively, and that tropes are found in the most ordinary forms of conversation. Thus, in every language, the heart burns; the courage is roused; the eyes sparkle; the spirits are cast down; passion inflames, pride swells, and pity sinks the soul. Nature every where speaks in those strong images, which, from their frequency, pass unnoticed.

Nature it is which inspires those rapturous enthusiasms, those irresistible turns; a strong passion, a pressing danger, calls up all the imagination, and gives the orator irresistible force. Thus, a captain of the first caliphs, seeing his soldiers fly, cried out, "Whither do you run? the enemy are not there! You have been told that the caliph is dead; but God is still living. He regards the brave, and will reward the courageous. Advance!"

[Goldsmith continues without break.]

A man, therefore, may be called eloquent, who transfers the passion or sentiment with which he is moved him-

té & imprimer avec force dans l'âme des autres, le sentiment profond dont on est pénétré. Cette définition parolt d'autant plus juste, qu'elle s'applique à l'éloquence même du silence & à celle du geste. ... La persuasion intime de la vérité qu'on veut prouver, est alors le sentiment profond dont on est rempli, & qu'on fait passer dans l'âme de l'auditeur.

self, into the breast of another; and this definition appears the more just, as it comprehends the graces of silence and of action. An intimate persuasion of the truth to be proved, is the sentiment and passion to be transferred; and he who effects this, is truly possessed of the talent of eloquence.

The next four paragraphs in Goldsmith continue to follow the article "Élocution" with similar fidelity. He then quotes as an example of the sublime an "extract from a celebrated preacher" on the Judgment Day. Sells intimates that this was taken directly from Massillon, but it is embedded in Voltaire's article on "Éloquence."¹

This, however, was not the first time that Goldsmith had utilized these same French articles. A few months earlier, in *The Critical Review* for April, 1759,² he had discussed "Ward on Oratory." After a brief comment on Ward's lectures, he declared his intention to substitute for the usual quotation from the work reviewed "a few observations of our own." The greater part of what follows is a free paraphrase of the two articles from the *Encyclopédie*: "Éloquence" and "Élocution."

An anecdote in Voltaire's *Dictionnaire philosophique* is of particular interest not only because it reappears (much abbreviated) in *The Bee*, but also because it employs the device of an Oriental traveler commenting on Occidental civilization. This was the root idea of *The Citizen of the World*, which began to appear only a few months after the anecdote in *The Bee*.³ The connection with Goldsmith's oriental letters is further strengthened by the correspondence of the names "Xixofou" and "Fi psi hi hi" in Voltaire's satirical sketch with the

¹ It is worth noting that the latter half of Goldsmith's essay does not appear to be wholly original. Sells finds a resemblance in these remarks on pulpit oratory in England to an essay by Marivaux in *Le Spectateur français*. See *op. cit.*, p. 75.

² *Works*, IV, 348-49.

³ Goldsmith had already translated portions of two articles from the *Dictionnaire philosophique* and inserted them, with due acknowledgments, in *The Bee* (No. III, "On Wit," abridged from the article "Esprit"; and No. VI, "On the Contradictions of the World," from the article "Contradictions"). As Sells points out (*op. cit.*, p. 91), Voltaire's "Contradictions" also contains the germinal idea of European civilization seen through oriental eyes: "Un Asiatique qui voyagerait en Europe pourrait bien nous prendre pour des palens."

name of Altangi's friend "Fipsihi" and that of the Chinese philosopher "Xixofou" in *The Citizen of the World*, Letter II. As Voltaire's anecdote is considerably longer than Goldsmith's version, a brief summary of it is given below:

Dictionnaire philosophique, art. "Gloire," sec. 3: "Entretien avec un Chinois"¹ (*Œuvres complètes de Voltaire*, ed. Moland,² XIX, 267 ff.):

A Chinese merchant in Holland once entered a bookstore and asked for a book. He was much pleased when presented with Bossuet's *Universal History*, for he expected to learn there the attitude of Europeans toward Chinese civilization. But China was hardly mentioned. The bookseller then tried to tell him of the great eras and great men in European history, but made little impression on the Oriental, who had scarcely heard of them. The latter, however, retorted: "J'ai bien peur ... que vous ne sachiez rien de l'aventure éternellement mémorable du célèbre Xixofou Concochigzanki, ni des mystères du grand Fi psi hi hi."

The Bee, No. VI, November 10, 1759, "On the Instability of Worldly Grandeur" (*Works*, II, 416):

A Chinese, who had long studied the works of Confucius, who knew the characters of fourteen thousand words, and could read a great part of every book that came in his way, once took it into his head to travel into Europe, and observe the customs of a people which he thought not very much inferior even to his own countrymen. Upon his arrival at Amsterdam, his passion for letters naturally led him to a bookseller's shop: and, as he could speak a little Dutch, he civilly asked the bookseller for the works of the immortal Xixofou. The bookseller assured him he had never heard the book mentioned before. ["What! have you never heard of that immortal poet?" returned the other, much surprised; "that light of the eyes, that favourite of kings, that rose of perfection! I suppose you know nothing of the immortal Fipsihihi, second cousin to the moon?"—"Nothing at all, indeed, Sir," returned the other.—]³ "Alas!" cries our traveller, "to what purpose, then, has he fasted to death, to gain a renown which has never travelled beyond the precincts of China!"

¹ First published in 1738 (see *ed. cit.*, XIX, 267 n.).

² Paris, 1883, etc. All my citations are from this edition.

³ The portion within brackets was omitted when Goldsmith reprinted this in 1765 in his volume of collected essays. Except for this passage, the text quoted is that of the *Essays*, which is the version followed by Goldsmith's editor, Gibbs. It varies slightly from that in *The Bee*; e.g., "Xixofou" appeared originally as "Illxofou."

Indeed, the writings of Voltaire lent themselves admirably to Goldsmith's purposes in *The Citizen of the World*. In them he found oriental local color, entertaining anecdote, and a frequent vein of satire—in short, the chief ingredients of his own delightful mélange. It is not surprising, then, that the demand for "copy" twice a week for his "column" in the *Public Ledger* should suggest to him these—and other—short cuts.

There are two satirical passages in *The Citizen of the World* which appear to be so derived. In Letter LXXXIX Goldsmith ridicules the etymological gyrations of pedants who sought to establish that China was peopled by the Egyptians. Pedantry of this sort was a favorite target for the common-sense eighteenth-century mind,¹ but the closeness of the parallel below leaves little room for doubt that Voltaire is the source:

Preface to *Histoire de L'Empire de Russie*² (*Œuvres*, XVI, 381–82):

Voici, par exemple, comme on s'y prend aujourd'hui pour prouver que les Égyptiens sont les pères des Chinois. Un ancien a conté que l'Égyptien Sésostris alla jusqu'au Gange: or, s'il alla vers le Gange, il put aller à la Chine, qui est très-loin du Gange, donc il y alla; or la Chine alors n'était point peuplée, il est donc clair que Sésostris la peupla. Les Égyptiens, dans leurs fêtes, allumaient des chandelles; les Chinois ont des lanternes, donc on ne peut douter que les Chinois ne soient une colonie d'Égypte. De plus, les Égyptiens ont un grand fleuve; les Chinois en ont un. Enfin il est évident que les premiers rois de la Chine ont porté les noms des anciens rois d'Égypte: car dans le nom de la famille Yu, on peut trouver les caractères qui, arrangés d'une autre façon, forment le mot *Menès*. Il est donc incontestable que l'empereur Yu

Citizen of the World, Letter LXXXIX (*Works*, III, 334):

One, for example, confidently assures us, that China was peopled by a colony from Egypt. Sesostris, he observes, led his army as far as the Ganges; therefore, if he went so far, he might still have gone as far as China, which is but about a thousand miles from thence; therefore he did go to China; therefore China was not peopled before he went there; therefore it was peopled by him. Besides, the Egyptians have pyramids; the Chinese have, in like manner, their porcelain tower: the Egyptians used to light up candles upon every rejoicing; the Chinese have lanterns upon the same occasion: the Egyptians had their great river; so have the Chinese. But what serves to put the matter past a doubt is, that the ancient kings of China and those of Egypt were called by the same names. The Emperor Ki is certainly

¹ Fielding in the *Covent Garden Journal*, No. IX, had satirized such pedants. Cf. also Van Effen's *Le Misanthrope* for September 5, 1712 (ed. 1712, II, 281 ff.).

² The first part of this history was printed in 1759 (see *Œuvres*, XVI, 381 n.).

prit son nom de *Menès*, roi d'Égypte, et l'empereur Ki est évidemment le roi *Atoès* en changeant *k* en *a* et *i* en *toès*.

the same with King Atoes; for, if we only change *K* into *A*, and *i* into *toes*, we shall have the name Atoes: and, with equal ease, Menes may be proved to be the same with the Emperor Yu; therefore the Chinese are a colony from Egypt.¹

Goldsmith's satire on the delays of law courts in Letter XCVIII has many points in common with Voltaire's *Dialogue entre un Plaideur et un Avocat*.² In each we find the form of question and answer, the prolonged duration of the suit, the client's expectation that it will be decided that very day, the absurdity of quoting ancient authorities as precedents. But Goldsmith has developed the idea with considerable freedom, amplifying, Anglicizing, and polishing, as he so frequently does with borrowed material.

Voltaire, *Œuvres*, XXIII, 493 ff.:

Le Plaideur. Eh bien! monsieur, le procès de ces pauvres orphelins?

L'Avocat. Comment! il n'y a que dix-huit ans que leur bien est aux saisies réelles ...

Le Plaideur. ... Enfin donc, après tant de délais, nous allons être jugés aujourd'hui?

L'Avocat. Oui; et il y a grande apparence que vous gagnerez un chef de votre procès: car vous avez pour vous un article décisif dans Charondas.

Le Plaideur. Ce Charondas est apparemment quelque chancelier de nos premiers rois, qui fit une loi en faveur des orphelins?

Citizen of the World, Letter XCVIII (*Works*, III, 360-61):

It gave me some surprise to find my friend engaged in a law-suit, but more so when he informed me that it had been depending for several years. "How is it possible," cried I, "for a man who knows the world to go to law? I am well acquainted with the courts of justice in China: they resemble rat-traps every one of them, nothing more easy to get in, but to get out again is attended with some difficulty, and more cunning than rats are generally found to possess!"

"Faith," replied my friend, "I should not have gone to law, but that I was assured of success before I began; things were presented to me in so alluring a light, that I thought by barely declaring myself a candidate for the prize, I had nothing more to do but to enjoy the fruits of the victory.

¹ The particular object of Voltaire's satire was probably an essay by De Guignes, published in 1759, which attempted to prove this hypothesis. Goldsmith may well have known this essay (it was reviewed in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1759: see Goldsmith's *Works*, III, 335, note by Gibbs). But the choice and arrangement of details, the phraseology, and the satirical treatment all make clear that Voltaire was the immediate inspiration.

² This short satirical sketch appeared in the 1751 edition of his works. See *Œuvres*, XXIII, 493 n.

L'Avocat. Point du tout: c'est un particulier qui a dit son avis dans un gros livre qu'on ne lit point; mais un avocat le cite, les juges le croient, et on gagne sa cause.

Le Plaideur. Quoi! l'opinion de Charondas tient lieu de loi?

L'Avocat. Ce qu'il y a de triste, c'est que vous avez contre vous Turnet et Brodeau.

Le Plaideur. Autres législateurs de la même force, sans doute?

L'Avocat. Oui. Le droit romain n'ayant pu être suffisamment expliqué dans le cas dont il s'agit, on se partage en plusieurs opinions différentes.

Le Plaideur. Que parlez-vous ici du droit romain? est-ce que nous vivons sous Justinien ou sous Théodose?

Thus have I been upon the eve of an imaginary triumph every term these ten years; have travelled forward with victory ever in my view, but ever out of reach; however, at present, I fancy we have hampered our antagonist in such a manner, that, without some unforeseen demur, we shall this very day lay him fairly on his back. . . . "But prithee," continued I, as we set forward, "what reasons have you to think an affair at last concluded, which has given you so many former disappointments?"—"My lawyer tells me," returned he, "that I have Salkeld and Ventris strong in my favour, and that there are no less than fifteen cases in point."—"I understand," said I, "those are two of your judges who have already declared their opinions."—"Pardon me," replied my friend, "Salkeld and Ventris are lawyers who some hundred years ago gave their opinions on cases similar to mine; these opinions, which make for me, my lawyer is to cite; and those opinions which look another way are cited by the lawyer employed by my antagonist: as I observed, I have Salkeld and Ventris for me; he has Coke and Hales for him; and he that has most opinions is most likely to carry his cause." "But where is the necessity," cried I, "of prolonging a suit by citing the opinions and reports of others, since the same good sense which determined lawyers in former ages may serve to guide your judges at this day?"

At this point the two satires diverge. Voltaire ridicules the lack of uniformity of laws in different places; Goldsmith stresses the dangers of too many laws.¹

Anecdotes of an oriental cast constituted a second type of indebtedness to Voltaire. Two of these, both from the same article in the *Dictionnaire philosophique*, reappear paraphrased in *The Citizen of*

¹ He had already done this in *The Bee*, No. VII, November 17, 1759: "Custom and Laws Compared."

the World. Goldsmith admits in a footnote that the one in Letter XCIX is from Voltaire. The source of the other, however, is unacknowledged:

Dictionnaire philosophique, art. "Alcoran," sect. 2^e (*Œuvres*, XVII, 104):

Citizen of the World, Letter CXI (*Works*, III, 401):

Il est dit que comme il [Mahomet] annonçait qu'on ressusciterait tout nu, Aishca sa femme trouva la chose immodeste et dangereuse: "Allez, ma bonne, lui dit-il, on n'aura pas alors envie de rire."

Mahomet himself, though a lover of pleasure, was a professed opposer of gaiety. Upon a certain occasion, telling his followers that they would all appear naked at the resurrection, his favourite wife represented such an assembly as immodest and unbecoming. Foolish woman, cried the grave prophet, though the whole assembly be naked, on that day they shall have forgotten to laugh.²

The anecdote of the porters in Letter XCI, which Goldsmith uses to point his remarks on the lack of politeness among the lower classes in England, had appeared likewise in Voltaire's *Essai sur les Mœurs et l'Esprit des Nations*:

Essai sur les Mœurs (*Œuvres*, XI, 175):

Citizen of the World, Letter XCI, (*Works*, III, 341):

Ces qualités s'étendent jusqu'aux derniers du peuple. Des missionnaires racontent que souvent, dans les marchés publics, au milieu de ces embarras et de ces confusions qui excitent dans nos contrées des clamours si barbares et des emportements si fréquents et si odieux, ils ont vu les paysans se mettre à genoux les uns devant les autres, selon la coutume du pays, se demander pardon de l'embarras dont chacun s'accusait, s'aider l'un l'autre, et débarrasser tout avec tranquillité.

In China, if two porters should meet in a narrow street, they would lay down their burthens, make a thousand excuses to each other for the accidental interruption, and beg pardon on their knees; if two men of the same occupation should meet here, they would first begin to scold, and at last to beat each other.³

¹ This section had already appeared in 1748 in Volume IV of Voltaire's works. In 1756, it was included in the *Suites des Mélanges*. See *Œuvres*, XVII, 103 n.

² Sells (*op. cit.*, p. 105, n. 4) connects this anecdote with D'Argens, *Lettres juives*, XVII. But the relationship is not as close as here.

³ This anecdote occurs also in Du Halde's *Description ... de l'Empire de la Chine*, which had furnished local color for several of Goldsmith's Chinese letters (see Sells, *op. cit.*,

One minor resemblance to Voltaire should be noted here. The sentiment in *The Citizen of the World*, Letter LXXII, that "The *English* laws punish vice, the *Chinese* laws do more, they reward virtue!" appears to be almost a literal translation of Voltaire's "Dans les autres pays les lois punissent le crime; à la Chine elles font plus, elles récompensent la vertu."¹

Of course one cannot be sure that all of the above passages from Goldsmith show a direct indebtedness to Voltaire. It is possible that some of the anecdotes in particular came from a source known to both writers. But the evidence points the other way. Goldsmith had met Voltaire,² reviewed his writings,³ but recently written his *Memoirs*,⁴ eulogized him in *The Citizen of the World*,⁵ quoted him openly in several essays,⁶ and referred to him a number of times, thus establishing strong presumptive evidence that he had on these other occasions as well put his close familiarity with the philosopher's works to practical use.

II

The weekly drudgery of keeping afloat his periodical venture, *The Bee*, led Goldsmith to borrow from at least one other author besides Voltaire and Marivaux. Mr. A. J. Barnouw has pointed out⁷ that a considerable part of "A Letter from a Traveller" in the first number of *The Bee*, and of "Some Particulars Relative to Charles XII" in the

pp. 99-100). A comparison of these versions seems to indicate that Goldsmith's is a composite of the two. I quote from an English translation, *The General History of China* (3d ed., London, 1741), II, 128, the only edition available:

"I was one Day (says *Père de Fontaney*) in a narrow long Lane, where there happened in a short time a great Stop of the Carriages; I expected they would have fallen into a Passion, used opprobrious Language, and perhaps have come to Blows, as is very common in *Europe*; but I was much surpriz'd to see that they saluted each other, spoke mildly, as if they had been old Acquaintance, and lent their mutual Assistance to pass each other."

Sells mentions neither Du Halde nor Voltaire in connection with this anecdote.

¹ *Essai sur les Mœurs* (*Œuvres*, XI, 175). This statement immediately follows the incident of the porter referred to above. Goldsmith later echoed this in *The Vicar of Wakefield*, heading to chapter xxvi: "A Reformation in the Gaol: to make laws complete, they should reward as well as punish."

² *Works*, IV, 24-25.

³ *Ibid.*, IV, 277 ff.

⁴ Ready for publication in the spring of 1759.

⁵ Letter XLIII.

⁶ See Sells, *op. cit.*, pp. 52, 62, 63.

⁷ In *The Modern Language Review* for July, 1913 (VIII, 318 ff.). In this same article the author showed that two paragraphs in *The Bee* upon the laws of Holland (No. V. "Upon Political Frugality") follow closely a passage in Voltaire.

second number, was translated with little alteration from the *Relation d'un Voyage de Hollande en Suède* by the Dutch author, Justus van Effen. This series of letters first appeared in 1729 in the same volume with an earlier collection of essays by Van Effen in imitation of Addison and Steele, entitled *Le Misanthrope*. One of these essays likewise was borrowed by Goldsmith for *The Bee*, where it appeared without acknowledgment under the ironically appropriate title "On Justice and Generosity." How literal was the translation, the following extracts show:

Le Misanthrope, No. XXII, May 30, 1712 (La Haye, 1712, II, 169 ff.):

Lysippe est un homme dont tout le monde admire les sentimens desintéressez: Il a une générosité rare & brillante, par laquelle il prévient les prières de ses Amis & leur épargne la honte de demander. Ses bien-faits obligent encore moins que la manière dont il les dispense. Souvent même il hasarde son bien pour rendre service à des inconnus. Il n'y a au monde que ses Créanciers qui se plaignent de lui; Il ne paye pas ses dettes.

Il n'est pas difficile de trouver la raison de sa conduite. Il y a de la grandeur à être généreux, & il n'y a simplement que de la justice à satisfaire à ses créanciers. La générosité n'est pas d'une ame commune, c'est une vertu héroïque ignorée du vulgaire; au lieu que la justice est une vertu bourgeoise dont le moindre roturier est censé être capable.

On fait simplement son devoir en payant ses dettes, c'est une Action

The Bee, No. III, October 20, 1759 (*Works*, II, 352 ff.):

Lysippus is a man whose greatness of soul the whole world admires. His generosity is such that it prevents a demand, and saves the receiver the trouble and the confusion of a request. His liberality also does not oblige more by its greatness than by his inimitable grace in giving. Sometimes he even distributes his bounties to strangers, and has been known to do good offices to those who professed themselves his enemies. All the world are unanimous in the praise of his generosity; there is only one sort of people who complain of his conduct, —Lysippus does not pay his debts.

It is no difficult matter to account for a conduct so seemingly incompatible with itself. There is greatness in being generous, and there is only simple justice in his satisfying his creditors. Generosity is the part of a soul raised above the vulgar. There is in it something of what we admire in heroes, and praise with a degree of rapture. Justice, on the contrary, is a mere mechanic virtue, only fit for tradesmen, and what is practised by every broker in 'Change Alley.

In paying his debts a man barely does his duty, and it is an action

qui n'est suivie d'aucune gloire. Si Lysippe satisfait ses créanciers, qui prendra la peine de dire dans le monde: Lysippe a satisfait à ses créanciers? La générosité est une vertu de tout un autre ordre, elle s'élève au dessus du devoir, & son élévation l'expose à la vûe & à l'admiration de tous ceux qui ont du goût pour les grands sentimens.

Voilà comme raisonnent la plupart des hommes sur la justice, & sur la générosité. On méprise la première, qui est une vertu essentielle à la Société; & l'on a une haute estime pour l'autre, qui bien souvent n'est que l'impétuosité d'une âme, guidée plutôt par la vanité, que par la raison.

attended with no sort of glory. Should Lysippus satisfy his creditors, who would be at the pains of telling it to the world? Generosity is a virtue of a very different complexion. It is raised above duty, and, from its elevation, attracts the attention and the praises of us little mortals below.

In this manner do men generally reason upon justice and generosity. The first is despised, though a virtue essential to the good of society; and the other attracts our esteem, which too frequently proceeds from an impetuosity of temper, rather directed by vanity than reason.

Two sentences apparently original follow. But the translation then continues with similar fidelity for about three hundred additional words—in all slightly more than half of Goldsmith's whole essay. Sells finds the germ of this "character" of Lysippus in *Le Spectateur français*, No. 14, by Marivaux.¹ Perhaps the latter too was familiar with Van Effen's essay.

It is to be regretted that in 1765 Goldsmith saw fit to include "On Justice and Generosity" in a collection of reprinted *Essays by Mr. Goldsmith*. In the Preface, after referring to the number of times these pieces had been "conveyed to the public through the kennel of some engaging compilation" and "claimed by different parents as their own," Goldsmith adds: "It is time, however, at last, to vindicate my claims; and as these entertainers of the public, as they call themselves, have partly lived upon me for some years, let me now try if I cannot live a little upon myself."²

Summarizing the results of this paper, we find confirmation of Goldsmith's literary cosmopolitanism. More than has been realized, he was a voyager upon the stream of cultural influences flowing between France and England. Something of a pirate at times, to be sure,

¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 73-74.

² Two other essays included in this collection show considerable indebtedness to Marivaux. See Sells, *op. cit.*, pp. 77-78, 82.

but with what an air! The slight infusion of delicacy and gaiety, the fresh turn to a commonplace phrase or the addition of the humanizing touch, make us view with leniency the problem of plagiarism, the boundaries of which are so difficult to define. Indeed, it is perhaps fully as profitable to study such instances of his literary craftsmanship in many of the parallel passages quoted here and in *Les Sources françaises de Goldsmith*, as it is to note the mere fact of his indebtedness to this or that author. "Nullum quod tetigit non ornavit." Did Johnson know more than he cared to admit when he penned this tribute? And when he remarked—so Madame D'Arblay records¹—"Goldsmith was not scrupulous; but he would have been a great man had he known the real value of his own internal resources"?

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¹ *Diary and Letters*, ed. Dobson, I, 77.

WILLIAM BLAKE AND GILCHRIST'S REMARKABLE COTERIE OF ADVANCED THINKERS

In the *Life of William Blake*, published in 1863, and reissued in 1880, 1907, and 1922, Alexander Gilchrist pictured Blake as in the habit of meeting, at the time of the French Revolution, "a remarkable coterie" in bookseller Johnson's shop in St. Paul's Churchyard. Mary Wollstonecraft, William Godwin, Tom Paine—"these and others of very 'advanced' political and religious opinions, theoretic republicans and revolutionists, were of the circle." "But"—and here Gilchrist added sentences calculated to reassure Victorian readers—"precise doctrinaire Godwin," Blake "got on ill with and liked worse"; to the "theological or anti-theological tenets" of Paine, Godwin, and the others, Blake was a "rebel"; the "profanity of Paine" Blake "rebuked."¹ These strokes by which the portrait of Blake was rendered unalarming were touched up in the seventies by W. M. Rossetti,² who said that Blake "would zealously and vigorously confute the free-thinkers, such as Paine and Godwin," and were again touched up, as late as 1907, by E. J. Ellis,³ who said that Blake "grew to look on Godwin as summing up all that is most dangerous and abominable."

The evidence most nearly contemporary with the period of the French Revolution blurs the reassuring strokes in the portrait of 1863 and makes shadowy the fellowship of Blake with Gilchrist's remarkable coterie of advanced thinkers.

In early accounts⁴ of Mary Wollstonecraft, of William Godwin, and of Tom Paine, Blake does not sit with them at bookseller Johnson's dinners, as do Henry Fuseli, Thomas Holcroft, Joseph Priestley, and others. To be sure, Blake worked as engraver for Johnson; had Johnson set up Book I of *The French Revolution* for him; and took from Johnson two commissions for work on publications by Mary

¹ *Life of William Blake*, I, 92 ff. London and Cambridge, 1863.

² *The Poetical Works of William Blake*, p. lxxvi. London, 1874.

³ *The Real Blake*, p. 160. London, 1907.

⁴ For instance, Francis Oldys (George Chalmers), *The Life of Thomas Paine*, London, 1793; William Godwin, *Memoirs of the Author of a Vindication of the Rights of Women*, London, 1798.

Wollstonecraft. But these were workaday professional arrangements. Book I of *The French Revolution* was never published; the two commissions were for illustrations to *Original Stories from Real Life; with Conversations, Calculated to Regulate the Affections, and form the Mind to Truth and Goodness*; and to a translation of Salzmann's *Elements of Morality* "for the use of children."

Certainly the passages illustrated by Blake are not in the usual key of Mary Wollstonecraft's work. The following are typical titles:

Be calm, my child, remember that you must do all the good you can the present day.

Oeconomy and Self-denial are necessary, in every station, to enable us to be generous.

Patience can soften every pain.

See how much good a Single man can do!

How happy it is that there are rich men in the world.

The author and translator of these moralities had nothing to say of Blake, and when Godwin, by whose qualities she was at this period unstirred, later wrote the memoirs of his Mary, he did not so much as mention Blake's illustrations.

It would be picturesque to connect Blake directly with the man who was to Mrs. Clairmont "the immortal Godwin," and who is to A. Edward Newton "the ridiculous philosopher." In Gilchrist the two meet and get on ill together in Johnson's "little quaintly shaped upstairs room, with walls not at right angles." But in Blake's work there is no reference to Godwin. Occasionally, it is true, Blake spoke as if confuting some precise doctrine of *Political Justice*. For instance, in 1804, as if irritated by Godwin's notion that there could, reasonably, be no gratitude in earth or in heaven, Blake wrote: "The pang of affection and gratitude is the gift of God for good. I am thankful that I feel it. . . . O foolish philosophy! Gratitude is heaven itself. There could be no heaven without gratitude."¹ By the same token he seemed occasionally to agree, not to disagree, with some equally absolute doctrine of the book, as when he told Crabb Robinson in 1825, "I must not regard when I am endeavoring to think rightly my own any more than other people's weaknesses,"² a Godwinian suppression of personal feel-

¹ A. G. B. Russell, *The Letters of William Blake, Together with a Life by Frederick Tatham*, p. 139. London, 1906.

² Extracts from Crabb Robinson's *Diary*, reprinted in Arthur Symonds, *William Blake*, p. 262. London and New York, 1907.

ings in the interest of abstract reason. But incidental disagreements and agreements of doctrine are no more proof of actual intercourse with Godwin than is Ellis' query "whether it would be more correct to say that [Blake] recognized in [Godwin] old Tiriell, or drew Tiriell consciously from him,"¹ or Berger's reference to "Blake's friendship with Godwin and Mary Shelley,"² or Damon's reference to Blake's meeting Godwin³ and to the influence, "however indirect," that he must, through Godwin, have had upon Shelley.⁴

Those whom Blake got on ill with and liked worse he was apt to impale at least in the privacy of his notebooks. Yet even there he who wrote "anathema" and "Antichrist" across philosophers like Newton and Locke, he who was said by Ellis to have grown to look on Godwin as summing up all that is most dangerous and abominable, said nothing of Godwin.

Furthermore, those by whom Godwin was zealously and vigorously confuted were apt to be answered by him in kind. But as Blake denied Godwin any comment, so by Godwin he was denied. In his works I have not been able to find any reference to Blake. Instead I find a very strong hint that he did not know Blake. In 1823, Godwin was circularizing England for subscriptions for his own support and was sending personal, not circular, letters even to those on whom he had a hold "by a very slender and almost invisible thread." He did not send a personal letter to Blake; in fact, he sent a circular letter only at the express suggestion of Lady Caro Lamb.⁵

Mr. Ford K. Brown, who has made an extensive search of the first-hand documents in preparation for a life of Godwin and has viewed the evidence from the angle of that purpose, wrote to me on August 16, 1921, of Godwin and Blake: "I haven't been able to find any account of their acquaintance or even of either's familiarity with the other's work."⁶

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 161.

² *William Blake, Poet and Mystic*, p. 328. London, 1914.

³ *William Blake, His Philosophy and Symbols*, p. 19. Boston and New York, 1924.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 242.

⁵ C. K. Paul, *William Godwin and His Friends and Contemporaries*, II, 284. Boston, 1876.

⁶ In Frederick Tatham's *Life of William Blake*, written soon after Blake's death but remaining in manuscript until 1906, is an anecdote which perhaps brings Blake and Godwin together (Russell, *op. cit.*, p. 26). Tatham says that Blake was approached by "a certain free-thinking speculator, the author of many elaborate philosophical treatises." When the

That other theoretic republican and revolutionist, Tom Paine, Blake met, according to Tatham, at Johnson's. There Blake "was the cause of [Paine's] escaping to America. . . . Blake advised him immediately to fly, for he said: 'If you are not now sought, I am sure you soon will be.' " Gilchrist used Tatham's manuscript; he theatricalized Blake's warning, making him lay his hand on Paine's shoulder and say: "You must not go home, or you are a dead man," and he sent Paine to France, whither he was bound in fact as the newly elected representative of Calais to the Jacobin Convention in Paris, rather than to America, whence he, that knight-errant of revolution, had fled for lack of action. Upon the brief and inaccurate sentence in Tatham's manuscript, written at least thirty-five years after Paine's departure for France, rests the accepted tradition of the "singular conjunction" which, to use Dowden's words,¹ "took place between the most soaring spirit among the children of Revolution, and her earthiest and ugliest urchin." Paine himself makes no acknowledgment of Blake's service to him.

The only specific record of Blake's mental attitude toward any member of the group named by Gilchrist has turned up recently in a document unknown to Gilchrist. This document is a copy of Bishop Watson's *Apology for the Bible*, annotated by Blake in 1798,² now in the Huntington Library. The volume contains a three-cornered argument, Tom Paine having had the first word in his "deistical writings," Bishop Watson the second in the letters of his *Apology*, and Blake the third in his annotations. There are no rebuttals. Here is a chance to see whether Blake in his mind zealously and vigorously confuted Paine's free thoughts. He certainly annotated the *Apology* zealously

latter said "that his children had not a dinner, Blake lent him £40, nearly all he had at that time by him, and had the mortification upon calling upon him on the following Sunday, to find that his wife, who was a dressy and what is called a pretty woman, had squandered some large portion of the money upon her worthless sides. . . . Such people are a prey upon the assiduous." Godwin fits the particulars. He was a free-thinking speculator, the author of many elaborate philosophical treatises; his children, or rather his step-children, often had not a dinner; his second wife, Mrs. Clairmont, was a dressy and what is called a pretty woman; he and she were, as Wedgwood or Shelley could testify, a prey upon the assiduous. But the date of the £40 episode is not given, and the whole case is circumstantial. After all, even if the incident took place, it did not put Blake in the remarkable coterie of Godwin and Paine, but only in the undistinguished circle of those solicited by Godwin for a loan.

¹ *Studies in Literature*, p. 15. London, 1789-1877.

² Geoffrey Keynes, *Bibliography of William Blake*, p. 50. New York, 1921.

and vigorously. "Folly & Impudence," "Dishonest Misrepresentation," "Contemptible Falsehood & Detraction," "Presumptuous Murderer," "Serpentine Dissimulation," "Horrible," "Illiberal," "O Fool! Slight Hippocrite & Villain!" he exclaimed in his marginalia.

But Bishop Watson, not Tom Paine, got these rebukes. "Watson," Blake wrote, "has defended Antichrist." "To me," he wrote of Watson's first letter, "it is all Daggers & Poison; the sting of the serpent is in every Sentence as well as the glittering Dissimulation." He went on:

I have not the Charity for the Bishop that he pretends to have for Paine. I believe him to be a State trickster. . . . I should Expect that the man who wrote this sneaking sentence *would be as good an inquisitor as any other Priest*. . . . I believe that the Bishop laught at the Bible in his slieve. . . . Has not the Bishop given himself the lie in the moment the first words were out of his mouth? . . . Is not this the Bishop's cloven foot? Has he not spoil'd the hasty pudding?

Blake's verdict on the main issues of the argument fell unqualifiedly in favor of Paine. Paine appeared to him "a better Christian than the Bishop." "Well done, Paine!" he said to him.

Paine has not attacked Christianity. . . . Mr. Paine has not extinguish'd, & cannot Extinguish, Moral rectitude; he has Extinguished Superstition, which took the Place of Moral Rectitude. . . . The Holy Ghost . . . in Paine strives with Christendom as in Christ he strove with the Jews! . . . The trifles which the Bishop has combated in the following Letters are such as do nothing against Paine's Arguments, none of which the Bishop has dared to Consider. . . . If Paine trifles in some of his objections it is folly to confute him so seriously in them & leave his more material ones unanswered. . . . I have read this Book with attention & find that the Bishop has only hurt Paine's heel while Paine has broken his head. . . . The Bishop has not answer'd one of Paine's grand objections.

These rebukes, directed by Blake not at Paine but at his opponent, together with Blake's silence concerning Mary Wollstonecraft and Godwin, blur the reassuring strokes put into the portrait of Blake by Gilchrist in the sixties.

Nothing in the annotations of Bishop Watson's *Apology*, it must be pointed out, proves that Blake belonged to Gilchrist's remarkable coterie. If he had been identified with that group, where Dowden,¹

¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 15 ff.

Damon,¹ and others picture him as Gilchrist did, if he were really "on the fringes" of the London Corresponding Society, where Brailsford² catches glimpses of him, but where, in the British Museum's manuscript records of the Society covering the critical years I can find no trace of him; if he were "filled with enthusiasm" by Holcroft, as an anonymous writer in the *Literary Review of the New York Evening Post*³ for May 13, 1922, says he was, then it is probable that government would have been on his trail. Government almost caught Paine at Dover; it would have suppressed Godwin's *Political Justice* if that had not been a "three-guinea book"; it broke up "his contemptible lowness," the London Corresponding Society; it tried Holcroft and the rest of the "Twelve Reformers" for high treason; it imprisoned bookseller Johnson; it threw the country into a spy fever which endangered even the silent, making one whom "You never hear . . . say a syllable on the subject," into a "dark traitor."

It arrested Blake.

In the Print Room of the British Museum there is an etching called "A Boating Excursion." Two sailboats are moored at the shore at a small stream; against a clump of trees stands a thatched shed, the roof of which is covered by a sail drawn over crossed paddles. In front of the shed are a keg, a coffeepot, a hatchet, a log, and three men, one sitting, one lying, one cooking over a camp fire. One of the men is Blake, another is Thomas Stothard, the third is named Ogleby; and all are under arrest as French spies "surveying for purposes inimical to the safety of Old England."⁴

But the arrest took place between 1780 and 1782, some years before Blake could have been on the books of government as the companion of Johnson, Godwin, and Paine, the associate of the London Corresponding Society, the enthusiastic disciple of Holcroft. Indeed, a message from "certain members of the Royal Academy" came to release the prisoners "to spend a merry hour with the arresting officer," and then to continue their sketching excursion along the Medway.

Government on another occasion did not step in between Blake and "a remarkable effort and kind flirt of fortune," as it would have

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 19.

² *Shelley, Godwin and their Circle*, p. 35. London, 1913.

³ In answer to my query as to the basis for his statement, the author wrote to me that he felt it was a "safe assumption."

⁴ Keynes, *op. cit.*, p. 475.

done had he been on its black books. "He was recommended," says Tatham, "and nearly obtained an appointment, to teach drawing to the Royal Family."¹ He himself, not government, thwarted fortune. He

stood aghast: not, indeed, from any republican humours . . . but because . . . he would have been expected to live in comparative respectability, not to say splendour. . . . His friends ridiculed and blamed him by turns, but Blake found an excuse by resigning all his other pupils, and continued to suffice himself upon his frugality.

In the first half of the nineties, Blake found a new friend who was tainted with radicalism and brushed by the fever of espionage. This was George Cumberland, of Bristol. Cumberland² read "Payne," was friend to Horne Tooke, of the London Corresponding Society, and was convinced by 1792 or 1793 that "it would be safer to write one's sentiments in Turkey or Venice than in this unfortunate Island—where the inhabitants are rushing blindfold to total ruin—and lick the hands just raised to shed their blood." He knew by 1796 "of no news save that *Great Britain* is hanging the Irish, hunting the Maroons, feeding the Vendee, and establishing the human flesh trade." All he "panted after" was "to find out some tranquil spot on the globe where the accursed politicks of Europe are unknown." He did not find, any more than did Cowper, that "lodge in some vast wilderness," far from the spy-infested coffee-room where, as he said, "I no sooner ordered my breakfast than some strange but well dressed man would seat himself on the opposite side of my box." He did not escape from a society where

the general group consists of an agent in office in all his glory; a busy helper of the minister retired on a pension; a wounded officer the habits of whose whole life have been induced by unreflecting obedience; a member of a Corporation the leading maxim of whose policy is submission to every change and approbation of every measure that does not implicate the interest of his own body; a wealthy merchant who profits by every war inasmuch as it keeps out of play the small capitals; a banker who is willing to be well with all rich and prosperous men.

But Cumberland, with his indignation against the spy in the coffee-room, the merchant and the banker in their general group, the unequal struggle "between an independent man and an overbearing canvas

¹ Russel, *op. cit.*, pp. 27-28.

² Clementina Black, *The Cumberland Letters*, London, 1912, and the Cumberland Papers in the Manuscript Room, British Museum.

coated knave" shared with Blake, not indignation, but an enthusiasm for art which made him "employ his time" (he lived to be over ninety) "in study of ornamental arts." "One thing," he wrote of his *Thoughts on Outline, Sculpture, and the System that guided the Ancient Artists*, a work with many engravings by Blake, most of them dated 1794,

may be asserted of this work, which can be said of few others that have passed the hands of an engraver, which is, that Mr. Blake has condescended to take upon him the laborious office of making them, I may say, facsimiles of my originals: a compliment, from a man of his extraordinary genius and abilities, the highest, I believe, I shall ever receive, . . . and I am indebted to his generous partiality for the instruction which encouraged me to execute a great part of the plates myself.

Acknowledging the receipt of Cumberland's "beautiful book," Blake, in one of his earliest extant letters, said to him:

Go on! Go on! Such works as yours Nature and Providence, the eternal parents, demand from their children. How few produce them in such perfection! How nature smiles on them; how Providence rewards them; how all your brethren say: "The sound of his harp and his flute heard from his secret forest cheers us to the labours of life, and we plow and reap, forgetting our labour."¹

In a later letter Blake wrote to Cumberland:

Pray let me entreat you to persevere in your designing; it is the only source of pleasure. All your other pleasures depend upon it: it is the tree; your pleasures are the fruit. . . . Go on, if not for your own sake, yet for ours, who love and admire your works; but above all for the sake of the arts.²

This generous partiality by which Blake, when he found Cumberland fulminating at the "accursed politicks of Europe," turned that young artist from his fulminations to *Thoughts on Outline, Sculpture, and the System that guided the Ancient Artists*, calling upon him to go on, above all, for the sake of the arts, suggests, as Blake's release from arrest on the Medway suggests, as his recommendation to teach drawing to the royal family suggests, that he belonged, not among the radicals, but among the artists. In their company, indeed, his fellowship is as real as in that of Gilchrist's remarkable coterie of advanced thinkers it is shadowy.

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¹ Russell, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 65-66.

"GUILT AND SORROW": A STUDY IN THE GENESIS OF WORDSWORTH'S AESTHETIC

The character of recent Wordsworth criticism has been either biographical or, in the largest sense of the word, philosophical.¹ The poet's relations with Annette Vallon, in particular, have been thoroughly explored and his mistress' life brilliantly reconstructed.² The reflection of this episode in his poetry has been indicated, but as yet no attempt has been made to discover the part played by the facts connected with it in forming the aesthetic impulse which produced any of his poems. This is a serious critical failure which has reacted unfavorably upon his reputation as an artist.³ The study of Wordsworth's philosophical ideas has been similarly independent of his creative processes.⁴ A careful analysis of the ethical and psychological ideas expressed in his verse has never led to an examination of the artistic process whereby they have been transmuted into poetry.

This article is the beginning of an attempt to correct both of these tendencies, but, above all, it seeks to rescue the poet from the philosophers. In a series of studies, we shall replace at the center of Wordsworth's poetical activity, his art. Without ignoring the deep currents of thought which sweep through his work, we shall seek to show how practically all of them flow through an experience which is essentially aesthetic. "Guilt and Sorrow," a poem which contains a record of some of his earliest artistic impulses, is the first work which we shall subject to this sort of critical scrutiny.

¹ Cf. R. A. Rice's excellent summary of the trend of recent Wordsworth criticism, "Wordsworth since 1916," *Smith College Studies in Modern Languages*, Vol. V, No. 2, January, 1924.

² Cf. G. M. Harper, *Wordsworth's French Daughter* (Princeton University Press, 1921), and E. Legouis, *William Wordsworth and Annette Vallon* (London, 1922). H. T. Baker in "Wordsworth and Annette," in *North American Review*, CCVII (March, 1918), 433-45, suggests that Wordsworth's intense love of Nature was the result of the suppression of his love of Annette. "His passion for woman became a passion for Nature."

³ Cf. Madariaga, "The Case of William Wordsworth," in *Shelley and Calderon and Other Essays in English and Spanish Poetry* (London, 1920).

⁴ This is true of such works as Arthur Beatty's *William Wordsworth, His Doctrine and Art in Their Historical Relations* (University of Wisconsin, 1922), and S. F. Gingerich's *Essays in the Romantic Poets* (New York, 1924), pp. 91-191.

Legouis, who first gave serious attention to the early works of Wordsworth, regarded both this poem and *The Borderers* as repositories of evidence for the development of the poet's thought during years that were crucial for the formation of his powers.¹ Subsequent critics, like Harper, Beatty, and Garrod, who, in the treatment of Wordsworth's youth, have adopted the method of Legouis, likewise consider "Guilt and Sorrow" solely as an index of the poet's intellectual growth. To them, it is significant mainly because it reveals traces of Godwin's philosophy and Joseph Fawcett's teaching.² "The leading psychological motive of the sailor's story," says Professor Harper, "is the same as one which was presently to appear again in 'The Borderers,' namely, that 'sin and crime are apt to start from their very opposite qualities.'"³ Other ideas of Godwin, such as his belief that war must be abolished, that regulations should be enacted to "counteract that inequality among mankind which proceeds from the present fixed disposition of their possession," and that natural justice should be substituted for the perverse justice of institutions—all of these notions may be read, at least between the lines of the poem.⁴

This analysis of the ideas expressed in "Guilt and Sorrow" and this view of their origin is undoubtedly sound. Wordsworth himself gives a kind of warrant to a purely philosophical approach to this poem by a reference to it made in a letter to Francis Wrangham, written November 20, 1795. He there informs his friend that he hopes soon to publish a poem, the object of which is partly to expose the vices of the penal law and the calamities of war as they affect individuals.⁵ Whatever the explanation, the fact is that the analyses of all the critics since Legouis are concerned exclusively with Wordsworth's philosophical purpose in writing the work, to the complete neglect

¹ *La Jeunesse de William Wordsworth* (Paris, 1896), pp. 258 ff.

² Harper, *William Wordsworth, His Life, Works, and Influence* (New York, 1916), I, 271, calls them "faint but hardly mistakeable traces"; Beatty, *op. cit.*, chap. II, *passim*, believes Godwin's influence to have been much more fundamental; Garrod, *Wordsworth: Lectures and Essays* (Oxford, 1923), says p. 83, "This [i.e., the sailor's story in "Guilt and Sorrow"] may be called a thoroughly Godwinian story."

³ *Loc. cit.* This is the idea that prompts Garrod's phrase, "a thoroughly Godwinian story."

⁴ Hutchinson's edition of *The Lyrical Ballads* (London, 1920), pp. 226-27; also Beatty, *op. cit.*, pp. 23 ff.

⁵ *Letters of the Wordsworth Family*, I, 90.

of the artistic form he adopts to attain his intellectual objective. Almost no attention has been devoted to the emotions which the author sought to transmute into art or to the aesthetic principles that he followed in constructing his poem.

When Wordsworth came to artistic maturity, in the last decade of the eighteenth century, literature was controlled by a few well-defined aesthetic systems. They formed the only current aesthetic vocabulary. Wordsworth's first attempts at expression inevitably fell into some one of these different forms of literary utterance. The dominant system was perhaps that which may be called the aesthetic of terror. The interesting origin and development of this system is not germane to our immediate purpose. By 1756, Burke in his essay *On the Sublime and Beautiful*¹ expressed its principles in a form which was accepted as law by the generation of Wordsworth's youth.

Burke's thesis is that terror evoked by pain and danger is the most powerful of human feelings, because it is aroused to insure the self-preservation of the individual. Terror, for this reason, is the source of the sublime in art. The most significant passage is the following:

Whatever is fitted in any sense to excite the ideas of pain and danger, that is to say, whatever is in any sort terrible, or is conversant about terrible objects, or operates in a manner analogous to terror, is a source of the sublime; that is, it is productive of the strongest emotion which the mind is capable of feeling. . . . When danger or pain press too nearly, they are incapable of giving delight, and are simply terrible, but at certain distances, and with certain modifications, they may be, and they are, delightful, as we every day experience.²

Moreover, this apprehension of terror in its most intense form is productive of astonishment. Burke says, "Astonishment is that state of soul, in which all its motions are suspended, with some degree of horror. . . . Astonishment . . . is the effect of the sublime in the highest degree."³ In this way surprise, artificially stimulated, became an important element in the aesthetic of terror. Wonder, also, and

¹ In a later work we shall trace with some care the course of this aesthetic through the eighteenth century down to Wordsworth. Our present interest in the work is merely as a corpus of the notions widely exemplified in the works subsequent to it. Another significant expression of this aesthetic theory is to be found in an essay called "On the Pleasure Derived from Objects of Terror," printed first in J. and A. L. Alken's *Miscellaneous Pieces in Prose* (London, 1773), pp. 119-37.

² "Of the Sublime," sec. vii.

³ "Of the Passion Caused by the Sublime," sec. i.

mystery became effects which the artist working in this mode sought craftily to arouse. By the year 1790, Gothic Romance had developed a stereotyped form which served as an almost perfect exemplification of these aesthetic theories, and Wordsworth inevitably felt their influence.

Another aesthetic widely current throughout the eighteenth century was that which we may call sentimental morality. The development of this feeling up to Wordsworth and through his narrative poems we have traced elsewhere.¹ A system of artistic procedure was founded on the ethical notion that pity aroused by undeserved suffering is a moral agent. The sight of virtue in distress softens the heart into virtue, and this "softness" was in itself regarded as a sort of aesthetic experience. In Burke, pity of this sort is associated with terror. As the latter feeling is one connected with impulses toward individual self-preservation, so pity is a feeling which "administers to society in general," and each person is at all times a mixture of social and individual impulses. A passage from Burke may again be adduced as describing this doctrine of sentimentality which has become an aesthetic system:

I am convinced we have a degree of delight, and that no small one, in the misfortunes and pains of others. . . . Our delight in cases of this kind is very greatly heightened if the sufferer be some excellent person who sinks under an unworthy fortune. . . . Pity is a passion accompanied with pleasure, because it arises from love and social affection.²

It is almost inevitable that these two popular aesthetics, definitely related to each other by a critic like Burke, should both appear in Wordsworth's early work. Nor need it surprise anyone that they should at first be involved and confused to the detriment of his first poems.

Wordsworth's aesthetic intentions in composing "Guilt and Sorrow" can be accurately ascertained only if the complicated origin and growth of the poem be considered. The work consists of three narratives which are very unevenly developed: the female vagrant's adventures, the sailor's story, and the incident of the maltreated child.

¹ O. J. Campbell, *Sentimental Morality in Wordsworth's Narrative Poetry* ("University of Wisconsin Studies in Language and Literature," No. 2, Madison, 1920).

² "Of the Sublime," sec. xiv. An interesting essay on this subject appeared in Aiken, *op. cit.*, called "An Enquiry into Those Kinds of Distress which Excite Agreeable Sensations," pp. 190-214.

The prologue to the entire poem, composing its first twenty-one stanzas, is a setting devised to create an atmosphere harmonious with the emotions that emerge in the subsequent tales. The woman's story appeared in the first edition of *The Lyrical Ballads*, under the title "The Female Vagrant." Much of this part of the work, according to Wordsworth, was composed as early as 1791-92. The whole of the longer poem was completed before the close of 1794 and continuously revised until its first publication in 1842.

"The Female Vagrant" is the pathetic story of the utterly undeserved suffering of an innocent and virtuous woman. She was reared by a pious father in the security and tranquil joy of life on a small farm until she reached the age of twenty. Then her father, because he refused to sell his ancestral land to a rich neighbor, was oppressed by legal injustice and driven from his farm. The pathos of the situation of the father and daughter as they leave their home forever is feelingly presented. Their woe is immediately alleviated, however, by the girl's fiancé, who marries her, enables her to experience the joys of motherhood, and gives her father four years of peaceful happiness before his death. Then hard times bring poverty and actual want,

An empty loom, cold hearth, and silent wheel.

In this crisis, her husband, to save his family from acute distress, enlists against the Americans. The woman with her children follows, first to spend four months in a fever-stricken port of embarkation, then to cross the Atlantic, there to wade "at the heels of war" with the brood

That lap (their very nourishment) their brother's blood.

Then the inevitable woes of war overtake her and her family—"disease and famine, agony and fear." In one "remorseless year," she loses her husband and her three children. Then, "every tear dried up"—indisputable evidence of utter numbness of soul—she boards a ship to return to England. In the vast silence of the ocean came moments of peace and restoration.

I looked, and looked along the silent air,
Until it seemed to bring a joy to my despair.

How different this from the horrors of war, which intrude again in two stanzas!

However, as soon as she lands, her woes begin again. Although she pines for want of food, she cannot endure the thought of begging. Consequently, after three days of starvation, she faints from sheer weakness and is borne away to a hospital. There she suffers from institutional charity,

Of service done with careless cruelty,
Fretting the fever round the languid heart.

Once released from this place, she begins again to tramp the countryside. A band of gypsies, moved by her tears, receive her with kindness. Their communistic way of living has charms for the vagrant,

For all belonged to all, and each was chief.

But she cannot bring herself to make her living by their methods of petty pilfering. She therefore leaves them, to exist in a kind of numb half-life on "the mercy of the fields" and such bounty as a beggar can expect. She has become a pathetic, moping creature reduced by "man's inhumanity to man" from youthful buoyancy to utter dejection.

This poem, of course, gives expression to many Godwinian ideas. They are illustrated by the unjust but legal dispossession of her father through the operation of the rapacious acquisitive instincts of his rich, and so powerful, neighbor, by the ills that come to the woman through war, and by the band of gypsies—outlaws in a sense but philanthropic by nature, among whom the complete equality of all is the cardinal principle of their organization. An enumeration of these ideas, however, does not discover the artistic unity of the poem which contains them. That seems to be the familiar eighteenth-century aesthetic of sentimentalism. Emotionally, the poem is a series of appeals to that pity which is evoked by the contemplation of undeserved suffering. It presents at the beginning the natural virtue and innocent felicity of the girl, child of an equally simple and good father. Then throughout the poem, her happiness is progressively assailed. Calamities fall upon her through no fault of her own. At the end of the poem, her settled condition has become one of abject wretchedness. Undeserved suffering has become the settled habit of her soul, and the reader is supposed to close the book, suffused with pity.

The narrative with substantially this aesthetic intention was probably conceived as early as the years 1791-92.¹ At this time, Wordsworth evidently believed that pity for undeserved suffering was the most effective emotion to place at the center of a work of art designed to communicate the passion which the humanitarian ideas of his youth aroused in him.

The sailor's tale as narrated in "Guilt and Sorrow," even in its earliest form, was evidently written later than that of the vagrant, but, according to Wordsworth's own testimony, before the close of 1794. All recent critics have considered this part of the work in particular as definitely approving some of Godwin's characteristic ideas. Garrod, in the most recent analysis of the poem, finds it "difficult not to believe that the central idea of the plot of 'Guilt and Sorrow' is actually derived" from the reading of Godwin's *Caleb Williams*, published during the year 1794.² "The crime of the sailor," continues Garrod, "proceeds from a confused association of ideas merely; and it is a cardinal doctrine with Godwin that there is no distinct faculty of will, but that what is called will is only 'one of the different cases of the association of ideas.' " The poem, therefore, is an illustration of one of Godwin's fundamental psychological notions. Moreover, Garrod believes with warrant that in its original form the poem embodied a Godwinian protest against the criminal law and against capital punishment in particular. This passage was cut out sometime before 1842, as contrary to Wordsworth's more mature views on the subject, and the present indecisive ending substituted.

This sound analysis of the intellectual direction of "Guilt and Sorrow" completely neglects the aesthetic method of the poem. The only sentence which Garrod devotes to this aspect of the work is the following: "It is morbid in its execution; morbid even when real and lively in detail."³ This dictum is an expression of dislike, not an explanation. As an artistic phenomenon, the poem is an inharmonious mixture. The aesthetic method of the first part of the completed poem is quite different from that dictating the narrative of "The Female Vagrant." This story has not been devised for the purpose of evoking the pity aroused by the contemplation of undeserved suffering. The

¹ Wordsworth's narratives written at this time often take this form. Cf. "An Evening Walk," ll. 250-78 or "Descriptive Sketches," ll. 315-35.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 83.

³ *Ibid.*

properties of the narrative have rather been chosen to excite a form of terror guaranteed by ample usage to produce agreeable sensations.

Wordsworth himself makes clear that such were his aesthetic preoccupations at about this time in his life. Near the end of Book XIV of *The Prelude*, in a passage in which he lauds the influence of his sister upon him, he says:

Still (to the very going out of youth)
I too exclusively esteemed *that* love,
And sought *that* beauty, which, as Milton says,
Hath *terror* in it.

Now the first twenty-one stanzas of "Guilt and Sorrow," those comprising the entire introduction or setting for the stories, show an interest solely in beauty associated with terror. Its form, however, is not Miltonic. The properties with which Wordsworth sets his stage are those habitually employed by the authors of Gothic Romance.

The sailor first appears to us alone wandering on a vast, desolate plain—"a huge waste around him spread." The only trace of man that he beholds is a human body swinging in irons on a gibbet. This sight summons a train of fearful phantoms to march through his mind. Then as he wilders on in storm and rain while the plain resounds to the whirlwind's sweep and is swept by faint disastrous lightning's gleam, he catches sight of the hoary and naked walls of what seems an antique castle. It is Stonehenge, and recalls the many men sacrificed there to appease the ire of some forgotten pagan god. From the "night terrors of that waste" he seeks shelter in a "lonely spital," called now the "'Dead House' of the plain." There, by the wan light of the moon, he sees a woman lying outstretched in the naked room. At sight of her, Wordsworth abruptly transfers the reader's sympathy from the terror in the sailor's mind to that which shakes the woman. She is awakened suddenly, catches sight of the stranger, and is filled with horror; for she has been told an uncanny tale about this "lonely spital." A man, so the story ran, having taken refuge in this lonely spot, was directed by the wild incessant pawings of his horse to a stone in the building. He raised it with pain and sweat to have disclosed "the grim head of a late murdered corse." When the man's figure recalled the gruesome tale to the woman's mind,

Cold stony horror all her senses bound.

In this line the emotional climax of the introduction has been reached. Up to this point, every detail introduced has been calculated to lead the reader from shudder to shudder.

The point of immediate interest is that Wordsworth's paraphernalia of terror are identical with those conventionally presented at the beginning of many Gothic romances.¹ In both appear the wanderer, the desolate moor, the storm, the ancient castle, supernatural manifestations, contact with dead bodies, particularly with skeletons and the severed heads and hands of corpses. As early as 1773, in Mrs. Barbauld's *Sir Bertrand*,² there is set an opening scene which was to become typical. We are immediately introduced to a knight who wanders in darkness on a lonely moor. He is guided by the sullen tolling of a distant bell and a glimmering light to an antique mansion, upon which "the injuries of time" are strongly marked. This he discerns by a fitful burst of moonlight. In the castle, he is mystified by wonders of clearly supernatural origin. A weird bluish light leads him to an apartment, where he grasps a cold dead hand, which he severs at a blow. Then he obtains a key which unlocks a door leading to a room containing a coffin from which arises a lady in a shroud and black veil. The events that happen subsequently are of no importance; these objects provoking mystery and horror are the essence of the tale.

Mrs. Radcliffe's *The Romance of the Forest* (1792) begins in a similar fashion. A certain La Motte, an adventurer fleeing, like the sailor, from justice, takes refuge in a sinister-looking house. He is no sooner there than a ruffian bursts in upon him, dragging behind him a beautiful girl. Placing a pistol at La Motte's breast, he orders him to convey the girl to a place where he will never see her again. La Motte takes up his residence in a deserted abbey, which contains, among other objects of a terror-provoking sort, a human skeleton in a chest. *The Mysteries of Udolpho*, published in 1794, the year in which "Guilt and Sorrow" was composed, has the stage set for its story in like fashion. The tale begins with a journey fraught with terror. Finally, at nightfall, the remote and forbidding castle of Udolpho is reached.

¹ There is a suggestion of the method of Gothic Romance in "An Evening Walk," ll. 194 ff.

² First printed in J. and A. L. Aiken's *Miscellaneous Pieces in Prose*.

There, innumerable thrills and frights, including the inevitable unburied corpse, disturb the sensitive imagination of Emily.

These examples make evident in what emotional mode Wordsworth was working when he composed the setting for the tales told in "Guilt and Sorrow." Coleridge's objections to this introduction were undoubtedly justified. It bears no intrinsic emotional relationship to the stories. The reader is led to a high point of horror in stanza xxi to no purpose. In the very next stanza, the atmosphere artfully induced from the beginning of the poem is deliberately dispelled. The man's kindly voice banishes the female vagrant's terror; the howlings of the wind subside; simple discourse arouses mutual confidence and natural sympathy. The woman, therefore, begins her story in an atmosphere quite unlike that created by the properties of terror, conventional in the fiction of Wordsworth's day.

The vagrant's tale itself, as we have shown, is constructed in accordance with the other popular aesthetic of Wordsworth's youth—the presentation of that sort of innocent distress which excites agreeable sensations. Moreover, that part of the poem which follows the woman's story also depends for its aesthetic effects on the stimulation of sentimental feelings. Such is the *raison d'être* of the final incident. The sailor's wife is brought in upon her deathbed, to tell her tale of undeserved suffering and to die in the arms of her tender-hearted, though criminal, husband. This sight softens him into repentance, as it should, so that he gives himself up to the justice of the law.

Critics like Garrod are undoubtedly right in asserting that the poem, as originally composed, was a protest against capital punishment. From the point of view of this original intention, the tame acquiescence of the sailor in his fate undoubtedly forms a lame and vapid conclusion. Aesthetically, however, such a protest would have been inharmonious with that part of the poem immediately preceding, unless it were made through an appeal to our pity.

The poem is a failure as a work of art, not because of the "morbid" and ephemeral nature of the Godwinian ideas expressed, or even because of the later toning down of these notions until the intellectual meaning of the work became obscure and futile. Rather, it is weak because it is a piece of aesthetic patchwork, the product of two dis-

tinged and inharmonious artistic modes. This confusion of the two is seen in a concentrated form in the incident of the beating of the child, introduced for its effect upon the guilty mind of the sailor. In the same stanza appear the horror aroused by the boy's battered head and the "deluge of tender thoughts" that rushed amain through the sailor's mind at sight of his innocent distress. Emotional confusion of this sort cannot fail to produce a work utterly devoid of aesthetic unity. To complicate still further the confusion produced by the contradictory impulses of these two aesthetic modes, Wordsworth at least once in this poem gives a characteristically furtive release to his most sedulously repressed emotions.

Parts of the last two stanzas of "The Female Vagrant" seem completely out of harmony with the rest of the poem. To be sure, they do not appear in "Guilt and Sorrow," but they are not the less important to one seeking to discover the aesthetic genesis of the poem. Throughout the narrative, the woman has been presented as the innocent victim of cruel circumstance. In fact, we have seen that the emotional appeal of the poem depends upon the reader's conviction that through all her distressing experiences, she has been utterly blameless. Yet in these final stanzas, Wordsworth clearly suggests that her suffering is mainly the result of spiritual disharmony brought about by her moral delinquency.

But what afflicts my peace with keenest ruth
Is, that I have my inner self abused,
Foregone the home delight of constant truth,
And clean and open soul, so prized in fearless youth.

Three years thus wandering, often have I viewed,
In tears, the sun towards that country tend
Where my poor heart lost all its fortitude.

Nothing in the poem, up to this point, however, has suggested that the woman has been guilty of even the slightest insincerity with which to reproach herself. In fact, the one temptation to wrongdoing that came to her, the invitation to adopt the devious ways of the gypsies, she rejected almost automatically, because she had been "brought up in nothing ill." Moreover, "the perpetual weight which on her spirit lay" in these stanzas seems, somehow, unaccountably related to remorse.

When one recalls what Coleridge called Wordsworth's "dramatic ventriloquism," his consistent inability to dramatize anyone but himself, one is inclined to believe that Wordsworth here has added two stanzas to his original tale, reflecting his personal spiritual distress at a later moment. In 1793-94, when he undertook his first revision of this early poem, he was obviously suffering from the wounds made by his desertion of Annette Vallon. Garrod has a curious notion that Wordsworth's union with her had a negligible influence upon his poetry, because it but brushed the surface of his emotions.¹ Such an idea is due to a failure to appreciate the deep influence which this wayward emotional experience must have exerted upon a nature at once so sensitive and retrospective as Wordsworth's. The high intensity which swept through their lives can be deeply realized from the letters of Annette Vallon to Wordsworth and to Dorothy which we possess.² Legouis, moreover, clearly shows how many shorter poems were written as an expression of the mingled feelings of love, despair, and remorse which his conduct toward the high-spirited French woman aroused in him.³ The lines quoted above are of the sort to give release to the feelings of self-reproach, which must have lain as a perpetual weight upon his spirit. He had reason, as the crushed woman had but little, to cast his eyes over the sea to a country where he had lost his confident belief in himself, a belief which had been the source of his spiritual fortitude.

This is by no means the only work in which Wordsworth betrays his remorse for his treatment of Annette in this oblique and clandestine fashion. In a study of *The Borderers*, we shall show how frequently this personal feeling intrudes upon the drama. One striking passage from *The Excursion* must serve at this point as a typical example of a recurrent uncontrollable eruption of Wordsworth's personal feelings into a work of art supposedly objective. When the

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 72. The passage runs: "I am inclined to suppose that to Wordsworth, reviewing the history of his spiritual development (i.e., in "The Prelude"), the Annette episode did not present itself as a part of his life in which his passions and feelings had been seriously engaged."

² Cf. Legouis, *William Wordsworth and Annette Vallon*, pp. 125-33.

³ Harper proclaimed the connection of "Vaudracour and Julia" with the love adventure, and Legouis mentions the following additional poems as produced by the French episode: "Ruth," "The Mad Mother," "The Thorn," "The Ruined Cottage," "Her Eyes Are Wild."

Solitary, in his autobiographical narrative, reaches his journey across "The Atlantic," he exclaims

O, never let the Wretched, if a choice
Be left him, trust the freight of his distress
To a long voyage on the silent deep!
For, like a plague, will memory break out;
And, in the blank and solitude of things,
Upon his spirit, with a fever's strength,
Will conscience prey. Feebly must they have felt
Who, in old time, attired with snakes and whips
The vengeful Furies. Beautiful regards
Were turned on me—the face of her I loved.
The Wife and Mother pitifully fixing
Tender reproaches, insupportable.¹

No deed in the previous life of the Solitary has been of the sort to bring upon him this remorse more insupportable than the whips of the Furies. His wife had no reason for turning upon him tender reproaches. He had done nothing to her to make his memory break out like a plague. On the contrary, he had suffered with her and loved her with so much idealism that his affection seemed holy. With Wordsworth, the man, however, the case was different. His voyage back from France and his wanderings in England must often have been attended by such visions as this one. In this passage, then, under cover of the Solitary, Wordsworth finds an unconscious moment of emotional release. In these last two stanzas of "The Female Vagrant," he is performing an act of the same sort of aesthetic penance. His remorse suddenly asserts its right to live, snatches, as it were, the pen from the conscious author, and inserts a number of lines in its own fulfilment. They bear almost no relation to the tale. They are a form of emotional purgation which the artist can obtain with satisfaction only through his art.

In "Guilt and Sorrow," Wordsworth is seen working in two of the conventional aesthetic modes of his youth. In his hands, they are so divergent in tendency as to be incapable of producing a work of artistic unity. They serve, nevertheless, as a fairly adequate emotional expression for the radical ideas which occupied his mind at this time. But it is no longer to be supposed that he was exclusively possessed

¹ *Excursion*, III, 844 ff.

by the feelings aroused by Godwin's social ideas. Another more tyrannic emotion continued to stir uneasily beneath the surface, eager to have its way with the poet. "Guilt and Sorrow," therefore, is not only tentative and experimental, like most youthful artistic productions; but it is revealed as the partial expression of a disorganized personality. From such divided emotional allegiance there could not emerge that stabilization of an experience which lifts it into art.

In a subsequent study devoted to *The Borderers*, we shall show all these contradictory forces still at work. In this drama, however, even in their turmoil and mutually effected defeat, they will be seen to show Wordsworth the way by which he was compelled to issue from this aesthetic confusion of their making. They point him along the way to the revolutionary aesthetic synthesis which he is to make in his Preface to *The Lyrical Ballads*.

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JOHN HIGGINS' *MIRROR* AND *LOCRINE*

The *Lamentable Tragedie of Locrine* (Quarto 1595) is known to have piecemeal relationship with Spenser's *Faerie Queene* and his *Complaints*, with the play *Selimus*, and perhaps with Wilmot's play *Tancred and Gismund*,¹ in addition to an easily apparent indebtedness to more than one chronicle history. I feel that the *Mirror for Magistrates* is yet another book contributing somewhat to our judgment of *Locrine* as a part of dramatic history, and that the *Mirror* served the dramatist in more ways than in merely pointing him to a tragic plot of tested popular appeal.

The *Mirror* in this case is of course that extension of the original put forth by John Higgins in 1574 and called *The first parte of the Mirour for Magistrates, containing the falles of the first infortunate Princes of this lande: From the comming of Brute to the incarnation of our sauior and redemer Iesu Christe*. The first five legends of Albanact, Humber, Locrinus, Elstride, and Sabine cover the action of the play.

The most concrete indication that in the course of his story the dramatist leaned somewhat upon the *Mirror* I have found in his employment of a minor proper name in the form Turnus. The character appears in the story of Brutus' wanderings before his arrival in England. Erbe in his minute survey of the *Locrine* story through the known occurrences concludes that the play adheres most closely to Geoffrey of Monmouth, next to Holinshed, and next to Caxton.² The *Mirror* he does not give as a source of any fact not to be found in these chronicles. In particular he says of Turnus: "Unerklärt bleibt die Schreibung des Namen Turnus. Dass der Dichter sich hier nicht an die Schreibung seiner Hauptquelle hielt, hat seinen Grund vielleicht darin, dass er als klassisch gebildeter Mann aus den lat. Schriftstellern den Turnus, rex Rutulorum, kannte."³

¹ For a bibliography of studies in these relationships and their significance see E. K. Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage* (1923), IV, 26. The study by F. G. Hubbard there mentioned as in manuscript has been published in "*Shakespeare Studies*" (University of Wisconsin, 1918), *Locrine and Selimus*, pp. 16 ff.

² "Die Locrinesage und die Quellen des Pseudo-Shakespeareschen *Locrine*," *Studien zur Englischen Philologie*, XVI (1904), 70 ff.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 72.

There need be no such mystery. The name is to be found more than once in the *Mirror for Magistrates*,¹ where it was most easily accessible to the dramatist. Also there is a much closer agreement generally in the names of the characters between the play and the *Mirror* than between the play and either Geoffrey or Caxton. In this respect the play is as close to the *Mirror* as it is to Holinshed, though the agreement is not always upon the same names. Erbe notices that in Geoffrey are the following names not reproduced exactly by the dramatist: Turonus, Guendolæna, Maddan, Goëmagot, and Estrildis. The play has Turnus, Guendoline, Madan, Gogmagog, and Estrild, of which the first three will be found in the *Mirror*.

The variation between Turonus (Geoffrey) or Turinus (Holinshed) and Turnus is small enough to be accounted for as an error in reading or as a fanciful change in legendary spelling. But further correspondence with the *Mirror* in those lines of the play where the dying Brutus recounts to his followers the loss of Turnus in an encounter with the Gauls makes coincidence unlikely. Geoffrey and Holinshed call Turonus or Turinus a nephew of Brutus and make Brutus say nothing about the nephew's dying as a sacrifice to save his fellows. The play and the *Mirror* make the relationship of Turnus and Brutus less explicit, and the idea of sacrifice is plain in both accounts of Brutus' death speech. The play has:

And for your sakes my *Turnus* there I lost.²

The *Mirror*:

By Martiall powre I made the Frenchmen fly,
Where you to saue I lost my faithful frende,
For you, at Tours, my *Turnus* tooke his ende.³

I think we may accept a plain debt of the dramatist to the *Mirror* for a small bit of fact as well as for the spelling of a name. Incidentally, although the third and fourth Shakespeare Folios follow the Quarto of 1595 in the spelling Turnus, A. F. Hopkinson in his *Shakespeare's Doubtful Plays* has changed the name to Turinus, apparently on the authority of Holinshed.⁴

¹ Ed. Joseph Haslewood, 1815, I, 33, 38. Succeeding references to the *Mirror* will be to this edition.

² L. 148. In referring to the play I shall follow the continuous numbering of the lines in the Quarto as reprinted by the Malone Society, 1908.

³ I, 38.

⁴ II, 6.

The more important matter in common between *Locrine* and John Higgins' *Mirror* is a tragic pattern and philosophy of life which to the modern mind may be tiresomely naïve, but which for the Elizabethan was the crude beginning of a thoughtful, though often inconsistent, exploration of great tragedy. The play betrays in its structure a close affinity with the *Mirror*. This makes it a dramatized series of short tragic stories in the medieval fashion. A moral to round the tale may be expected for each one of the constant succession of deaths, and we are not often disappointed. The moralizing of the *Mirror*, so often despised today but for the Elizabethan obviously filling the place of soliloquy or philosophic comment in the drama, and like these things furnishing the unsubtle person with some agreeable insight into the mystery of life—all this explanatory wisdom falls pat with the rationalization of *Locrine*, not only in the matter of substance but also in the matter of strategic points at which it is introduced. But this rationalization often has a temper not wholly medieval nor even Senecan.

The tragic comment which Higgins allows to his plaintive ghosts leans often enough toward the utterly commonplace. He claimed his share of the *Mirror*'s popularity because, like others who had a hand in it, he usually gave the public what it expected to hear about misfortune and death. Certainly the author of *Locrine* did not need to learn from him that the world is unstable, that the poor are farthest from annoy, and that great men like tall trees are most shaken by blasts and most smitten by lightning. Such ideas were anybody's property. But Higgins does have an individuality, chiefly to be noted, I think, in his aggressive belief in poetic justice and in its rather peculiar application to his stories. With him misfortune is most easily to be accounted for as a just desert of the man struck down, always according to very simple laws of right and wrong, and "fickle Fortune" then becomes more rhetoric than actual cause. He teaches with a transparent honesty that

Vniustice euer thriues as theues doe thee,¹

and that

If either vice or vertue wee aband,
Wee either are rewarded as wee serue,
Or else are plaged, as our deedes deserue.²

¹ I, 95.

² I, 96.

A poetic justice of Higgins' inflexible variety under which we all seem to attain our deserts on earth is of course not common to all stories in the *Mirror*. The earlier 1559 edition advertised itself to show "with howe greuous plagues vices are punished: and howe frayle and vnstable worldly prosperitie is founde, even of those whom Fortune seemeth most highly to fauour"; and its authors were divided in emphasizing now the inexplicable fickleness of Fortune and now the plagues of vice. *Locrine* subscribes to many of the idiosyncratic applications of the moral code made by Higgins. The dramatist seems to have known the *Mirror* so well that it molded his plot and dictated its tragic significance.

Both *Locrine* and Higgins' *Mirror* here part company with Seneca and the Middle Ages, however much the one may be called Senecan in dramatic convention or the other medieval in narrative temper. Seneca believed that the good man was often made to suffer a misfortune in this world which was in reality a blessing, allowing him to demonstrate his fortitude, and that shallow or evil people often appeared to prosper because they were not great enough to attract the misfortune that would prove their souls. Although this idea appears in earlier stories of the *Mirror*,¹ Higgins does not share it. His rationalization is never such subtle Stoicism, and he is no more guilty of arguing from a paradox than is the dramatist of *Locrine*. The Middle Ages contemned this world of the flesh as fickle in its rewards, but because of preoccupation with a stable heaven, in which Seneca had no sure faith.

The first of the moral correspondences between the *Mirror* and the play would by itself be insignificant. The belief involved is the Senecan and medieval commonplace concerning the inescapable way of all flesh. After Brutus' dying harangue to his followers, Higgins thus philosophizes:

But what auayles, to striue against the tide,
Or else to driue against the streame and winde?
What booteth it against the Cliues to ride,
Or else to worke against the course of kinde?
Sith Nature hath the ende of thinges assin'd,
There is no nay, wee must perforce depart,
Gainst dinte of death there is no ease by arte.²

¹ Cf. the two causes for misfortune given in "Henry the sixte" of the original *Mirror* (Haslewood, II, 219):

The first apoynteth payne for good men's exercise,
The second doth deserue due punishment for vice.

² I, 41.

In the play, after Brutus' speech Loctrine inveighs against the "dam'd and accursed starres" responsible for his father's death, and the old warrior Corineus makes a Stoic response with more unrestrained imagery but tinged with the same fatalism. His note is sounded by such lines as these:

For fatall *Mors* expecteth all the world,
And euerie man must tread the way of death.¹

The succession of violent deaths which now takes place is moralized in closely similar ways. In the *Mirror*, Albanact falls before Humber just when he considers himself "an heauenly happy wight," and although Higgins has elsewhere made plain that Albanact's sin is rashness, the subject of mishap assails Fortune with highly rhetorical reproach. Albanact in the play outdoes the *Mirror*, but preserves its spirit in railing against the injurious Fortune who fails "thus in the prime of my felicitie."²

When in his turn tragedy overtakes Humber, the play and the *Mirror* unite more closely in moral justification than they do for any other of their ill-fated characters. The dramatist uses the opportunity to introduce a Senecan ghost of Albanact in pursuit of Humber, but not content with the familiar revenge theme of blood exacted in payment for blood, he also gives to the ghost righteous observations made by the *Mirror* as to the violations of moral law committed by Humber. The result is a ghost who shouts "Vindicta!" or "Revenge for blood!" in the most approved style and at the same time makes a general moral justice correspond with the personal justice which he seeks. When Humber is starving, the ghost is forgetful of his blood revenge:

Loe here the gift of fell ambition,
Of vsurpation and of trecherie.
Loe here the harmes that wait vpon all those
That do intrude themselues in others lands,
Which are not vnder their dominion.³

This is exactly the moral offense fixed upon Humber by the *Mirror*:

Thou mayst thyselfe perceiue, somewhat by mee,
Let neither trust, nor treason, trayne forth yee,
But bee content with thine estate, so shall
No wrath of God procure thy haplesse fall.

If thou bee foraine, bide with in thy soyle
That God hath giuen to thee and thine to holde.⁴

¹ LL. 289-90.

² L. 838.

³ LL. 1675-9.

⁴ I, 51.

Of course this moralizing of the ghost is dramatically uncalled for in the play. The shade of Albanact is more in character when after Humber's death he posts back to the other world to tell the news to the shade of Brutus and to exult over the revenge obtained. He is then no agent of a general moral retribution.

In the case of Estrild, the avowed purpose of the *Mirror* as a warning to all those in authority is so obviously echoed in the lament given her by the play that her words need no discussion:

What prince so ere adorn'd with golden [crowne]
Doth sway the regall sceptler in his hand:
And thinks no chance can euer throw him downe,
Or that his state shall euerlasting stand,
Let him behold poore *Estrild* in this plight,
The perfect platforme of a troubled wight.¹

Finally, the three deaths of Locrine, Estrild, and Sabren all happen because of a lawless love which is plainly pointed with morals in both authors, though Higgins, who is somewhat more consistently attracted by the idea of poetic justice than the dramatist, is perhaps more explicit. Higgins draws for Locrinus this moral:

To all estates let this for wedlocke serue,
Beware of chaunge, it will not hold out long.²

For Elstride this:

Who reckes no meane, but leaueth all to lust,
Shall finde my wordes as true as I them tell.³

And for Sabrine this:

And here you see, how lawlesse loue doth thriue,
Hereby you see, how gelous folkes doe fare:
Here may you see, with wisdom they that wiue,
Neede neuer recke *Cupidoe's* cursed snare.⁴

In the play the moral to be drawn from the destruction of three victims of lawless love is briefly put by Ate, along with other morals, as part of the concluding choric comment, and a transition from woman as a cause of man's ills to the Virgin Queen, whom it was well to compliment, is achieved with questionable finesse:

Lo here the end of lawlesse trecherie,
Of vsurpation and ambitious pride,
And they that for their priuate amours dare

¹ L.L. 1426-31.

² I. 60.

³ I. 75.

⁴ I. 84.

Turmoile our land. and see their broiles abroach,
Let them be warned by these premisses,
And as a woman was the only cause
That ciuill discord was then stirred vp,
So let vs pray for that renowned mayd,
That eight and thirtie yeares the scepter swayd,
In quiet peace and sweet felicitie.¹

These contacts between *Locrine* and the *Mirror* are not the sort to prove that the dramatist had John Higgins' work constantly before him as he wrote. It is not difficult to see how a popular work of such character as the *Mirror* could have been to an earlier Elizabethan dramatist a pervasive influence rather than a source of plots. In many ways less definite than those which have been noticed, *Locrine* is instinct with the pleasant dolefulness that attracted the Elizabethan to his many Mirrors, that dolefulness which did not grow tired of urging,

Marke what ensues and you may easily see
That all our life is but a Tragedie.²

This life that *Locrine* and John Higgins' *Mirror* put before us is a tragedy wherein poetic justice plays a forceful but unsubtle part. Despite its declamatory rhetoric regarding fickle Fortune, it is a tragedy lacking the medieval faith in a fickle world and a constant heaven, and despite vindictive ghosts and heavy platitudes, it is in truth a tragedy other than Senecan. It is the crude beginning of a Renaissance tragedy which in later and finer authors dealt with struggle in the individual soul.³

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¹ Ll. 2269-78.

² Ll. 980-81.

³ The general relationship between the tragedy developed by later non-dramatic writers and that by later dramatists I discuss in a forthcoming publication.

VARIATIONS BETWEEN THE FIRST AND THE FINAL EDITION OF BALZAC'S *LES EMPLOYÉS*

Les Employés, or, as it was first called, *la Femme supérieure*, was written in June, 1837,¹ and first appeared in *la Presse* between July 1 and 15 of that year.² Before publishing it in book form, Balzac planned to make additions:

Puis, j'ai une préface à coudre, en forme de collerette, à *la Femme supérieure*, et une quatrième partie en forme de tournure, car les soixante-quinze colonnes de *la Presse* n'ont fourni qu'un petit volume. ... Vous ne sauriez imaginer comme ces raccommodages, ces replâtrages m'ennuient; je suis excédé par ces travaux après coup. (12 octobre, 1837.)³

While any surmise on the relation between the *feuilleton* and this first edition in book form is futile with the former not at hand, still it is hard to reconcile Lovenjoul's statements⁴ as to the comparative length of the two. The *Presse* edition, he writes, was "augmentée d'une conclusion inédite," and yet, he says, it ended originally with Bixiou's words, "Il est joli celui-là." Now that is where the Werdet (*princeps*) edition still closes. As the fourth part which Balzac planned does not appear, at least as a separate division, probably he contented his publishers with the long preface inserted in Volume I, and the part of *la Torpille* which swells the pages of Volume II.⁵

In any case, the dreaded "replâtrages" proved an effectual deterrent, for Balzac allowed fifteen months to elapse before *la Femme supérieure* appeared (October, 1838) in the two-volume edition published by Werdet. The second volume contained also *la Maison Nucingen* and *la Torpille*. It is this Werdet edition (to be abbreviated as W.) which I propose to compare with the Furne, or first collected edition of the *Comédie humaine*, and with the definitive Conard edition (1914). These last will be abbreviated as F. and C. respectively.

¹ *Lettres à l'étrangère*, I, 399, 407.

² *Ibid.*, I, 412; and Lovenjoul, *Histoire des œuvres de Balzac*, 3d ed., p. 132.

³ *Lettres à l'étrangère*, I, 434.

⁴ Lovenjoul, *op. cit.*, p. 133.

⁵ A subsequent visit to the Lovenjoul collection at Chantilly reveals that the conclusion of the Werdet edition is identical with that of the *Presse* edition.

The two volumes of the Werdet edition are preceded by a fifty-page preface, omitted in all subsequent editions. It deals chiefly with the hard lot of writers—a theme Sainte-Beuve considered in deplorable taste.¹ Of greatest interest are the glimpses of Balzac's method of work and sense of his own mission. Concerning *la Torpille* he says: "L'auteur s'attend à d'autres reproches, parmi lesquels sera celui de l'immoralité; mais il a déjà nettement expliqué qu'il a pour idée fixe de décrire la société dans son entier, telle qu'elle est" (p. liii). "To describe society as a whole"—here in 1838 Balzac has summed up his program for the *Comédie humaine*. He calls himself "plus historien que romancier" (p. liii), which function he modifies five years later to secretary: "La Société française allait être l'historien, je ne devais être que le secrétaire" (*Avant-Propos de la Comédie humaine*).² In picturing the novelist as only a tool for life, which writes its own history, Balzac seems there to have advanced along the path of naturalism since the preface of *la Femme supérieure*. Interesting too is what he says of the fixity of certain professional types (pp. lv-lvi), of the social bearing of literature (p. lvi), of the many half-finished books in a writer's portfolio (p. il). Even while writing this preface Balzac felt that *la Femme supérieure* had grown away from its title: "Le premier (fragment) a le malheur de s'appeler *la Femme supérieure*, titre qui n'exprime plus le sujet de cette Étude où l'héroïne, si tant qu'elle soit supérieure, n'est plus qu'une figure accessoire au lieu de s'y trouver la principale" (p. vii). Access to the *Presse* edition and to the proofs would be necessary to decide when the title ceased to be appropriate. Evidently the first great variation takes place somewhere between the choice of title and theme, and the publication of this first edition. However much Balzac may blame the impatience of his publishers for this discrepancy (p. li), the probability is that, having set out to write of Mme Rabourdin, wife of a *chef de bureau*, Balzac became more and more interested in the world of employees—their rivalries and peculiarities, the deadening monotony of their easy tasks, the all-absorbing ambition of each one to rise on the official ladder. In harmony with the trend of this period in Balzac's work, the study of the individual has been overridden by that of a great

¹ Ste. Beuve, *Premiers lundis*, Vol. II, article published in *R.D.M.*, November 1, 1838.

² *Œuvres complètes de Balzac* (édition Conard), I, xxix.

social group—in this case, that of the government clerk. The inappropriateness of the first title, so early apparent to Balzac, was remedied in the Furne edition, where the novel appears in Vol. XI, *Scènes de la vie parisienne, as les Employés ou la Femme supérieure* (1844). This is shortened to *les Employés* in the Michel Lévy and Conard editions.

The variations between the Werdet and later editions may be grouped under five heads. Space will permit only a bare mention of the mechanical and stylistic variations, extensive as they are. Among the first is the suppression, after the Werdet edition, of all divisions into parts and chapters. The titles were interesting, for while two of the parts and four chapter titles dealt with the actual *drame* of Mme Rabourdin, many others announce sociological preoccupation. Such are *les Bureaux*, *Quelques employés vus de trois quarts*, two dealing with *les Tarets* (an animalism). The stylistic variations, numerically the most important in the novel, follow the same lines as those analyzed by Miss Dunn in her study of *l'Auberge rouge*.¹ While Balzac may in no sense be called a stylist, he considered changes in expression necessary whenever he republished a novel, and it becomes increasingly evident to one studying these variations that they are not the result of caprice. They run too much along certain definite lines. The marked tendency is to break up long sentences, to unite shorter ones where there is logical connection, to bring about a closer relationship between the parts of a sentence by subordination of clauses. Balzac seems not to have been much concerned with the simplification of involved sentences, for I could find only four changes definitely due to such a desire. A large group of stylistic variations may be classed as intensification of vocabulary. Either a vivid word replaces a colorless one, a word closer to the theme of the story is substituted for one less appropriate, or a slightly different nuance is given to the situation. Such are the numerous changes of verb, the substitution of a noun for a pronoun or for a less felicitous noun, changes of adjectives or descriptive clauses, and the insertion of adverbs and prepositional phrases conveying a clearer impression of time or place. Less inter-

¹ R. B. Dunn, "Variations in the first, second and last editions of Balzac's *l'Auberge rouge*," 1924 (unpublished).

esting than changes in vocabulary or sentence structure are a scattered group required by the grammatical context rather than by any intention characteristic of Balzac. Such are the rare substitutions of a pronoun for a noun to avoid immediate repetition of the noun, and such too are the grammatical corrections.

Enthusiasts for style have sometimes concluded that Balzac's conscientious reworking of his novels was not justified from the point of view of the expression. The study of *les Employés* does not bear out such a conclusion. Granting that Balzac's ear for harmony is sensitive only to the most glaring repetitions of a word, that he makes little attempt to correct for subtleties of thought or feeling, the extensive stylistic changes have none the less a definite trend. The expression must be grammatically correct, it must generally be clear, and it must convey the idea behind it with a maximum of accuracy and force. Following Lanson's distinction between the vocabulary of the seventeenth century, as seeking "le mot qui définit," as opposed to the nineteenth century with its "mots frissonnants,"¹ Balzac's style is rather the former than the latter. But to say that his aim in corrections is not that of Flaubert is not to consign his *ratures* to the limbo of futility.

The third category of variations includes such realistic changes as variations in sums of money and in the date of action of the novel; changes affecting the novel as it originally stood—enlivening of the dialogue and of narrative passages; and changes affecting the characters unless prompted by a rôle they play elsewhere in the *Comédie humaine*. They may be called dramatic and realistic changes.

The narrative style has been improved by changes of tense and by enlivening of the dialogue. *Les Employés* opens with Rabourdin as a man of forty, but after the first paragraph follows a "loop" of thirty-seven pages, describing his youth, his home, and especially his plan of reform, before we are brought back (C. 43) to the struggle for La Billardiére's vacant position. A page of conversation here, and a similar discussion on pages 71–75 C. are the only interruptions of *dossiers* that continue to page 121 C. Balzac must have realized that such *longueurs* would discourage those allured by the first title

¹ Lanson, *l'Art de la prose*, p. 223.

of the novel. The change introduced, i.e., turning a large number of pluperfects into preterites, makes the long account of the Rabourdins less an explanatory aside of the author than an essential part of the narrative. In the same study of Rabourdin's home and his plan, Balzac has about twenty-five times changed the imperfect to the preterite, which he evidently considered better suggestive of narrative, in a novel where action rather than description of conditions was needed.

Next to *dossiers*, the largest element in *les Employés* is dialogue among the clerks, arranged in dramatic form. It occupies sixty-seven and one-half pages in the Conard edition. Balzac considerably retouched this as well as other conversations in the novel. Long speeches are broken by interruptions; the name of the speaker or that of the person addressed is inserted ("répondit Gigonnet," "s'écria le ministre," etc.); the manner of speaking, emotions of the speaker, or effect on his audience is introduced. Five speeches are changed, apparently to make them more lively or more in the tone of conversation.

In the description of individuals the changes are slight—a touch laid on here and there, generally not more than a phrase. Elisabeth Baudoyer, for example, is summed up by a brief sentence: "Tout en elle était mesquin" (ins. F. 167, C. 50). Of the principal characters, Rabourdin is affected only by changes in the elaboration of his departure from the Bureaux, and in the added scene of his visit there six years later. Célestine is further accentuated as a *femme supérieure* from the moral point of view by the contrasts with Mme Colleville, to be considered below. Probably to avoid any resemblance to the artistic Flavie, Balzac omits after the Furne edition "elle peignait, était bonne musicienne" (W. I, 25, F. 136) in the description of Célestine's upbringing. It is above all in her relations with Des Lupeaulx that Balzac has retouched her situation. "Sa prétendue maîtresse" is twice substituted for another noun or a pronoun. There are several pointed variations in the scene where Des Lupeaulx forces his way into the Rabourdins' apartment. When Célestine looks at him, surely "le caressant d'un coup d'oeil" (F. 273, C. 195) is stronger than "le regardant" (W. II, 56), as "œillade" (*ibid.*, F. and C.) describes a look that is more than a "regard" (W. II, 56). With greater emphasis

in the later editions on Célestine's scruples, Balzac seems at the same time to be taking her nearer the edge of the abyss. At the minister's soirée she even looks at Des Lupeaulx with an air "qui pouvait passer pour l'expression d'un amour-fou" (ins. F. 281, C. 205). Des Lupeaulx himself is considerably "touched up" in the later editions. "Ce vieux Beau, ce parvenu politique, ce faux homme d'Etat" are the epithets substituted for colorless pronouns of the first edition. Instead of an "homme d'Etat" (W. I, 79, F. 156), he is considered "un homme indispensable à des hommes d'Etat" (C. 34). The paragraph showing his licentiousness (F. 186, C. 75) was introduced especially to link him with his rôle in *Splendeurs et misères des courtisanes* and with *les Petits bourgeois*.

The last two pages of the long insertion closing *les Employés* (F. 334-35, C. 279-80) affect both narrative and character, as they wind up the political careers of Des Lupeaulx, Baudoyer, and Colleville.

While there are in the above changes some realistic details, the variations in sums of money and in dates belong more strictly to that category. Money occupies relatively a small place in this novel, though the Baudoyers' hold over Des Lupeaulx is based on his debts and his desire for an income that will entitle him to a seat in parliament. There are, however, twelve changes in sums of money. Three of these are corrections to agree with previous statements. Twenty per cent of 3,000,000 francs would give to each of the three usurers two hundred thousand francs (F. 288, C. 214), not three hundred thousand, as Balzac had at first stated (W. II, 97). The remaining money changes serve as intensification of effect, whether of wealth, miserliness, or poverty. The Saillards demand 7 per cent interest (F. 168, C. 51) rather than 6 (W. I, 112) of their prospective son-in-law; Des Lupeaulx tempts Bixiou with a thousand francs (F. 296, C. 224) for making the cartoon that is to damn Rabourdin, where in the first edition he had offered only five hundred (W. II, 121). For all his business experience, Balzac in making these changes uses figures for artistic effect, as a painter slaps on color, oftener than he corrects as an accountant, with accurate notation. The changes in date of action are less easy to account for than those in sums of money. The statement "Depuis trois mois un nouveau règne avait commencé" (W. I, 64, C. 28) found in all three editions would seem to settle the time of action as December, 1824, for Charles X succeeded his brother on September 16, 1824. Balzac apparently decided after the first edition

a change from 1824 to 1825, for "À cette époque, en 1824" (W. I, 23) becomes "À cette époque, en 1825" (F. 135). Later still he evidently wished to leave the year indefinite, as the above passage becomes in the Conard edition "À l'époque où le prend cette Étude" (C. 6). There were in the Werdet edition three allusions to the accession and coronation of Charles X, which had to be changed in the Furne to suit the changed date of action. The coronation took place in May, 1825,¹ therefore when the action was changed to December, 1825, "le sacre éblouira un moment" (W. II, 137) becomes "le Sacre a ébloui" (F. 303, C. 234); "je serai nommé comte à propos du sacre" (W. II, 138) appears in the later editions simply as "je serai nommé comte" (F. 303, C. 234); and finally, "le récent avènement de Charles X" (W. I, 213) is changed to "l'avènement de Charles X" (F. 211, C. 109). While these passages are consistent with each other and with the change of date to 1825, the passage "depuis trois mois un nouveau règne avait commencé" still indicates December, 1824, as the date of action. Although the Conard edition avoids the definite date 1825 by substituting the vague "à l'époque où le prend cette Étude," it keeps the phrase "le sacre a ébloui," indicating action after May, 1825, and the phrase "depuis trois mois ..." indicating action during December, 1824. These two indications are evidently irreconcilable. One or both must have been left unintentionally. Balzac evidently hesitated about the date of action in this novel. The fact that he finally chose an indefinite time indication may have been due to a wish not to commit himself and thereby embarrass possible developments in the still unfinished *Petits bourgeois*, in which the careers of so many characters in *les Employés* are carried further.

These realistic changes and improvements in fictional technique which form the major part of the variations in other novels of Balzac² are in *les Employés* almost lost sight of when compared with the variations intended to enlarge the scope of the novel as a study of a class, and those intended to link it up more closely with the world of the *Comédie humaine*. Already in the preface of the Werdet edition, Balzac had admitted that his interest in the employee—or, as he says, the haste of his publishers—had overshadowed the original subject of the book as announced in its first title. In addition to smaller

¹ Viel-Castel, *Histoire de la Restauration*, XIV, 504.

² In H. E. Barnes, *Study of the Variations between the Original and the Standard Editions of Balzac's Les Chouans*, and R. B. Dunn, *op. cit.*

variations there are in the Conard edition twenty-four pages (exclusive of illustrations) out of the total two hundred and eighty inserted to develop the sociological study of the genus government clerk. These insertions were not newly composed for the 1844 edition of *les Employés*; they were adapted from an article called *la Physiologie de l'employé*, published in 1841.¹ This article, which occupies pages 315-64 in Volume XXI of the Michel-Lévy edition of Balzac's works, is of double importance in our study. Not only were large sections of it introduced into the Furne edition of *les Employés*, but a good deal of material already found in the Werdet edition of *la Femme supérieure* had in turn been borrowed for *la Physiologie de l'employé*. In only one case does Balzac admit this transfer from his earlier novel. He had said in the Werdet edition: "À Paris, presque tous les bureaux se ressemblent" (W. I, 154), which is used in the *Physiologie* with the addition: "a dit un auteur peu connu" (p. 329). This sly incognito brings up the question, How did Balzac happen to copy large sections of one of his novels only three years after it appeared in book form? Was the *Physiologie* intended for a different audience? Or had *la Femme supérieure* been so little read that he felt justified in getting more use out of the material? If Sainte-Beuve's reaction to it can be taken as representative,² we may suppose it aroused little interest. Balzac himself, often so profuse in astonishment at the might of his own creations, has no comment to make in his letters on this novel. Perhaps he suspected his readers had skipped the *longueurs* in the numerous *dossiers* of employees, so that he might use that part of the novel again. The chief borrowings from *la Femme supérieure* are as follows:

| <i>La Femme supérieure</i> | |
|-----------------------------------------|-----------|
| Saillard—office of cashier..... | W. I, 98 |
| Description of the <i>Bureaux</i> | W. I, 159 |
| The <i>Garçons de Bureaux</i> | W. I, 168 |
| Dubruel..... | W. I, 176 |
| Godard..... | W. I, 180 |
| Phellion..... | W. I, 188 |
| Vimeux..... | W. I, 195 |
| Minard..... | W. I, 210 |

¹ Lovenjoul, *op. cit.*, p. 240.

| <i>La Physiologie de l'employé</i> | |
|--------------------------------------|--------|
| Chap. iv. Le Caissier..... | 336-37 |
| Chap. v. Les Bureaux..... | 329-31 |
| Chap. xiii. Le Garçon de Bureau..... | 358-59 |
| L'employé homme de lettres..... | 347-48 |
| Le Collectionneur..... | 346-47 |
| La Ganache..... | 344-45 |
| L'employé bel homme..... | 343 |
| Le Pauvre employé..... | 351-52 |

² Sainte-Beuve, *op. cit.*

Except for the description of the offices, all these borrowings are the *dossiers* of various employees. In the novel they are already sharply differentiated types. When they pass into the *Physiologie* these portraits are still further generalized: names are suppressed, tenses changed to the present, connections between different employees eliminated. The resemblance between the two texts varies from identity of expressions and words (as in Saillard, the *garçons*, Vimeux) to the portraits of Du Bruel and Minard, from which two types are evidently copied, though scarcely two consecutive words are alike.

Of the fifty pages contained in the *Physiologie*, eight and a quarter were taken from *la Femme supérieure*. All these were used for the third time in the Furne edition of *les Employés* (and all subsequent editions), which was further augmented by twelve pages borrowed for the first time from the *Physiologie*. Estimating line by line the proportion of the *Physiologie* to be found in *les Employés*, I find that Balzac used 641 lines and discarded 1011. The part borrowed is as follows:

| <i>La Physiologie de l'employé</i> | <i>Les Employés</i> (Conard) ¹ |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------|
| (Under Chef de Division) | →The rapport..... 17-18 |
| Le Rapport..... 356-57 | |
| Part of Le Secrétaire particulier..... 337-38 | Ministerial go-betweens 38-40 |
| Chap. vii. Le Surnuméraire. 339-41 | The supernumerary..... 66-68, 70 |
| End of chap. v. Les Bureaux 331-32 | Furniture of the <i>Bureaux</i> ... 79 |
| Chap. v. Le Secrétaire particulier..... 337-39 | The private secretary 81-82 |
| Chap. iv. Distinction 325-27 | The employee in Paris and in the provinces 93 |
| L'employé bel homme (end). 343-44 | The <i>employé bel homme</i> 101 |
| Chap. v. Les Bureaux (beginning)..... 327-28, 353 | Effect of the <i>Bureaux</i> on the employees 119-20 |
| Chap. iii. Histoire philosophique et transcendante des employés..... 321-25 | The employee today and in better times..... 140-43 |
| End of chap. xiv. Moralité de cette physiologie..... 363-64 | Absurdity of the whole system..... 263-65 |
| Définition 316-17 | What is an employee?..... 268-71 |
| Utilité des employés démontrée..... 318-20 | France's costly account-book—the <i>Bureaux</i> 272-76 |
| End of Le Garçon de Bureau 359-60 | Idle <i>chefs de bureau</i> 279 |

¹ These insertions are all found in the Furne edition also.

It will be seen that the subjects of these insertions are far less uniform than is the case with those taken from *la Femme supérieure*. One that shows a characteristic process is the description of the offices, which was conceived in *la Femme supérieure*, taken over almost literally into the *Physiologie*, with additions, and taken back into *les Employés* augmented by those additions. The final paragraph shows Balzac's personification of material surroundings. Even the arm-chairs "avec lesquels on administre la France, ont des physionomies effrayantes" (F. 189, C. 79). The shabby office furniture helps to enhance the dry-as-dust character of the bureaucracy itself. In the conversation inspired by Rabourdin's departure, the philosophy of the system is the subject. Eight of the seventeen and a half pages (C.) added at the end are taken from the *Physiologie*. The tone of the insertions of general criticism adds a much sharper and more impatient note to Balzac's view of the *Bureaux* than that found in *la Femme supérieure*. He attacks more specifically the constitutional monarchy as responsible for an elaboration never existing under the old régime, a system created by Napoleon, and become stultifyingly impersonal under the rule of the many masters in a representative government.

Most of this mass of insertion is run in undigested as *dossiers* or additions to *dossiers*. Some is given to various speakers—Chazelle (C. 140–41), Bixiou (C. 141–43), etc. These disquisitions come best from the sententious caricaturist, whose orations are enlivened by the chatter of his fellow-workers, and by his illustration of the government's tactics in snipping off old Poiret's buttons.

The resemblance between passages found in the *Physiologie* and in *les Employés* is much greater than that in passages adapted from *la Femme supérieure* for *la Physiologie*. The subjects in the second transfer are in the nature of general reflections, and do not need the changes inevitable in passing from the individual to the type. When a passage has occurred in the *Werdet*, the *Physiologie*, and later editions of *les Employés*, the versions in the last-named are generally closer to that in the first edition of the novel than to that in the essay, plus added details which were introduced in the essay, and generally retained in the later versions of the novel. Not only did Balzac borrow from the *Physiologie* long consecutive passages; when a turn of expression in the *Physiologie* pleased him better than one in *la Femme*

supérieure, he utilized it in the later edition of *les Employés*. In the Werdet, Antoine says, "J'ai entré sous Robert-Lindet" (W. I, 187), which reads in the Furne and Conard, "Je suis entré dans cette baraque sous Robert Lindet" (F. 198, C. 92). The phrase inserted was borrowed from the portrait of the *piocheur* in *la Physiologie*: "Quelquefois le piocheur menace de quitter la baraque ou la boutique!" (p. 351). The essay is punctuated by twelve axioms, of which Balzac was evidently rather proud, as he transfers seven of them to *les Employés*. In two cases he goes it one better by doubling or otherwise elaborating his pun or paradox. For example, the sixth axiom is, "Aujourd'hui le mauvais état, c'est l'État" (p. 325), which becomes in *les Employés*, "... le plus mauvais état, c'est l'état d'être à l'État" (F. 234, C. 141).

There are in the *Physiologie de l'employé* a number of passages besides the parallel ones listed that suggest in varying degrees parts of *les Employés*. The *cumulard* (*Physiologie*, p. 349), for instance, has several traits in common with Colleville as pictured in the Furne and Conard editions. That he was a preliminary sketch for Colleville is indeed proved by the insertion of a sentence from this *cumulard* into the description of Colleville in *les Petits bourgeois*. Like Colleville, the *cumulard* is often away from the offices for rehearsals (compare *les Petits bourgeois*, p. 29), he has "une femme charmante, une jolie famille" (*Physiologie*, p. 349), his children receive *demi-bourses* (*ibid.*, compare *les Petits bourgeois*, p. 32), his wife is on good terms with the *chef de division*, "aussi le cumulard obtient-il de l'avancement" (*Physiologie*, p. 349). Evidently the development of the character of Colleville, which will be taken up in more detail later, passes through the following stages in Balzac's mind:

La Femme supérieure (1838) → *Physiologie* (le Cumulard) (1841) → *les Petits bourgeois* (written 1843-44) → *les Employés* (F. 1844, C. 1914).

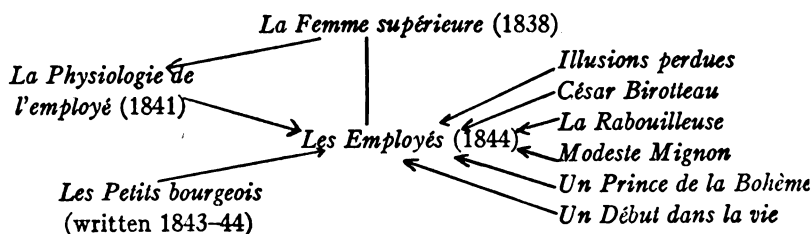
By far the largest number of variations intended to enrich this novel as the study of a class are these insertions from the *Physiologie*. A few other variations which have the same end in view will be noticed briefly. First there are a number of sentences inserted here and there which sound as though they came from the *Physiologie*, but which a careful search has been unable to detect there. Such is: "Le jeu, assez niais, de ce qu'on nomme les institutions constitutionnelles,

développé outre mesure, a fini, comme on sait, par exiger beaucoup de ministres pour satisfaire les ambitions multipliées de la Bourgeoisie" (ins. C. 22). Here we find Balzac's growing anti-bourgeois attitude—shall we say pose? All these sentences are interesting in the study of his political and social opinions. A second sociological variation not due to the *Physiologie* is a tense-change: in discussing some institution or custom there is a noticeably frequent shift from the past tense in the Werdet to the present tense in the two later editions. A particular day in the offices (W. I, 309) is generalized to describe the usual state of affairs at closing-time (F. 254, C. 169–70). Such changes are especially frequent in Rabourdin's reflections on the government and the employee, about three-fourths of the forty-eight verbs thus changed occurring in the account of his plan. Thirdly, there are slight remarks inserted that seem to call attention, like guide-posts, to the *Bureaux*. Antoine, as an observer of the employees, serves often thus to point to them. "Sans les employés, que serions-nous?" he asks (ins. F. 199, C. 92); while his admonition to his nephews, "... ne parlez jamais de la révolution" (W. I, 187) is changed to "... ne parlez jamais en mal des employés" (F. 199, C. 92). There are inserted three summarizing phrases that emphasize the novel as a social *étude*, of which I will quote one. Before describing the appearance of the offices, Balzac says: "Aussi voici le moment de montrer les tarets qui grouillaient dans les Bureaux où se sont préparées les principales scènes de cette Étude" (inserted, F. 186, C. 76).

Finally, there are a few generalizations outside the subject of the *Bureaux*. The most pretentious is a rather unnecessary bit of information called forth by the fact that Célestine's dress was of "mousseline de laine, une divine étoffe qui plus tard eut un succès fou" (W. II, 87). To this Balzac adds: "Ce succès alla plus loin que ne vont les modes en France. L'économie positive de la mousseline de laine, qui ne coûte pas de blanchissage, a nui plus tard aux étoffes de coton, de manière à révolutionner la fabrique à Rouen" (F. 284, C. 209).

Even in minute and sometimes ill-chosen details, Balzac has worked in his corrections toward a social study. *Les Employés*, with as small a proportion of story as could be, occupies in the work of Balzac a place somewhat analogous to that of *Bérénice* among the tragedies of

Racine: it is far from his most successful composition, but in it he has carried out most fully the technique peculiar to him. The larger part of the variations accentuate that technique, which is founded not on the art of story-telling, but on the study of social groups, on the types that compose such a group, and on the institutions that they have produced.



This diagram will illustrate some of the influences focused on *les Employés*, all of which contributed in varying degrees to alter the content from that of the first edition. Next in importance to *la Physiologie de l'employé* is *les Petits bourgeois*, unfinished at the time of Balzac's death, but written, as much as we have of it, for the most part from December 25, 1843, to January 13, 1844.¹ While it is in no sense a sequel to *les Employés*, a number of people, notably the Colleville-Thuillier ménage, who had been connected with the "division La Billardière," reappear in it. When Balzac prepared the second edition of *la Femme supérieure*, he made the characters and lives of those individuals tally with the future he had mapped out for them, or with the more detailed study of their personalities hidden in the still-unpublished *Petits bourgeois*. It is among the persons who become the center of action in the latter that Balzac has made the greatest number of changes. Colleville and Thuillier appear in the Werdet edition as a sort of absurd Orestes and Pylades of the offices. In the Furne not only are their characters, appearance, and habits entirely changed, but their relations are complicated by a very equivocal situation between Thuillier and Mme Colleville. The almost complete alteration of their *dossiers* appears in an analysis, sentence by sentence, of the two studies in the Werdet and in the later editions.

¹ *Lettres à l'étrangère*, II, 268.

OUTLINE OF COLLEVILLE-THUILLIER *dossiers*

| 1838 | | 1844, 1914 | |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------|-----------------------------------------------------------------|-----------|
| | Sentences | | Sentences |
| Friendship of C. and T. | 4 | One of two friends—C. | 2 |
| Wives coming to office | 2 | Mme C.'s reputation. | 5 |
| C.'s passion for anagrams. | 5 | T.—source of their friendship. ... | 3 |
| Tastes of each in plays (T. musical) | 2 | T. and Mme C. | 1 |
| Mme C., "bonne grosse maman". | 1 | C. busy, clarinetist. | 3 |
| Mme T., "sèche et arbitraire" ... | 1 | Mme C. recently reformed. | 2 |
| Comparison of petty tastes of C. and T. | 4 | C.'s passion for anagrams | 6 |
| C.'s two children—T.'s plan to adopt one. | 1 | The employees' explanation of the friendship | 3 |
| Receptions of Mme T. | 1 | Mme C. known, Mme T. not known in the <i>Bureaux</i> | 1 |
| (Paragraph on Minards as guests transferred to Minard's <i>dossier</i> , C. 107) | | | |
| Appearance of C. and T. | 1 | Appearance of C. and T. | 1 |
| Concerts at T.'s | 1 | Rabourdin's explanation of friendship due to contrast | 1 |
| T.'s financial importance in C. ménage | 3 | | |
| Bixiou's <i>mot</i> on "Au-reste" | 2 | | |

It will be seen that the only trait retained is Colleville's passion for anagrams. The most startling changes are in the home surroundings of the two. In the Werdet edition, they are a henpecked pair, whose wives come to the offices on pay-day, to the amusement of the other clerks (W. I, 212); Mme Colleville, "pleine d'ordre et d'économie," won't hear of her husband's amusing himself without her (I, 213). But there are phrases that suggest the later description of the two *ménages*: "Madame Thuillier ... vivait avec une vieille soeur qui lui payait pension" (I, 213). "Colleville avait deux enfants; mais comme madame Thuillier était inféconde, il passait pour certain que M. et madame Thuillier, arrivés à l'âge de cinquante ans, adopteraient l'un des petits Colleville: ..." (I, 214-15). "Sans Thuillier, le ménage Colleville aurait misérablement fini" (I, 216).

There is the *genèse* of several facts in the later Colleville-Thuillier situation. To see them developed let us go directly to *les Petits bourgeois*, of which *les Employés* is in this respect only an echo. There

Colleville is one of the fringe of theatrical people whom Balzac often painted. He has married Flavie, natural daughter of a celebrated *danseuse*—rather far from the "bonne grosse maman" of the Werdet edition. Jérôme Thuillier, son of a concierge in the Ministère des Finances, and quite a beau in his young days, is married by his capable sister to a submissive wife, who is a failure in that she has no children. When Mme Colleville's fourth child is born, the Thuilliers are asked to be godparents, and propose to leave all their money to little Céleste. This is quite suitable, as Thuillier is in reality the child's father. The older Colleville children resemble respectively Colleville, a handsome dragoon, and François Keller. Such is Flavie. Colleville, while retaining the general character attributed to him in *la Femme supérieure*, is made a perfect example of a *mari cocu*. He even benefits by it. He is "looked after" by Keller, Thuillier, and now by the powerful *Congrégation*. For at the moment the action opens in *les Employés*, Mme Colleville has turned devout, when to be devout is very much the fashion. All this is brought into *les Employés* by insertions scattered throughout. There are twenty-seven such allusions. The name of Flavie is bandied about the office, while Colleville seems deaf and blind. He tells Dutoq not to marry, for "on trouve coqu dans votre nom!" To which Dutoq retorts, "J'aime mieux que ce ne soit que dans mon nom" (F. 225, C. 128). Bixiou accepts an invitation to the Colleville soirées (which in the later editions replace those of Thuillier), but it is "à cause de Madame" (F. 231, C. 138). Flavie's gay salon is contrasted with that of Mme Rabourdin, who, ambitious also, scorns her rival's methods. In *la Femme supérieure* we have: "... elle regardait comme indignes d'une femme supérieure les honteux commerces par lesquels certaines femmes suppléaient à l'insuffisance des appointemens" (W. I, 65). To this is added in the later versions: "Cette raison lui fit refuser toute relation avec madame Colleville, alors liée avec François Keller, et dont les soirées effaçaient souvent celles de la rue Duphot" (F. 152, C. 28). Above all, Flavie's easy morality is represented as useful in a husband's career. In the upstir following La Billardière's death, everybody wants Colleville promoted, whereas there was no mention of him in that connection in the text of 1838. Gaudron speaks of the cardinal's secretary as "un jeune abbé qui m'a de grandes obligations et qui s'intéresse à

monsieur Colleville; autrefois j'ai payé sa pension (F. 261, C. 178). The clause *underscored* is inserted. Here as in many other cases Colleville is fairly dragged in by the heels.

More interesting in an abridged study than the small changes effected in other characters is the way Balzac does not waste his first portraits of Thuillier and Colleville, as found in the Werdet edition. He had "discovered" a new set of facts about those two, but the type of employee he had first described them to be was still found in the *Bureaux*. So he transfers their portraits to two other employees, whom he had in the first edition only alluded to by name: "Il y avait par exemple, dans le bureau Baudoyer, des gens nommés Chazelle, Paulmier, employés à front chauve ..." (W. I, 232). These two men so casually alluded to are developed in the Furne edition into another pair of friends, whose *dossier* is placed immediately after those of Thuillier and Colleville, and who are contrasted with the two latter as always "en guerre" (F. 211, C. 110). If the *dossier* of Chazelle and Paulmier be compared with the part of Thuillier and Colleville's original *dossier* which describes their appearance and their petty habits (W. I, 214, 15-16), the two will be found identical, except for a few phrases inserted in that of Chazelle and Paulmier to bring out their quarrelsome relations.

Les Petits bourgeois had an effect on *les Employés* more profound than that of simply connecting it with another group of people in the *Comédie humaine*. In the first place, the introduction of Mme Colleville, as a character who never actually appears but is constantly felt, alters the emphasis of the *drame*. Balzac evidently intended Elisabeth Baudoyer, the petty bourgeoisie, to serve as a contrast to the *femme supérieure*, Mme Rabourdin. Unlike her more pretentious rival, Mme Baudoyer was content to stay in her own class, to be the confidante of her husband, and the inconspicuous intelligence of her whole group, and it is she who carries off the prize. The introduction of Flavie Colleville, equally ambitious, less scrupulous, "une femme aussi supérieure dans son genre que madame Rabourdin dans le sien" (F. 210, C. 107) makes a triangular situation, with two rivals pitted against the rather naïve scheming of Célestine Rabourdin. But we have already seen that Balzac was less preoccupied with the *drame* than with the social issues involved. The Colleville of the later

editions is a new type of employee, the employee who rises through his wife's easy morals. He is in this respect a preliminary sketch for M. Marneffe (*la Cousine Bette*). The rôle of such women in a bureaucracy is a new element introduced into the Furne edition of *les Employés*, and such should be considered as part of the development of the sociological *étude*. The cynical observation of the rôle of the official's wife in her husband's progress shows, too, Balzac's growing naturalism, especially noticeable in a novel such as this one, which in the first edition was singularly free from sordidness other than that of petty monotony.

Of the variations to harmonize *les Employés* with other parts of the *Comédie humaine*, by far the largest number are those affecting reappearing characters. *Les Employés* is a novel of many characters—ninety-six that reappear in other novels,¹ and forty that appear here alone. Of the former group, fifty-five were already found in *la Femme supérieure*, while forty were inserted in the Furne edition. Among those forty, only two are introduced whose rôles are of any importance: Métivier and Chaboisseau. The other thirty-eight may be called background characters. Now there were already in the Werdet edition a large number of such background characters, introduced as relatives of more important persons, run in in bunches for atmosphere, or used only as an illustration of some statement. Evidently, then, the scheme of linking by reappearing characters was well developed in Balzac's mind by 1838. This being the case, why are so many new characters—forty—introduced in the Furne? During the years 1837–44 Balzac wrote a number of novels dealing with the bourgeois group with which *les Employés* is chiefly concerned, or with the other Paris circles—journalists, courtesans, usurers—with which various characters in *les Employés* are connected. Such are *César Birotteau* (1837), *Illusions perdues* (1837–43), *la Rabouilleuse* (1841–42), and *Splendeurs et misères des courtisanes* (1838–46). While a few of the characters inserted have played their chief part in earlier novels (Sommervieux, Granson, De Trailles), they are the exception; most of those inserted could not have appeared in the Werdet edition because they had not

¹ Miss Preston counts eighty-five (Ethel Preston, *Balzac's Reappearing Characters*, University of Chicago dissertation, to be published).

then been created. The second and third parts of *les Illusions perdues* furnish the largest number of these inserted characters: Florine, Michel Chrétien, Matifat, Métivier, Chaboisseau, Samanon, Dauriat, Camusot.

These persons were introduced in different ways. Already in 1838 Balzac was mustering them in large groups, especially at entertainments. Mme Rabourdin invites to her house such celebrities as Schinner, Bianchon, Rubempré, Manerville, etc. (W. I, 137), to which list of eleven persons are added in 1844 Canalis and du Tillet (F. 177), and in the Conard the Vicomte de Portenduère. A list of those attending the minister's soirée shows the type of changes taking place between editions:

Il y aura la comtesse, qui est toujours en faveur malgré la mort de Louis XVIII, son cher vicomte, la petite madame Walsham, la marquise d'Espard, votre chère Firmiani ... (W. II, 75).

Il y aura la comtesse Féraud, qui est toujours en faveur malgré la mort de Louis XVIII, Delphine de Nucingen, madame de Listomère, la marquise d'Espard, votre chère de Camps ... (F. 281, C. 205).

Sometimes, as here, reappearing characters are substituted for vague titles or equally vague names, which seem almost tentatively placed until Balzac should get a name that meant something to his readers. Or reappearing characters are substituted for historical persons. Again, a general statement will be reinforced by allusion to a concrete case occurring in the world of the *Comédie humaine*. Baudoyer writes his own eulogy without a blush, "absolument comme eussent fait Nathan ou Canalis" (F. 261, C. 177). Their names replace the vague "un grand homme moderne" of the Werdet edition (II, 20).

More interesting than the introduction of new characters is the modification of those already found in the first edition in order to harmonize with their appearances in novels published between 1838 and 1844. Du Tillet, for example, is mentioned in two entirely different places in the Werdet and in the later editions. In the former, the usurers propose to conceal themselves behind him—"Dutillet est notre prête-nom, lui et ses hommes" (W. II, 28), which is changed to "Samanon nous sert de paravent" (F. 264, C. 182). Du Tillet has in *Une Fille d'Eve* (1838-39) risen into higher banking circles than that of the Café Thémis, and is in the later editions among those at Mme

Rabourdin's receptions (F. 177, C. 64). Mme Firmiani's name is in the Furne changed to Mme de Camps in all but the first three allusions to her, which occur in "loops" and might therefore be taken as referring to time previous to her second marriage in the fall of 1824 (*Madame Firmiani*).

Most important of these character variations are those affecting the lives or personalities. Such a change takes place in the *dossier* of Du Bruel, bringing out his connection with Florine and through her with the Duc de Rhétoré (F. 194, C. 86). The *piocheur* had in *un Prince de la Bohème* (1839-45) been developed as a leading character. So too La Brière, who in the first edition has a negligible part as private secretary of the minister. In *Modeste Mignon* (1844), however, he has an important place, and Balzac is evidently preparing for this by calling more attention to him in *les Employés*. Besides the long insertion from the *Physiologie* on the Private Secretary (F. 190-91, C. 81-82), he is spoken of as a "personnage occulte" (ins. F. 190, C. 81) and is given a number of perspicacious remarks, showing that he alone appreciates Rabourdin's value (ins. F. 222, C. 123; F. 333, C. 277-78). Even more noticeable are the changes affecting the cartoonist Bixiou. Balzac altered the whole background he had given him in *la Femme supérieure* in order to connect him with the Bridau family, of whom he is represented in *la Rabouilleuse* as a sort of step-cousin. In the Werdet edition he had come from Le Mans, where his father had had business reverses. When he left school, he succeeded in getting a position in the *Bureaux* through his uncle, "homme d'affaires du duc de Lenoncourt" (W. I, 203). For this is substituted his far less reputable connection with the "Ducs de Maufriigneuse, de Rhétoré," to whom he owed his place (F. 206, C. 103). Bixiou's personality had been created in *la Femme supérieure*, he is given his place in the *Comédie humaine* in *la Rabouilleuse*, and his *dossier* is altered to conform with these recently "discovered" facts in *les Employés*.

Too intricate to take up in detail are the changes affecting the usurer group of the Café Thémis. In all editions it is headed by Gobseck and Gigonnet. The other usurers, however, are spoken of in the Werdet as "un escompteur," "l'homme aux cadavres," "un escompteur qui avait une trogne de vieux portier," and "celui qui faisait

l'escompte de la librairie." The fifth one only is mentioned by name—Palma. For these old ravens, four ominous in their very anonymity, are substituted in the Furne and Conard Métivier and Chaboisseau (*Illusions perdues*). It would seem that Balzac preferred characters for whom he had written vivid *dossiers*, or whose importance in the business underworld he had recently dwelt on, even to characters like Palma who, while long since conceived, had always remained nothing but powerful specters, in the background. Other changes in the usurer scenes are insertions that emphasize the character of the whole group—"ces avares parisiens" replacing a pronoun, for instance—the redistribution of speeches between different persons, and the alteration of other speeches to give Gobseck more of his familiar "gags"—"vrai," "juste," and "possible."

Other forms of linking are negligible in number beside those made with reappearing characters. There are two links with *les Chouans*: the elaboration of La Billardière's *dossier*, and the epithet "un vieux Chouan" (ins. F. 263, C. 181) used of him. A third link is with *César Birotteau*: Minard is seeking to get rich by some invention; "... il allait de la Double Pâte des Sultanes à l'Huile Céphalique" (F. 209, C. 106), which replaces "la moutarde blanche au Paraguay-Roux, de la pâte de Regnault à l'huile de Macassar" (W. I, 210). A fourth link is with *l'Interdiction* (1836) (F. 291-92, C. 218). There is only one cross-reference: "(voyez les Petits bourgeois)," which is inserted in the Furne edition (F. 211, C. 109).

This study of the linking in *les Employés* has I trust brought out that Balzac had already well in mind the idea of connecting the novels of the *Comédie humaine*, chiefly through reappearing characters, when he first published this novel, or at least when he published the Werdet edition. The great variations and insertions of other reappearing characters in the edition of 1844 are largely due to opening up of new territory, as it were, during the six years intervening. In the resulting variations Balzac has taken as seriously the ordering of his imaginary world as he took the widened study of the sociological group to which *les Employés* is especially dedicated.

A bird's-eye view of the variations in *les Employés* shows that the chief insertions—twenty-two and a quarter pages out of thirty and a half—are those developing the study of the government clerk. The largest insertion is, of course, that of seventeen and a half pages added

at the end, partly to terminate several characters, more as an opportunity for "wise saws" on the bureaucratic system. Besides these insertions in bulk, the two hundred and eighty pages (C.) are peppered with changes affecting the style, paragraphing, *drame*, realism, characters, and connection with the *Comédie humaine*. While three editions have been compared for other types of variation, the stylistic changes were studied between the Werdet and Conard only. Most of the changes, I found, were made between the Werdet and Furne editions. In fact, the only changes of any interest made after the Furne edition were the alterations of tense in Rabourdin's *dossier*, four changes of detail in the study of character, a changed date, a changed sum of money, one sentence developing the sociological *étude*, and the substitution of two reappearing characters, whose names were already inserted at another place.

The most interesting product of such a comparison of texts is of course what one learns of Balzac's method. His stylistic variations are very numerous, and follow a more definite plan than certain of his critics would have us believe. They tend toward a greater force and definiteness in expression, whether this effect is obtained by more logical sentence structure, or by a more vivid and accurate choice of words. While Balzac seems in the correction of this novel less concerned with dramatic and with realistic elements such as "keynoting," "gags," or setting than in some other novels, still there is a considerable number of variations intended to heighten the realism of certain characters and of such elements as the money concerned or the date at which the action is supposed to take place. In making so many minute changes, it is not remarkable that Balzac sometimes slipped a cog and left a phrase contradicted by some subsequent variation. Such absurdities will be found in the *dossier* of Célestine (C. 7), in that of Minard (C. 105, 107), in the date of action, and at the beginning of the Colleville-Thuillier study (C. 107). But it is not the minutiae, whether mistakes or improvements, that are most interesting in *les Employés*. One only marvels that Balzac should have devoted so much attention to detail when he was also undertaking variations on such a large scale. Between 1837 and 1844 we have seen that he was bringing together the Parisian world, many of whose denizens had already appeared in scattered novels and stories as early as 1830. He now connects them with each other by marriage, business, or social relations in such broad canvases as *les Illusions perdues*,

César Birotteau, *Splendeurs et misères*, *la Rabouilleuse*, and *les Employés* itself. With *les Petits bourgeois* he expected to carry into a higher social sphere a more petty group of Parisians than had occupied the *premier plan* of the preceding scenes. Other novels, such as *Modeste Mignon* and *Un Début dans la vie*, published during the same interval, while dealing with a group outside the Parisian circles, likewise influence *les Employés*. This shows how close the connection had become by 1844 between groups of Balzacian characters living in different parts of France. But after all, Balzac's chief concern is sociological—the study of institutions and groups for which the building up of his imaginary world was but a preliminary. While the bulk of sociological changes are the insertions from the *Physiologie*, even those variations connecting this novel with *les Petits bourgeois* have a sociological bearing. The shifting of Colleville and Thuillier's *dossier* to two other employees brings out two new types, the clarinetist-cumulard, and the beau of the Empire, while the types already studied are merely given different names and home surroundings. We see in this shift, and in comparing the *Physiologie* with the first and later texts of *les Employés*, that Balzac utilized to the fullest an additional idea, even when only a happy phrase. He may have written precipitately but he did not write wastefully. When this borrowing from the Werdet to the *Physiologie*, and thence to the Furne and to *les Petits bourgeois*, extends to a maxim, a pun, even a word, one is impressed with Balzac's determination to get a maximum of good out of what he had committed to paper. Another characteristic of his method that the variations in *les Employés* show is the gradual genesis of a portrait. This is exemplified in the study of Bixiou, and still better in that of Colleville, begun in the Werdet edition, rewritten for *le Cumulard* (*Physiologie*), and these two combined, plus added details, in *les Petits bourgeois*, which is followed by the later editions of *les Employés*. While the separate traits were doubtless observed, the completed portraits are rather creations of Balzac's imagination than observed individuals; they were built by accretion, modified from one appearance to another, and changed by the rôle they were expected to play in the *Comédie humaine*. These two observations are the only unexpected conclusions to which I am led as a result of studying the three versions of *les Employés*.

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THE AUTHORSHIP OF *LA GRANDE GÉNÉALOGIE*
*DE FRIPPELIPPES*¹

After his return from exile Marot published, in 1537, his *Valet de Marot*,² which contained an epistle in verse headed *Frippelippes secretaire de Clement Marot, a Francoys Sagon secretaire de Labbe de saint Euroul*.³ In this epistle, Marot, under the name of his page, made a formidable attack upon his adversaries. Marot's apparent willingness to quarrel induced a crowd of versifiers to enter the lists on one side or the other in the hope of gaining notoriety from their connection with him. The first of the series of replies to *le Valet* was *la Grande Généalogie de Frippelippes*. Written by *ung ieune Poete champestre*, it was addressed to Sagon and was intended to furnish facts concerning Frippelippes and Marot which might be used against them.

The *Généalogie* proper is preceded by an epistle in verse. The author begins with abusive and obscene language directed against Marot; this soon turns into an apostrophe consisting of vituperation, of puns on the words *Marot*, *valet*, and *Frippelippes* with remarks on their fitness, and of an attempt to show how futile are the attacks of Sagon's opponents:

Ung Elephant de la Mouche n'a peur,
Sagon aussi n'a cure du trompeur;
Que luy chault il si tu le blasme ou loue
Tu ne scauroys faire pys que la moue.

The poet next reveals to Sagon the extent of his research in preparing the genealogy. After having looked through many erudite authors for

¹ *La grande Généalogie de Frippelippes, Composé par ung ieune Poëte Champestre. Auecques une Epistre adressant le tout à Francoys Sagon. On les vend au mont saint Hylaïre, près le college de Reims, au Phoenix. Bibl. de l'Arsenal, 6427A, 3^e pièce. Lenglet-Dufresnoy, Œuvres de Clément Marot, in 4°, IV, 424-28. Querelle de Marot et Sagon. Pièces réunies par Emile Picot et Paul Lacombe. Introduction par Georges Dubosc. Rouen: Albert Lainé, 1920. Société Rouennaise de Bibliophiles. No. 14.*

² *Le Valet de Marot contre Sagon, Cum Commento. On les vend à Paris en la Rue saint Jacques près saint Benoist, en la boutique de Jehan Morin, près les troys couronnes d'argent (1537), Arsenal 6427A, 2^e pièce. Lenglet-Dufresnoy, IV, 416-23. Picot and Lacombe, No. 22.*

³ G. Guiffrey, *Œuvres de Clément Marot*, III (1881), 565-92.

information about Frippelippes' family tree, he found the *source primitive* in *Perceforest*, while details were furnished by *Huon de Bordeaux*, *Merlin*, *Pantagruel*, *Esopet*, *Mandeville*, and others. He begs Sagon to use against his adversaries the material collected. The main body of the *Généalogie* is a mixture of foolishness and obscenity which attempts to be rabelaisian. It has been briefly analyzed by Guiffrey.¹

Since its termination in 1537, many writers have had occasion to discuss the quarrel of Marot and Sagon. The *Généalogie*, because it is a reply to one of Marot's well-known poems,² has always been involved in the discussion, but no one has presented conclusive evidence as to the authorship of the document. Three of Marot's opponents have been mentioned as the probable author; these are Sagon, La Huetterie, and Mathieu (or Macé) de Vaucelles. M. Bonnefon, in his articles on the history and documents of the quarrel, concluded that it is impossible to determine who the author was.³ But an important fact has been overlooked. Apparently no one has noticed that the author of the *Généalogie* tells who he is. The *Epistre adressant le tout à Francoys Sagon* ends thus

Voyla que cest Sagon loyal amy
 Je ne scay plus propos ne demy
 Qui ton esprit sceust faire resiouyr
 Fors que pry dieu quil te face iouir
 Apres auoir vescu les ans Nestor,
 De paradis plus riche que nest or
 Cest vng le quel estant sur banc ou selle,
 Na pour rebut que mal au cul se cele
 Si vous voulez son nom y trouueres
 Ne plus ne moins ainssi que vous verrez
 Et pour deuise F CO AQQ
 Cest a scauoir amico amicus

T O S T E T T A R D
 F E S T I N A L E N T E

¹ G. Guiffrey, *op. cit.*, I (Paris, 1911), 336 ff.

² Pierre Villey, *Marot et Rabelais* (Paris, 1923), p. 105; "La verité est que l'épître de Marot est alerte, impertinente, parfois spirituelle. J'y vois le chef-d'œuvre de Marot dans le genre satirique."

³ Paul Bonnefon, "Le Différend de Marot et de Sagon," *Revue d'Histoire littéraire de la France*, I (1894), 138.

The next to the last couplet says that if Sagon wishes he will find the author's name "there," that is, in what precedes. As a matter of fact, the phrase *mal au cul se cele* contains the letters of the name Macé Vaucelles: m a c e u a u c e l l e s. The anagram should have been easy to discover since we are told that it is there, and since it begins with the first syllable of the first name and ends with the last syllable of the last name, both phonetically intact. It is similar to Villon's *Qui, ramplly sur les chantiers*¹ < Itiers Marchant, but is much simpler. No proof of the contemporary popularity of juggling with the letters of names is necessary, but our particular author's fondness for it is evidenced by La Croix du Maine's opinion² that Vaucelles' change of name from Macé Vaucelles to Mathieu de Vaucelles was to be explained by the clever anagram which the longer name made possible, namely, *Dieu veult l'âme chaste*. The *Responce par l'ung des amys de l'imprimeur*,³ a document of the quarrel, refers to the practice as follows:

... la belle costume
Des François usant de la plume
Qui ont ceste perfection
De trouver quelque invention
Sur leurs noms, ou quelque sentence.

Our example is imperfect because the phrase contains three *l*'s while the name contains only two. One might argue that the author spelled *cul* without an *l*.⁴ The word occurs once more in the *Généalogie* with an *l*, so we are forced to conclude that the *l* was supplied by the printer or that the anagram is imperfect. That the imperfect anagram was not uncommon, however, is shown by the following examples from other documents of the quarrel: *Daluce Locet Pamanchoy*s < Claude Collet Champenois, criticized in the *Responce* (cited above), line 8; *Gallopin*⁵ < Papillon; *clame tourment*⁶ < Clément Marot; *Belle à soy* < Louise Labé;⁷ and by

¹ *Testament*, XXV.

² *Bibliothèque française*, II (Paris, 1772), 107-8.

³ In Lenglet-Dufresnoy, IV, 415.

⁴ Godefroy gives an example of *cu* from the fifteenth century; the *Dictionary of the Academy* (1694) says: "l'i ne se prononce point, et il y en a peu qui l'ecrivent;" Richelet (1769) says: "*cu* ou *cul*. On prononce *cu*"; Littré: "l'i ne se prononce jamais, même devant une voyelle"; and Larousse: "On écrivait autrefois *cul* ou *cu*; les poètes peuvent encore user de cette licence."

⁵ Marot, *Frippelippes*, I, 161; Guilffrey, III, 584.

⁶ Lenglet-Dufresnoy, IV, 434, *Responce à Marot*.

⁷ Charles Boy, *Œuvres de Louise Labé*, I (Paris, 1887), 113, 114, 115, 193.

Villon's verse cited above. It must also be noted that there is a superfluous *t* in the anagram *Dieu veult l'âme chaste* < Mathieu de Vaucelles.¹

In addition to the author's statement that his name is to be found in the text, the following passage furnishes us with some information about him:

Mais qui minduict te rescripre a present
 Contre Marot qui ne fut onc present
 Deuant mes ieulx, veu aussi qu'en ma vie
 Je n'auois eu de te rescripre enuie?
 Que dix ie enuye a toy ie ne parle
 En mon viuant ie ne suis emparle
 Pour me trouuer deuant sa² doulce langue
 Digne de faire a ung Roy la harenque
 Voicy pourquoy quant iouy le renom
 Que ce Frippet auoit change ton nom
 Ien euz grand doeul, pource que ie scay bien
 On le voirra si tu mettz plume en œuure
 Aupres de toy ne sera que menu œuure
 Donc me suys mis a reuoluer mes liures
 Lesquelz ne sont de science deliures
 Iay regarde cayers et grans volumes
 Et du depuys certes nous ne voulusmes
 Mon clerc et moy cesser de feuilleter
 Pour regarder qui voulut alaicter
 Donc descendit et dou print origine
 Ledit Frippet bon souillart de cuisine

He says that he has never seen either Marot or Sagon, and claims that his only reason for attacking Marot is that Marot had attacked Sagon. He considers Sagon the better man and poet, and describes how, with the aid of his clerk, he went through his books to find out about Frippelippes.

¹ It may not be accidental that our author's last name occurs in two other places in the last six lines quoted. The four words of the first line, *sur banc ou selle*, contain all the letters of the name Vaucelles, and the capitals of the fifth line, *A C O A Q Q*, if solved, *asses haults a deux culs*, also contain them. This phrase may refer to the *culs-de-lampe* used by Vaucelles, a printer, in his profession. On the pronunciation of the letter *Q* as a source of puns and banter, see Larousse and Littré; also Voltaire, *Dict. Phil.*, *Université*, reference to Ramus. This fifth line seems to be intended to be read with the names of the letters. When the last line is reached the reader realizes that the capitals may also be read so as to be phonetically identical with the two Latin words in the last line, i.e., the two symbols formed by splitting the capital *A* in halves are each to be read *A-mi*, and the resultant reading is *a-mi-co a-mi-cus*. All this juggling is quite in the tradition of *rhétoriqueur* pedantry.

² The context points to a typographical error for *ta* here.

The name Vaucelles does not occur in any other document of the quarrel, but in Sagon's *Rabais du Caquet de Fripelippes*¹ the following passage is to be found in a long list of writers called upon to help Sagon:

Huet monte en ton suertin;
Mace: en ensuyuant lertin
Desploye icy de ta science
Le catholique Celestin
Vaincra depigramme latin
De marot lorde conscience.

Guiffrey states² that this Macé is "René Macé, bénédictin résident à Vendôme et continuateur de la Chronique commencée par Guillaume Crétin." Becker³ thinks it is Vaucelles, although he gives no reason for his opinion. As the *Rabais* is later than the *Généalogie*, we should expect to see Vaucelles mentioned by Sagon among his allies. Furthermore, the two lines addressed to Macé fit Vaucelles, as will be shown by the following facts. The second line of the quotation is not clear as it stands. Throughout the quarrel Marot's material was appropriated by Sagon.

Qui contrefait tout cela qu'il voit faire⁴
Ou pour le moins tache a le contrefaire.

He had a particular fondness for Marot's rhymes. Considering this fact, the following lines from the first *Cog-d-l'âne* throw some light on Sagon's words:

Si Dieu ne l'avoit deffendu
Et je fusse en mon advertin,
Je donrois quinze a l'Aretin
Et si gaignerois la partie.⁵

Marot here says that, if it were not wrong and if he should fly into a rage, he could give Aretino a big handicap and still beat him at his own game, that is, at biting and abusive satire. A comparison of

¹ *Le rabais du caquet de Fripelippes et de Marot dict Rat pele adiciones Avec le comment. Faict par Mathieu de boutigni page de maistre Francoys de Sagon secretaire de Labbe de saint Eburoult, Arsenal 6427A, 5^e pièce; Lenglet-Dufresnoy, IV, 445-72; Picot and Lacombe, No. 16.*

² *Vie de Clément Marot* (Paris, 1911), p. 377.

³ Ph. Aug. Becker, "Marots Leben," *Zeits. für franz. Spr. u. Litt.*, XLII (1914), 163.

⁴ *Le banquet d'honneur sur la Paix faicte entre Clément Marot Francoys Sagon, Fripelippes Hueterie et aultres de leurs lignes. Nouuellement imprime, 1537. De guerre paiz. See Bonnefon, op. cit., p. 279; Guiffrey, op. cit., I, 392; Picot and Lacombe, No. 2.*

⁵ Guiffrey, *Les Œuvres de Clément Marot*, Vol. III (Paris, 1881), p. 386, l. 188.

Marot's lines with those quoted from Sagon's *Rabais* makes it seem probable that, in spite of the faulty text of the second line, Sagon meant to say: "Huet, fly into a rage; Macé, imitating Aretino, show what you can do!" A perusal of the *Généalogie* shows that Macé or Mathieu de Vaucelles excelled in abuse and in erudition (*science*). Little room for doubt is left concerning the identity of this Macé when it is noted that Sagon wrote his *Rabais* at Le Mans (where Vaucelles lived) and that he had many acquaintances there who could testify to the fact that the *Rabais* was composed in three days:

En trois jours fut par grand colere faiete,
Au Mans; y a uingt ou trente temoings
Qui vous diront quil n'y a plus ni moins.¹

It remains now to examine the evidence concerning authorship which is to be found in other documents of the quarrel.

One of Marot's allies, in a poem called the *Banquet d'honneur*, assembles all the parties of the quarrel, and makes each speak for himself. Among the words which are put into the mouth of Marot is the following partial enumeration of the attacks which had been made by Sagon and his group:

Après Sagon comme regent et maistre
A contre moy faict ung Poete campestre
(Ces son huet) ses rimes applicquer
Depuis son page au Rabais replicquer
Et se faisant nommer lautre greban
Me denonca guerra et arriere ban
Labbe Conard a faict appologie
Ung autre sot la généalogie.

Marot is here made to call Huet *poète champêtre*, and to distinguish him from the author of the *Généalogie*. No poem has been found with the signature *poète champêtre* except the *Généalogie*. When Sagon is called upon to speak he makes the following confession:

Oultre iay faict comme ung pource follet
Contre Marot respondre mon valet
Car en mon nom ie nosay nullement
Faire response a Marot na Clement
• • • • •

¹ Giffrey, *op. cit.*, I, 370; Bonnefon, *op. cit.*, p. 130.

Trouuer nay sceu pour respondre auec moy
 Sinon Huet (dont estoye en esmoy)
 Qui controuua la généalogie
 Frippélipés, en sa rude elegie

.
 Cestuy Huet sest dict poete Campestre.

This poem is the original source of two erroneous statements, namely, that Huet called himself *poète champêtre* and that he wrote the *Généalogie*. It is possible that the author really suspected Huet of having written the *Généalogie*, but it is certain that he wished to minimize the number of Sagon's allies. There is ample proof that most of the poets of Marot's circle did not think Huet the offender. The following pieces clearly distinguish him from the author of the *Généalogie* who is regularly referred to as the *poète champêtre*. The *Remonstrance a Sagon, a la Hueterie et au Poete Champestre*¹ distinguishes the two in the text as well as in the title:

En as-tu ung qui réponde pour toy ?
 De le scavoir j'en suis en grant esmoy
 Fors ung Huet, je faulx c'est Huterie

 Ung aultre en as qu'on devoit mener paistre
 Qui se surnome et dit poète champestre.

François Ferrand's Latin poem, *Ad Campestrum Poëtam, Sagontum, et Huetum*, makes the distinction, as does a *huitain* by François Gaucher, *A Sagon, à la Hueterie, et au Poëte Champestre*:

Sagon veulx tu plus dire mot
 Huet, et toy poète champestre ?

Germain Colin, in his *Epistre a Marot, a Sagon et a la Hueterie*,² speaking of the *Généalogie*, says:

Et puis je ne scay quel follet
 Vous vient respondre a ce valet
 C'est assavoir a Frippélipés.

After mentioning the *Responce a Marot dict Fripelippes et à son Maître*

¹ Arsenal, 6427A, 6^e pièce; Lenglet-Dufresnoy, IV, 478-87; Bonnefon, *op. cit.*, p. 262; Picot and Lacombe, No. 9.

² Arsenal, 6427A, 7^e pièce; Lenglet-Dufresnoy, IV, 488; Bonnefon, *op. cit.*, p. 269; Picot and Lacombe, No. 9.

*Clément par la Huetterie*¹ and the *Généalogie*, he expresses the opinion that Huet did not write both of them:

Si m'est-il advis (Hueterie)
(Si j'ay jugement toutesfois)
Que tu n'as pas escrit les deux foyes.

The quarrel between Marot and Sagon was over in September, 1537. The first testimony on the authorship of the *Généalogie* after this date is to be found in the *Bibliothèque française*² of La Croix du Maine, published in 1584. He says:

Ledit Vaucelles étant fort jeune écrivit quelques Poësies Françaises, contre Clément Marot, sous le nom de Poète Champêtre, lesquelles ont été imprimées plus de quarante ou cinquante ans.

This testimony has considerable weight, because La Croix was born in Le Mans in 1552 and Vaucelles died there in 1578, six years before the publication of the *Bibliothèque*. La Croix was a bibliophile and bibliographer, while Vaucelles was a printer and book-dealer. Since, however, La Croix does not mention the *Généalogie* specifically, a statement which he makes in his discussion of Charles de la Huetterie has been the source of later misunderstandings. His statement is:

Charles de la Huetterie natif d'Anjou, surnommé le Poète Champêtre par ceux de son temps ... florissoit sous François I, du temps de Cl. Marot et Sagon, auquel il adresse ses œuvres.³

La Croix does not say that Huet called himself by the name which the author of the *Généalogie* used, but that the name was applied to Huet by his contemporaries. The only case of this application we have is to be found in the *Banquet d'honneur*, which is probably the basis of the statement. La Croix is correct in saying that Huet's poetry was addressed to Sagon. Huet's reply to Marot's *Frippelippes* was, however, addressed to Marot.⁴ The fact that the *Généalogie* was signed *poète champêtre*, a name applied to Huet, and that it was addressed to Sagon explains the later confusion.

¹ Arsenal, 6427A, 4^e pièce; Lenglet-Dufresnoy, IV, 433-39; Picot and Lacombe, No. 21.

² II, 107-8.

³ *Ibid.*, I, 110.

⁴ *Réponse à Marot, dict Frippelippes et à son maître Clément*, Lenglet-Dufresnoy, IV, 433-39.

The Abbé Goujet¹ states that either Sagon or Huet or the two together wrote the *Généalogie*:

L'un ou l'autre, et peut-être tous les deux ensemble les lui rendirent [returned Marot's attacks] dans la grande *Généalogie* ... pièces grossièrement burlesques, et qui ne pouvoient que déshonorer leurs auteurs. *L'Épître* ne porte que le nom de la Huéterie, et sa date est de 1537.²

Note that the epistle does not bear the name of La Huetterie; it bears the name *poète champêtre*.

The confusion reaches its climax in M. de la Monnoye's note to the section on Huet in Rigolet de Juvigny's edition of *La Croix du Maine*, 1772:

Il entra dans la querelle de François Sagon contre Clément Marot, et l'on voit dans le Recueil in -16 imprimé chez Charles l'Angelier, 1539, de tous les vers faits pour et contre dans cette occasion, que la Huéterie est quelque fois appelé Charles Huet, dit Huéterie, quelquefois raillé sous le nom de Poète champêtre, nom par lui-même pris dans sa grande *Généalogie* de Frippélipés, quoiqu'en d'autres endroits, comme pages 66, 70, et 71 v° le Poète Champêtre soit positivement distingué de la Huéterie. Ce qui augmente la difficulté, c'est que la Croix du Maine, qui avec Marot, S. Gelais, Fontaine, et plusieurs autres, reconnoît ici la Huéterie pour le Poète Champêtre ne laisse pas à la lettre *M* de dire que ce fut un Mathieu de Vaucelles, Imprimeur et Libraire au Mans qui écrivit sous le nom de Poète Champêtre contre Marot.

Modern research has failed to settle the question of authorship. Picot,³ in spite of the warning of Brunet,⁴ gives the name of Mathieu de Vauzelles followed by an interrogation point. There is no evidence for connecting with the poem this Lyonnese lawyer, poet, friend of Louise Labé and brother-in-law of Maurice Scève, but Lachèvre⁵ perpetuates the attribution. Guiffrey changed his mind every time he treated the question. His opinions, in chronological order, are as follows. Huet wrote the *Généalogie*;⁶ we have no

¹ *Bibliothèque française*, XI (1747), 89.

² Iriah, *Querelles littéraires*, I (1771), 107, repeats this opinion.

³ *Cat. Rothschild*, I (1884), 443 and III, 441, "On trouve ici deux pièces, signées toutes deux des devises: *Tout et tard, Festina lente*, que l'on croit appartenir à Mathieu de Vauzelles." The spelling and pronunciation of Vaucelles' name is established by his anagram. The Vauzelles of Lyon rhymed their name with *sèle* and used such devices as *d'immortel sèle, d'un vrai sèle, and crainte de Dieu vault sèle*.

⁴ *Manuel du libraire*, II (1861), 1701.

⁵ *Bibliographie des recueils collectifs de poésies du XVI^e siècle* (1922), p. 183.

⁶ *Les œuvres de Clément Marot*, Vol. III (Paris, 1881), p. 573, n. 1, and p. 578, n. 1.

means of knowing whether Huet or Vaucelles wrote it;¹ La Huetterie is the author;² Vaucelles seems more probable than La Huetterie.³ From first to last he gives no conclusive evidence. Eugène Voizard's study of the quarrel,⁴ which appeared in 1885, four years after Guiffrey's first utterances, favors Huet on the basis of the evidence in the *Banquet d'honneur* and of a personal conviction that Sagon could not find another ally against Marot, in spite of the considerable amount of evidence which he adduces in favor of Vaucelles. Bonnefon refuses to express an opinion, considering the evidence at hand insufficient.⁵ Ph. A. Becker accepts Guiffrey's last opinion without discussion.⁶ Dubosc, in the last publication on the quarrel which I have seen,⁷ limits himself to saying that the *Généalogie* is attributed by some to La Huetterie, and by Guiffrey to Vaucelles.

An investigation of all the documents of the quarrel and of what has been written on the authorship of the *Généalogie* reveals the fol-

¹ "Nous ferons remarquer en passant que cette qualification de poète campestre est également appliquée à Mathieu de Vaucelles. Mais nous n'avons aucun indice pour décider auquel des deux elle appartient réellement."

² "Il n'y a guère que la G. de F., composée par La Huetterie sous le nom déguisé du jeune poète campestre, qui puisse nous fournir, etc."

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. I (1911). Guiffrey died in 1887. His work therefore antedates Bonnefon, although it was not published until much later. P. 356: "Aussi l'auteur jugea prudent de rester caché sous le voile de l'anonyme. Quelques-uns ont voulu reconnaître Charles de la Huetterie. Nous pensons que ce combattant aux armes peu courtoises était plutôt Mathieu de Vaucelles, imprimeur et libraire au Mans, où il devait se trouver en relations fréquentes avec Sagon, car on se souvient que cette ville était le quartier général du secrétaire de l'abbé de Sainte Evroult. Mathieu de Vaucelles sentait des démangeaisons poétiques; il avait déjà donné l'essor à quelques petites compositions de son cru qui n'avaient pas volé bien loin; peut-être en se mêlant à cette querelle était-ce un moyen de forcer l'attention."

⁴ *De disputatione inter Marotum et Sagontum* (diss.) (Paris, 1885), p. 25: "His tamen omnibus non assentiendum mihi videtur, et potius censeo rectius illorum opinionem sequi qui Huetum poetæ campestri personam suscepisse existimant. Namque paucos non solum Sagontus invenire potuerat qui invidiæ et ambitionis consortes fieri non vellent, etc." This author's *Œuvres Choieses de Clément Marot accompagnées d'une étude sur la vie, les œuvres, etc.* (Paris, 1888), Introd. p. xl n. 2, contains a quotation without acknowledgment from M. de la Monnoye's note to La Croix cited above; Huet "est quelquefois raillé sous le nom de poète campestre, nom par lui-même pris dans sa grande généalogie de Frippelipes."

⁵ See above, p. 338, n. 3.

⁶ See above, p. 341, n. 3.

⁷ Picot and Lacombe, *op. cit.*, Introd., p. xvii: "La première pièce de ce nouveau combat fut La grande généalogie de Frippelipes, signée 'un jeune poète campestre,' qui, suivant les uns, cachait Charles de la Huetterie, et suivant Guiffrey, Mathieu de Vaucelles, imprimeur au Mans, en relations vraisemblables avec Sagon."

Pierre Villey, *op. cit.*, p. 105, says: "Les répliques ne se firent pas attendre: la Huetterie intervint de nouveau avec sa Réponse à Frippelipes et à son maître Clément. C'est lui encore, ou bien—d'après La Croix du Maine—c'est Mathieu de Vaucelles du Mans qui, sous le pseudonyme du 'poète campestre,' donne la Généalogie de Frippelipes, laquelle, sous une forme imitée de la Généalogie de Pantagruel, n'est guère qu'un amas d'ordures."

lowing situation. The author says that his name is to be found in a certain place in the text. The name of Macé Vaucelles is to be found in that place. La Croix's statements that Vaucelles changed his name from Macé to Mathieu, that he was a book-dealer and printer who lived and died at Mans, and that he wrote under the name of *poète champêtre* against Marot, have never been disproved. Vaucelles says in the poem that he has never seen Marot and has never talked to Sagon. This situation would, of course, not fit Huet, for we know that he and Sagon were friends and allies. We have, in addition, the statement from Sagon's pen in the name of his page that Marot and Huet saw each other often:

Et si ne veoit Huet pas tant
Comme fait ton maistre.¹

Marot and his allies were evidently not familiar with Vaucelles' name or they would have discovered it in the poem. None of them mention his name, but all of them, except one, distinguish the author of the *Généalogie* from Huet. A single document, the *Banquet d'honneur*, accuses Huet of signing himself *poète champêtre* in order to increase the list of Sagon's defenders.² This piece of evidence is of slight importance because the author makes it clear that his purpose is to make it appear that Sagon was unable to find supporters. Huet wrote one reply to *Frippeilles* and signed it with his own name. The style and content do not resemble those of the *Généalogie*. One contemporary expressed the opinion that Huet wrote only this one reply. Sagon also wrote a reply to *Frippeilles* which he called *Le Rabais du Caquet de Frippeilles*. In it he calls upon Macé along with Huet and various others to join in the attacks upon Marot. This Macé is evidently Vaucelles. The connection between Vaucelles and Sagon is established by the fact that Le Mans was the headquarters of Sagon's protector, the Abbé de Saint Evroult. Vaucelles' purpose in writing would seem to have been an entirely selfish one. He admits that he had no reason for writing against Marot, and he must have expected some profit from his abuse of the absent and flattery of a local light. He may also have hoped for notoriety from his project, but the reception which

¹ *Le Rabais du Caquet de Frippeilles*, in Lenglet-Dufresnoy, IV, 427.

² Even the *Banquet* distinguishes the author of the *Généalogie* from Huet in the mouth of Marot.

his work received was not encouraging, and this may offer some clue to the motive for his changing his name from Macé, the key to his anagram, to Mathieu, a change which La Croix thought was due to the clever anagram mentioned in the *Bibliothèque*.

In view of the evidence cited, there seems no longer to be any doubt as to the authorship. The connection of the *Généalogie* with Marot forces everyone who deals with this period of his career to mention the document. It seems worth while, therefore, to be able to give the name of the author instead of repeating the time-honored noncommittal statement.

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MEXICAN-SPANISH ETYMOLOGIES

The following modifications are suggested for three entries in Meyer-Lübke's *Romanisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*:

847 *ayacotli* (mexic.) "Bohne." Should read: *eine Art mexic.* "Bohne."

A great deal of discussion has been started by a remark of the poet Heredia to Gaston Paris regarding the probable source of French *haricot* in Mexican *ayacotli*.¹ Nyrop took it up and in a lengthy article attempted to prove that *ayacotli* is the correct etymon.² His arguments were supported by some romantically worded evidence of Fabre, and by Heredia's query.³ According to this evidence, an obscure French pirate or colonist brought this new variety of *phaseolus* through Louisiana to Europe, in the eighteenth century. This particular variety was immune to a certain insect which attacked the home varieties; hence it must have come from America. The first argument has no weight. It would have been totally impossible for an obscure colonist to introduce a new variety of bean under a name that would impose itself on many varieties already known and used at home. It is well known what difficulties the Duc de Parmentier had to overcome and with what astuteness he had to give the humble potato an aristocratic flavor before the peasants took up its cultivation. Potato-soup had to be baptized *potage à la Parmentier* in order to be acceptable to the French palate. It is also well known how Frederick of Prussia—or Brandenburg—induced his noble Junkers to eat the plebeian food of American barbarians: he simply had it set before them on the table and led the gastronomic debauchery in person. In Czech, the potato is still popularly known as *brambor* < *Branibor*, i.e.,

¹ *Romania*, IX, 575 n.: "Si, comme il est fort probable, *haricot* est le mexicain *ayacotli*, le créole a conservé la bonne prononciation."

² "Det Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab," *Historisk-filologiske Meddelelser*, Vol. II, No. 1 (1918), pp. 1-17.

³ *Véridique histoire de la conquête de la Nouvelle Espagne. Traduite de l'espagnol avec une introduction et des notes par José Maria de Heredia*, II (Paris, 1877-87), 172; and note on p. 415: "Les corsaires, filibustiers ou colons français de la Floride et du Mississipi ne l'avaient-ils pas directement introduit?"

Brandenburger.¹ This disposes also of the second argument. One single variety, though from America and immune to insects devouring home varieties, would not have sufficient importance to impose its Mexican name. The Mexican *acocolli*, transplanted into Europe toward the end of the eighteenth century, is known today as *dahlia* in its four hundred or more varieties, and no one remembers its picturesque Nahuatl name.²

Ayacotli, popularly known as *ayocote* (not *ayacot*),³ is a *phaseolus* cultivated in Central Mexico. In certain regions, as in Tlaxcala and Puebla, it is eaten by preference at Christmas. At other seasons, the other fifty-odd varieties of *frijol* are consumed, the high-plateau people preferring the brown and abhorring the black varieties, which are the favorites of the inhabitants of the coast, in the states of Vera Cruz, Tabasco, Campeche, and Yucatán.⁴

¹ The same applies to tobacco. Sir Walter Raleigh made it popular in England; Jean Nicot, ambassador of France to Portugal, is responsible for nicotine in France. In Italy it was Cardinal Prospero Santacroce, papal nuncio to Sebastian of Portugal. As regards coffee, Gaston Deschamps, in *Revue des Deux Mondes* (May 15, 1925), p. 430, says: "Le café de Yemen, exporté du port de Moka, fut à la mode dès l'instant où le roi Louis XIV, ayant accepté une première infusion de la graine importée d'Arabie par Jean Thevenot, bourgeois de Paris, déclara prendre goût à ce breuvage oriental."

² Also called *chichipalli*. First sent to Spain in 1789, thence to France in 1804. Its present name perpetuates the fame of the Swedish botanist, Dahl, who first classified it in Europe. Some botanists in Germany insist on calling it *georgina*, in order to distinguish it, or rather, avoid confusion with *dalea*, another Mexican flower, classified by the English botanist Dale. Cf. *Nouveau Larousse Illustré*, III, 491, s.v. Also, Marie-Thérèse Feuillebois, "Les Fleurs au Mexique, le *Dahlia*," *Courrier Franco-Mexicain*, June 18, 19, 20, 22, 1925.

³ Nyrop's article. To strengthen his argument he could have also noted the bad habit of Spanish scribes to put an *h* where it did not belong. For example, the Nahuatl name of Aztahuacan (place of those who worship cranes) to this day is wrongly spelled Hastahuacán, and causes Robelo (p. 81) to exclaim: ¿"Quién sería el escribiente estúpido que escribió este nombre con H?"

⁴ Wallace Thompson, *The People of Mexico*, p. 261: "There are two types of Mexican beans; one is a small black variety very little larger than the Boston or navy bean, and the other the large pink kidney bean which is known in our own markets. No other sort will be used by a Mexican, for the nutty flavor, particularly of the small bean, is really vital to his enjoyment of his food." Even a trained observer will easily overlook the *ayocote* in the mass of *frijoles*. Cf. Ricardo del Castillo, *Los llamados mexicanismos de la Academia Española* (México, 1917), p. 37: "No es del todo general en México el nombre de *Ayocote* para designar el frijol más grueso que el común, pues en algunos Estados de la República se le da, además de este nombre, el de *coronche*." At the beginning of the last century the black variety seems to have been more generally used, as appears from W. Bullock's *Six Months' Residence and Travels in Mexico* (London, 1824), p. 278: "Small black beans called *fricolis* [sic] are in general demand all over New Spain: they form a part of every meal, and even strangers think them excellent."

In the North, especially in California, the pink variety evidently was more general, as appears from the statement of "le père François-Marie Picolo, un des premiers Missionnaires qui furent dans le pays," who speaks of *haricot rouge*. Cf. *Histoire naturelle et civile de la Californie*, I (Paris, 1767), 60.

The word does not occur in Dr. Hernández' famous book.¹ Bernal Díaz del Castillo speaks of *frísoles*.² Bernardino de Sahagún,³ who was better informed than any other writer of this early period, mentions *aiocolli*, but without giving it any special importance. Robelo⁴ gives the following information about it:

"Frijoles gordos," dice Molina [i.e., in his dictionary]. "No hemos podido fijar los elementos de esta palabra. Especie de frijol, casi del tamaño de una

¹ Nyrop assumes that Heredia might have found information on *ayacolli* there. The correct title is not as Nyrop gives it: *De historia plantarum novi orbis*, but: *Nova Plantarum, Animalium et Mineralium Mexicanorum Historia a Francisco Hernandez Medico, Romae, 1651*. There is no mention whatever of *ayacolli*, but on p. 651 *Phaseoli* are described.

² *Historia Verdadera de la Conquista de la Nueva España, sacada á luz por el P. M. Fr. Alonso Remon* (Madrid, 1632), p. 70: "Pasemos adelante, y digamos de los que vendían frísoles, y chia, y otras legumbres, à yervas à otra parte."

³ Died in 1590, came to New Spain in 1529. His monumental work, *Historia General de las Cosas de Nueva España*, embraces this whole period. In the edition by Carlos María Bustamante (México, 1829) appear the following references to beans: II, 300: "*ezoll*, [modern *ejote*], frísoles cocidos con sus bañas," and III, 45: "frísoles amarillos, colorados, blancos y menuditos, y los que están como jaspeados, y de otras diversas colores, y los que son muy gordos como habas que se dicen en la lengua mexicana *aiocolli*"; *ibid.*, p. 90: *cimatl*, frísoles silvestres."

On *Cimate* we find in Robelo, p. 491: "Cimatl. Radiacales desconocidas. Planta cuyas raíces se emplea [sic] como condimento en las salsas y guisados. Los clauquicheros [those who extract pulque from the maguey plant] la echan en la aguamiel para darle buen gusto al pulque."

P. Bernabé Cobo, *Historia del Nuevo Mundo*, Vol. I (written in 1653, published in Seville, 1896), p. 375, chap. xxvii, "De los Frísoles de las Indias," says: "Hállanse muchas diferencias de *Frísoles*; las más notables son tres; y la mata de todas es de una misma manera con muy poca variedad en las hojas." The best of them, according to him, are *Pallares*, which are eaten by the Spaniards; next come *Purotos* or *Porotos*, eaten mostly by the natives and servants; then come *Chuvís*, which are used by the boys for playing games, though they are also eaten, either boiled or roasted. "Llámanse los Frísoles en la lengua quíchua, *Purutu*; en la aymará, *Miculla*, y en la mexicana, *Cicimatic*." The name *poroto* is still the current name for beans in South America.

On *Cicimatic* we find in Robelo, p. 490: "adj. derivado de *cimatl*. Planta medicinal parecida al *cimatl*, que se usa principalmente contra las úlceras, de donde le viene el otro nombre de *palancapatli*" [Hernández]. Lat.: *Senecio vulneraria*." Hernández, p. 651, has the following information: "*Cicimatic* herba est Napo similis, radice fibrata, à qua prodeunt caules volubiles, & rubel, ornatl folijs ternis, cordis figura, simillibusq; ceteris Faseolis, quorum est species. ac siliquae mediocres, ex purpureis ac velut racematim dependentibus, floribus. Nascitur in calidis, ac tēperatis regionibus, qualis est Mexicana. Tēperies est frigida, & glutinosa. Radix trita inspersaque, vlcera curat. abstergit enim illa, & cicatrice obducit. quo sit, vt Palancapatil, sev vicerum medicina à plerisque vocetur. oculis tentatis inflammatione mirè confert. nubes, & supercrescentem carnem discutit, fluxum alui coerces, tussi auxiliatur, & enixas corroborat. Ius vero decocti radicis, oplatur dysentericis. Cimatl, cui praecedens herba comparetur, est legumen, cuius radix ferrugini coloris, caules repentes. omnes ramuli tria habent folia, cordis figura Faseolis similis, inferiore parte subalbida."

On the curative properties of *porotos*, P. Cobo says (*op. cit.*, I, 376): "La harina de *Porotos* tostados comida con azucar, aprovecha à los que tienen cámaras de sangre, y lo mismo hace la poleada hecha desta harina, llevando en lugar de agua leche de almendras. Demás desto, aplicada esta harina con triaca y ajos majados, es contra toda mordedura de animal venenoso. Con esta harina de *Porotos* amasada con sangre de cualquier animal, tapan las junturas y clavazón de las paylas de cobre en que se cuece el caldo de la caña dulce, para que no se salga."

⁴ *Diccionario de Aztequismos* (Cuernavaca, 1904), p. 470.

haba, ordinariamente morado; los hay negros, blancos y pintos." [In a note he adds:] El P. Clavijero dice: "La legumbre más apreciada de los Mexicanos era la judía ó habichuela (frijol), de la cual hay mayor número de variedades que del maíz. La mayor es llamada *ayacotli*, que es del tamaño de un haba y nace de una hermosa flor encarnada." Latín técnico: *Phaseolus multiflorus*, L.

In the markets of small villages and towns of Mexico, Morelos, Guerrero, Puebla, Tlaxcala, and Oaxaca I have collected *ayocote* of some twelve varieties of color. In Europe this variety is known largely to children who use it for games, and not to *chefs de cuisine*.¹

In view of this evidence, and also of the fact that, like our "pork and beans," which contains beans and practically no pork, the French *haricot de mouton* contained more *fèves* than *mouton* so that in the end the word *haricot* was applied to the *fèves* only, and although the *Dictionnaire Général*² is noncommittal on the subject, I believe, on the basis of my investigations, that *haricot* is derived most probably from *haligot*, and has nothing whatever to do, even by contamination, with *ayacotli*.³

1878. *chocolatl* (mexic.) "Kakaowasser." Should read: *chocolatl* (mexic.) "herbes Wasser," resp. "Kakaowasser."

Robelo (p. 430) says:

Xocoatl: *xococ*, agrio; *atl*, agua; "Agua agria," porque el cacao con agua y sin dulce, es muy amargo, y así lo toman los Mexicanos, quienes también lo llaman *cacahuatl atl* [should read rather: *Cacahuaatl*] "agua de cacao."

Robelo gives copious notes on the history of sweetened chocolate among the Europeans, since 1520, when Cortés first drank the new (and not forbidden) stimulant at the court of Moteuczoma, in the Mexican fashion.

4661. *kakaholl* (chilen.) "Kakaobohne." Should read: *cacahuatl* (mexic.) "Kakaobohne."

¹ *La Cocinera Poblana* (Mexico, 1907), p. 287, mentions *ayocotes compuestos*, and has but little information on this delicacy.

² II, 1225: "Origine inconnue. Parait être un subst. verbal del l'anc. mot *harigoter*, *haligoter* [also *heligoter*], 'couper en morceaux.' XIV^e s. *Hericoq de mouton*, *Viandier*, p. 4, Pichon et Vicair. 1642. *Haricot*, *febres de haricot*, OUD." Diez, p. 612, quotes Génin, *Réc. philologiques*, I, 46 ff., whose explanation that from *haricot de mouton* the "haricot" was transferred to beans, as the chief ingredient of the dish, in the seventeenth century, is quite plausible. To connect it with *aliquot* as Génin does elsewhere is, of course, as Diez also says, out of the question.

³ In *RFE*, X (1923), 411-12, M. L. Wagner reviews Nyrop's article and says: "con las doctas deducciones del Sr. N. queda claro y manifiesto el origen indio de la palabra *haricot*." Meyer-Lübke also seemed convinced. In view of my investigations it is clear that they were somewhat rash in adopting Nyrop's opinion.

Robelo (p. 243) says:

(*Cacahua-cuahuitl*: *cacahuatl*, cacao, *cuahuitl*, árbol: Arbol de cacao.— Habiéndose formado el aztequismo *cacahuale* para significar el *tlalcacahuatl* ó cacao de la tierra, fué necesario formar el aztequismo *cacao* para designar el *cacahuatl* de árbol.) Arbol aborigene de la América tropical, de hojas lustrosas, lisas, duras y aovadas; de flores amarillas y encarnadas; y cuyo fruto es una baya larga, esquinada, de medio pié de largo y de los mismos colores de la flor, que contiene de veinte a cuarenta semillas.

This writer gives copious notes on the plant and on the fruit which was also used as money in pre-Cortesian times. In view of the fact that the Spaniards first found it in Mexico, it cannot be derived from a Chilean word. The Latin name, *theobroma cacao* ("food for gods"), given it by Linnaeus shows the high regard in which it was held by him.

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NOTES AND COMMENTS

In the death of Professor Edward Stevens Sheldon at Cambridge on October 16, 1925, modern philology has lost one of its pioneer representatives in America. Trained in Europe under Adolf Tobler and early a disciple of Henry Sweet, he inaugurated work in Indo-European philology and in phonetics on his return to Harvard, in 1877. He was one of the founders of the American Dialect Society and an active worker in the Modern Language Association in its early days. For over forty years he trained a succession of students of English and Romance in the fundamentals of Romance philology.

To Americans at large his name will perhaps remain unknown, although there is hardly an American who will not be in some measure his debtor for his monumental work in revising the etymologies in Webster's, now the *New International Dictionary*. Even in his chosen field the list of his publications is not long; studies on the subjects in which he was recognized as an authority, Anglo-Norman and the French element in English, were left unfinished at his death. And yet in his influence he ranks among the leaders in his field, because his pupils carry on the tasks and the spirit which were his.

In the days when we sat in his classes there were some who were oppressed by the frequency of his references to the *Vermischte Beiträge* of his honored master; there were others who regarded skeptically his hesitation when asked to give a categorical answer. Youth is impatient of detail; it leans toward the easy generalization. But as the years have gone by, we have come to understand and admire the fine balance and discrimination which made him weigh each detail so delicately. His was the mind of the scholar.

He was a scholar of the old school, with a scorn for all that savored of publicity or parade, spurred only with a passion for the truth. He was also a gentleman of the old school, unassuming, kindly, gentle. From every quarter of the land his pupils look back to him as a master and a friend.—HAYWARD KENISTON.

The Union List of Serials in the libraries of the United States and Canada, now in process of publication by H. W. Wilson and Company, of New York, bids fair to become one of the most important works of reference which have appeared during the last two or three decades. The provisional edition now being issued which covers as yet only the letters A-F, gives an idea of what may be expected when the final edition has been completed. The publishers are working in close co-operation with one hundred and seventy-five libraries in the United States and Canada. It is expected that the final edition will include, not only the holdings of these hundred and seventy-five libraries, but

also those of certain other libraries which have as yet been unable to participate because of lack of funds.

The list includes periodicals, general and special, transactions, proceedings, and other serial publications of learned societies and institutions, of government departments and offices. It does not include purely administrative publications, such as the catalogues and president's reports of educational institutions, law reports, almanacs, and giftbooks.

Under each serial is given: (1) the full title, place of publication, year of first issue, and if discontinued, the date of last issue; (2) the list of institutions in which the publication may be found, and an approximate statement of the file in each library. Thus:

Anglia Halle, 1, 1877 +
 —Beiblatt 1, Ap 1890 +
 —Supplementheft 1, 1876 +

After the periodical proper, as also after the two supplementary series, there is printed in two parallel columns a list of forty-six institutions, each followed by a statement which shows the status of its set.

When completed, the work will take its place alongside of Poole's *Index, Reader's Guide*, and similar publications as one of the indispensable tools of the student and investigator.—J. C. M. HANSON.

The amount of labor that has been put upon D. S. Blondheim's *Les Parlers Judéo-Romans et la Vetus Latina*¹ challenges our admiration. The bibliography of which use has been made will of itself alone demonstrate, to everyone familiar with such undertakings, the indefatigable industry of Professor Blondheim. Not only so, but the range of languages familiarity with which was essential to the successful pursuit of this study, adds overwhelming evidence to the author's linguistic knowledge and scholarly zeal.

The task set for himself by Professor Blondheim was that of examining the relations between the Jewish translations of the Old Testament into the Romance languages of the Middle Ages, and the ancient versions, particularly the Old Latin Version. This version was made from the Septuagint, and preceded by two or three centuries the Latin rendering made in the fifth century A.D. direct from the Hebrew by St. Jerome, which became the official version of the Roman Catholic church, and is now known as the Vulgate. Unfortunately, the Old Latin has survived only in fragments, so that the materials for such a comparison are somewhat limited. But Professor Blondheim, with his assistants, has canvassed a wide area of Jewish translation literature, and has made out a plausible case for considerable Jewish influence upon the making of the Old Latin translation. It is a well-known tradition, of course, that Jerome in making his later Latin rendering depended much upon Jewish learning, going so far as to employ a Jewish scholar to teach him Hebrew.

¹ Paris: Librairie Ancienne Honoré Champion, 1925. Pp. cxxxviii+247.

If this tradition be sound, it is more than probable that the earlier Old Latin depended more or less directly upon Jewish learning.

However, our author is cautious and frankly acknowledges that the evidence for Jewish influence is not entirely convincing. Some of the considerations and questions bearing upon the matter, which put his conclusion in doubt, may be briefly summarized here.

Words and idioms like those in the Old Latin which are found in Jewish literature later than the Old Latin are far from sure proof of Jewish origin. Many Hebrew and Greek words and phrases are susceptible of only one literal translation into Latin, and, therefore, identity of expression in different documents derived from the same Hebrew or Greek source is no proof of identity or dependence of translator. The fact that the Old Latin is literalistic and unidiomatic is accredited to Jewish influence, and the well-known parallel of the Jew Aquila's literalistic rendering is noted in this connection. But is there anything exclusively Jewish about bad Latin and literalism? The authoritative character of the original source would naturally tend to impress itself upon translators in such a way as to lead them to reproduce their original in as exact and verbatim a manner as possible; under such circumstances, literalism was inescapable. Furthermore, the Greek of the New Testament, if compared with classical Greek, is "poor Greek"; but nobody calls in Jewish influence to explain that. It was rather the Greek of the masses of the people of that age. The "bad Latin" of the Old Latin Version may in some measure have been due to a similar declension in the Latinity of the masses in the second century A.D. The Christian movement for the first two centuries did not include "many wise," but found its readiest acceptance among the lower orders of the people; so "bad Latin" need not surprise us.

On the whole, however, the probability of Jewish influence upon the Old Latin must be granted, and Professor Blondheim is to be felicitated upon the accomplishment of a piece of hard work in an eminently workman-like manner.—J. M. POWIS SMITH.

A circular letter sent out from Strassburg one year ago invited support to a proposed Société de Linguistique romane whose object would be the publication of an annual bibliography of Romance linguistics, and a review; of the latter, the first two numbers (*Janvier-Juin*) have appeared from the publishing-house of Champion, Paris.¹ Messrs. O. Bloch and A. Terracher announce that the new *Revue* will contain fundamental articles dealing with the whole Romance field, works in the domain of linguistic geography, linguistic documents with commentary, descriptions of dialects, studies in lexicography, accounts of the progress of regional investigations, etc.

The foundation of this new journal is no doubt due in part to the present need of unifying effort in the field which it aims to cover. Even before the

¹ The annual dues to members are 50 francs; to non-members the price of the *Revue* alone is 45 francs, of the Bibliography alone, 25 francs.

war there were noticed signs of disorganization: a sort of insurrection was led by Vossler in Germany, while in France Gilliéron, during and after the war, published a series of studies more or less controversial in tone and in content.

It may be said, in fact, that from the beginning, two diverging conceptions of the principal aim of Romance linguistic studies have competed for first place in the professional mind: first, that which sees in the literary languages the supreme interest of the investigator; second, that which, studying language more for its own sake, has turned its attention to the great flowing current of the folk-speech, in this case the *parlers romans*. In both his *Grammar* and his *Etymological Dictionary*, Diez was careful to make use of folk-speech and patois, but it is clear that in his mind the folk-speech played the secondary rôle; he was primarily interested in the three great literary languages, French, Italian, and Spanish, including Provençal under the first, and Portuguese under the last. Diez's greatest French pupil, Gaston Paris, gave his attention, with remarkable impartiality, to both linguistic fields: witness his epoch-making address in 1888, *Les Parlers de France*, which founded more than one professional reputation. But the post-bellum years have witnessed the opening of new fields of effort—speech-geography, creation by metaphor, onomasiology, idealistic etymology, not to mention laboratory phonetics. The new schools have not always spoken respectfully of their predecessors. A favorite reproach of the *Junggrammatiker* is that Diez and Meyer-Lübke gave too little attention and space to those large sections of the modern Romance languages which do not find their explanation in Classic or in Vulgar Latin: purely historical work, particularly perhaps in phonology, absorbed, in their opinion, an undue amount of attention. To these criticisms, Meyer-Lübke now replies (in the first issue of the *Revue*) that (1) it is not altogether true that the modern fields are neglected by him, or by Diez (or by Tobler, we may add); that (2) the proper procedure is from the medieval to the modern, and not vice versa; that (3) human powers to labor have their limits. After all, why find fault with the "old schools"? As Spitzer genially observes, it was because the old schools left work to be done that the new schools find interesting work to do.

M. Millardet's volume of 1923, *Linguistique et Dialectologie romanes: Problèmes et Méthodes*, is no doubt the sanest corrective to the excesses of the new schools. A trained *patoisant* himself, Millardet has dwelt upon the solid achievements of the ante-bellum period, and comes back essentially to Diez's position. A propos of Gilliéron's scornful characterization of the literary languages as "langues stagnantes," and of the French literary language as "the national museum," Millardet declares that as to the two disciplines, the study of patois and dialects, and the study of the literary languages as written and spoken, it is inadmissible that the former should be placed in the front rank. If, in 1889, Meyer-Lübke wrote, "J'ai fait de l'étude des dialectes parlés actuellement le point capital de mon travail [the *Grammaire des Langues romanes*] ... je n'ai accordé aux textes du moyen âge qu'une valeur

relative," it should not be overlooked that Meyer-Lübke is also the author of a *Historical French Grammar* which, like that of Kr. Nyrop, focuses upon the modern literary language. Brunot's *History of the French Language* has shown us how little we knew in detail of even so recent a period as the seventeenth century. As to the origins of the present literary vocabulary, a recent estimate indicates that between twelve hundred and fourteen hundred words listed in the *Dictionnaire Général* are still described as "origin unknown" or "doubtful." The problem then is to keep the balance even, and to award the right amount of attention to the main personages and to the supernumeraries, as Millardet aptly phrases it. It augurs well for the future of Romance linguistic studies that the founders of the new society invited Meyer-Lübke to print in the first issue of the journal a review of the Romance field for the last twelve years. It is disappointing to find that not a single title by an American scholar figures in this survey; the only exception is mention of a stray note by Karl Pietsch (in the *Revista de Filología española*) on Spanish *ero* from Lat. *AGRUM*.—T. A. J.

Professor A. G. Solalinde, of the University of Wisconsin, is now correcting proofs of the first volume of his edition of Alfonso el Sabio's *Grande e general estoria*. Both in format and in bulk it will match Menéndez Pidal's edition of the *Crónica general*; and five volumes of equal size will be required to complete the whole work. The amount of new material, linguistic and literary, which this first volume will make available to Hispanic philologists can scarcely be overestimated.—G. T. N.

No writer is less consistent than Montaigne. To grasp him as an entity (he wished to be taken as representing the genus *Homo*) is to see him many-minded, fluctuating, even contradictory. "Distinguo," he said, "is the universal aspect of my logic," an idea that survived in Renan's phrase: "La vérité est dans une nuance." It is well to keep this fact in mind in any study (or translation) of the *Essays*.

Since the Florio (1603) and the Cotton (1670) translations, there had been no independent rendering of Montaigne into English. Both of these translators had followed the posthumous edition of 1595, and both had strayed from the French original in more ways than one. Thus, the new translation by George B. Ives (four volumes, Harvard University Press, 1925) is not only timely, but because of its scholarly and literary merit it satisfies a long-felt want. No critical text of the original had as yet been published, the sample given by Jeanroy in the sixth edition of his *Extraits de Montaigne* (Paris, 1914, pp. 137 ff.) being limited to one chapter, "Of Pedantry," I, xxv. Hence it remained for Mr. Ives to construct his own critical text, with the help, of course, of the valuable studies by Villey, Strowski, and others. We leave it to the reader to realize how very successfully Mr. Ives has acquitted himself of his task. All passages taken from the 1580 edition are preceded in the translation

by an *a*, those taken from the 1588 edition by a *b*, and those taken from the so-called *édition municipale* (Bordeaux) by a *c*.¹ In addition, whenever the last-named differs essentially from the posthumous edition (1595), the variant is given in a note. Since Mr. Ives possesses to the full the "art" of the translator, the English reader has at last a version of Montaigne on which he can rely, and which it is a pleasure to read. The four volumes are further supplied with succinct critical introductions to the various essays by the able hand of Miss Grace Norton, so well known to Montaigne students. We conclude by recommending the Ives *Montaigne* to our readers, and by reproducing a passage from Essay xxv:

Je me suis souvent despité en mon enfance de voir es comedies italiennes tousjours un pedante pour badin, et le surnom de Magister n'avoir guiere plus honorable signification parmy nous. Car, leur estant donné en gouvernement et en garde, que pouvois je moins faire que d'estre jaloux de leur reputation? [Ed. Jeanroy].

And in English:

I was often vexed in my boyhood by seeing, in the Italian comedies, a pedant [teacher] always the fool of the piece, and the title of schoolmaster had a scarcely more honorable signification among us. For, being under their control and care, how could I help being sensitive about their reputation? [Ives].

Another useful work for the student of the French Renaissance is the *Dictionnaire de la Langue française du Seizième Siècle*, by Edmond Huguet, of which we have just received the first two fascicles (Champion, 1925). They extend to the word *advenement*, and cover eighty folio pages. M. Huguet, who as the first in this field was confronted with a difficult task, states in an interesting Introduction (pp. i-lxxvi) the aims which are guiding him in the undertaking. In general, the work is confined to words which were employed in the sixteenth century, but which, for one reason or another, have ceased to be used; this includes both native and foreign words (especially Italian) and proverbial and figurative locutions. It also embraces all words that have undergone a change of meaning. While the *Dictionary* gives no etymons, it does indicate certain notable and assured phonetic, morphological, and syntactic traits, such as the pronunciation of *cherme* (for *charme*), *sontueux* (for *somptueux*), *perdreau* (three syllables), *traison* (two syllables), the plurals in *-als*, *-aux*, etc., genders; the adjectives followed by *à* or by *de*; the use of *celuy* and *celle* as adjectives, etc. It is still too early to state to what degree the new work will satisfy the needs of the specialist. At the same time, it is certain to serve as a basis for further investigation; and the author's care in citing the authors who use the word in question (and they were widely representative) is bound to make the book not only useful but indispensable. We hope the complete work may be made available without undue delay.—W. A. N.

¹ Should not the last passage on p. 179, Vol. I, marked *a*, be marked *c*, as in Jeanroy, who gives it as coming from the 1595 text?

A recent purchase from an English bookseller shows again the need of a bibliography of the writings of Joseph Addison. It will be remembered that Tickell's edition of the great essayist's *Works*, in four quarto volumes, appeared in 1721, and that Sir Richard Steele, who for various reasons was not pleased with Tickell's work, brought out three months later an edition of *The Drummer* with a dedication to Congreve. In this dedication Steele objects to the omission of *The Drummer* from Tickell's edition of Addison as well as to the dismemberment of the *Tatler* and *Spectator*, from which Addison's essays were separated for inclusion in his *Works*. Such bibliographers of Addison as Wendell and Greenough¹ (and they are the best who have dealt with Addison) have failed to see the important effects of this dedication because they have known only 1721, 1730, and 1741 printings of Tickell's edition. The purchase mentioned above is a duodecimo edition in three volumes, the first of which has the following title-page:

Miscellaneous/Works,/ in/ Verse and Prose,/ Of the Late Right Honourable/ Joseph Addison, Esq;/—In Three Volumes./—Consisting of such as were never before Printed/in Twelves./ With some Account of the Life and/Writings of the Author,/ By Mr. Tickell./ London:/ Printed for Jacob Tonson in the Strand./ MDCCXXVI./

The three volumes each contain, facing the title, the following "advertisement":

These Three Volumes, with the *Tatlers*, *Spectators*, *Guardians*, *Freeholder*, and *Remarks on several Parts of Italy*, compleat Mr. Addison's Works in Twelves.

The importance of this edition, at first sight so inferior to the quarto of 1721, lies in the fact that Volume III, pages 169–272, contains *The Drummer*, reprinted without other comment than Steele's Preface of 1716, and in the fact that the *Tatler* and *Spectator* essays by Addison are excluded. Thus we see Tickell bowing to Steele's criticisms in a conciliatory fashion. Similarly, his conduct toward Pope was such as to lead the poet to forget the unpleasantness of 1715 over Homer, and in 1729 to call Tickell a friend.² Tickell here seems to justify a contemporary who calls him "one of the prettiest gentlemen we have"; but after Steele's death he reissued his objectionable 1721 edition of Addison "with few changes." In any case, the omission of *The Drummer* from the first collected edition of Addison's works was acknowledged, tacitly, as error in 1726.—G. S.

Among the many recent studies dealing with the origins of Romanticism, that of J. G. Robertson³ is, in intention at least, one of the most revolutionary. Professor Robertson says in his Preface:

¹ Barrett Wendell and Chester Noyes Greenough, *Selections from the Writings of Joseph Addison*, edited with Introduction and Notes, "The Athenaeum Press Series," Ginn & Co., 1905. Bibliography, pp. xlvii–lxi.

² *The Dunciad with Notes Variorum*, 1729, p. 26.

³ *Studies in the Genesis of Romantic Theory in the Eighteenth Century*, Cambridge: University Press, 1923.

The object of the present volume is . . . to show that the Italy which led the critical theory of Europe in the sixteenth century, played again a pioneer rôle at the beginning of the eighteenth; that the conception of the "creative imagination," with the help of which Europe emancipated herself from the pincers of pseudo-classicism, was virtually born in Italy to grow to full maturity in England and Germany.

The exposition of this thesis falls into two parts. In his first eight chapters Professor Robertson gives an account of the anti-French movement in Italian letters at the close of the seventeenth century and then passes in review the lives and doctrines of a group of critics of the early eighteenth century, particularly Gravina, Muratori, Conti, Martelli, Maffei, Calepio, and Vico, in whom he finds adumbrated, in varying degrees of completeness and self-consciousness, a "conception of poetry based on the supremacy, not of the reason, but of the imagination" (p. 190). In his last four chapters he undertakes to trace the repercussions of this body of Italian aesthetic theory in the critical thinking of France, Spain, England, and Germany during the eighteenth century. His final conclusion is unmarred by qualifications or doubts:

I have shown that it is to the Italians of the early *settecento* is due the stimulus which resulted in the final overthrow of the tyranny of the reason over the imagination. Here, as four centuries before, as again in the sixteenth century, and once more in our own time, Italy has asserted herself as the leader of European thought in the domain of aesthetics [p. 290].

One cannot read Professor Robertson's richly documented pages without being impressed by the breadth and minuteness of his learning in the literary history of Italy, Spain, France, and Germany, or without feeling grateful to him for having introduced us to a group of critics hitherto little studied outside of Italy. It is difficult, however, to be anything but skeptical concerning the general thesis which his book undertakes to establish. To begin with, there can be little doubt that in his enthusiasm for such critics as Gravina and Muratori, he greatly exaggerates the novelty and boldness of their views. To judge merely from his own analyses, the anticipations of romantic doctrine to be found in their writings are neither very numerous nor very striking, and such anticipations as he succeeds in showing occur in a context of ideas the general effect of which is as far as possible from being revolutionary. In comparison with certain earlier exponents of neo-classical dogma, especially in France, critics like Gravina and Muratori no doubt appear sufficiently liberal; that they were, however, in no respect out of harmony with the humanistic and rationalistic tendencies in their milieu has been made abundantly clear, since the publication of Professor Robertson's *Studies*, by scholars as competent as G. Toffanin¹ and G. Maugain.²

Even if we grant, however, that these writers had something to contribute to the formation of the romantic doctrine of the imagination, it by no means follows that Professor Robertson is justified in attributing to them

¹ See his *L'Eredità del Rinascimento in Arcadia*, Bologna, 1923.

² See his review of Robertson in the *Revue de littérature comparée*, V (1925), 522-29.

the special historical importance he does. In order to demonstrate that "the stimulus which resulted in the final overthrow of the tyranny of the reason over the imagination" came primarily from them, it is obviously necessary for him to show, first, that it could have come from no other source; and, second, that these critics actually were responsible to a marked degree for those changes in literary theory in Europe at large which led to the romantic enthronement of the imagination. Professor Robertson fails to do either of these things in a really satisfying way. Especially does he fail to show that the Italian critics exercised any such general or dynamic influence on the leading exponents of the new aesthetics in the rest of Europe as must be assumed if his hypothesis is to stand. His success in establishing definite contacts is greatest in the case of Germany, but even here the facts which he brings together hardly warrant all of the inferences which he draws from them. And outside of Germany his results are negligible. He is able to demonstrate an indebtedness to Muratori on the part of the Spanish critic Ignacio de Luzán, and he tries, though somewhat half-heartedly, to make out a case for the influence of the same Italian writer upon Addison. As regards Luzán, however, the fact is obviously of no great significance for the main development he is tracing, while as regards Addison the resemblances which he notes are too slight to justify any conclusion. No doubt a more thorough exploration of the field than he was able to make would reveal other points of contact. The Scotch critic Thomas Blackwell, for example, was a reader and admirer of Gravina,¹ and Joseph Warton, whose well-known insistence upon "a creative and glowing Imagination" as the essential quality of true poetry should have aroused Professor Robertson's curiosity, drew frequently in his *Essay on the Genius and Writings of Pope* (1756) from the writings of Gravina, Muratori, and Maffei.² But even the addition of names such as these, important as they are in the history of English Preromanticism, does not greatly alter the general situation. Professor Robertson, in short, though he has called attention to a number of interesting facts which must be taken into consideration by all future historians of literary doctrines in the eighteenth century, has not succeeded in his main design of establishing "a new starting-point for the evolution of aesthetic values" in this period.—R. S. C.

Although Professor L. F. Mott's *Sainte-Beuve* (New York, 1925) includes much interesting and valuable matter, it is not so good a book as his *Renan*. The system followed in both volumes is much the same: an amply detailed biography, interspersed with analyses and criticisms of the man's writings. But Renan's works could be treated more nearly *en bloc* than the thousand scattered essays of Sainte-Beuve, and Professor Mott's desire to neglect no important essay has obscured the wood in favor of the trees and made of his

¹ See his *Enquiry into the Life and Writings of Homer* (London, 1735), p. 142.

² See I (4th ed., 1782), 133-35, 193 n., 194, 196, 225 n., 350, 351, 353, 354, 387-89.

study less a well-organized whole than a loosely strung collection of *fiches*. In the stringing, there is discernible a certain weariness or heaviness which dispenses with agreeable transitions and often makes the English sound like a bald transcript of the original source.

The volume rests on an abundant documentation; yet the author explains that he has suppressed all references lest the burden of footnotes should be unbearable. I wonder if that recurrent problem is not better solved (as Elton, Mornet, and others have done) by relegating references to an appendix? Thus the interests of the "general reader" and those of the student might be reconciled.

Professor Mott disclaims the rôle of an apologist, yet his attitude toward the private life of Sainte-Beuve—particularly as regards Mme Hugo and the *Livre d'amour*—puts him on the defensive. His arguments are more plausible than convincing. On the other hand, his demonstrations of the critic's essential intellectual probity, his tolerance, his complex psychological makeup, confirm our previous notions. Less satisfactory are the pages which should deal with the Frenchman's development as a critic, his technique and the moot question of his "method." Surely it is very *simpliste* to say that Sainte-Beuve "never had a critical method." It is not necessary, to be sure, to impose upon him systems imported from the outside; but it is necessary to accept his own testimony as to his processes. Professor Mott seeks rather to minimize the importance of the famous Chateaubriand article (1862). He does not outline with sufficient saliency either the distinctions between Sainte-Beuve's different periods or the critic's final view of his profession. Through his knowledge and understanding of Sainte-Beuve the man, Professor Mott often commands our attention: he falls into the heavy slough of pedestrianism in the many pages of analyses which lack due emphasis and proportion.—E. P. D.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES

Sidelights on Shakespeare: Being Studies of The Two Noble Kinsmen, Henry VIII, Arden of Feversham, A Yorkshire Tragedy, The Troublesome Reign of King John, King Leir, Pericles Prince of Tyre. By H. DUGDALE SYKES. [With a Publisher's Note by A. H. BULLEN.] Stratford-upon-Avon: The Shakespeare Head Press, 1919. Pp. xiv + 207.

Sidelights on Elizabethan Drama: A Series of Studies Dealing with the Authorship of Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century Plays. By H. DUGDALE SYKES. Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1924. Pp. 231.

Most scholars have, I judge, always been skeptical, if not contemptuous, of the possibility of determining the authorship of any anonymous Elizabethan play by marshaling a host of parallel passages. But when we find such notable scholars as the late Mr. Bullen and Mr. J. Dover Wilson, in passages which I shall quote later, upholding the collecting of parallels as a method of determining authorship, we should, I think, reconsider the possibility and examine carefully the method in one of the articles to which they have given their sanction. Though I cannot agree with them as to the value of such a test as it has been applied, I think that when correctly applied the collecting of parallel passages may be made a very valuable test in questions of authorship. I shall attempt to point out by illustration why the test as it has most often been applied is utterly futile, and how in some cases it may, when supported by further examination, become of real value.

Most of what I say will, of course, be thoroughly obvious, and there could be little justification for my saying it, were it not for the excessive claims of certain prolific parallel-chasers, whose method such scholars as Mr. Bullen and Mr. Wilson have approved. The only excuse I offer is that the long list of plays for which, upon such grounds, authors have been selected is yearly becoming longer.

The most prolific, and perhaps the most convincing, of those employing the parallel-passage test is Mr. H. Dugdale Sykes, who, according to Mr. Wilson, "has shown us how fruitful a method the collection of parallels can be when carried out by a fair-minded and scrupulous scholar."¹ Though in the case of most of Mr. Sykes's articles we cannot, because of the scantiness and uncertainty of our knowledge of the minor dramatists, estimate the value

¹ *Times Literary Supplement*, January 23, 1920, p. 52.

of his conclusions, we can, I think, by examining one of the articles concerned with the major dramatists, arrive at a just estimate of his method and of the likelihood of its producing trustworthy results. I select one of the articles from *Sidelights on Shakespeare* which Mr. Bullen singled out for especial praise. I quote Mr. Bullen fully, for I shall have occasion to refer again to the passage he notes:

After reading the articles of Robert Boyle and Mr. Sykes it is impossible to resist the conviction that though a few Shakespearean passages are to be found in *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, the play as a whole (with its merits and defects) must be given to Massinger and Fletcher. If there is little of Shakespeare in *The Two Noble Kinsmen* there is perhaps even less in *Henry VIII*. The trial scene of Katherine (II, iv) is conducted with much dignity and impressiveness, but it follows closely—very closely—the actual wording of Holinshed; and, to show that Massinger was quite capable of writing this scene, Mr. Sykes refers the reader to *The Unnatural Combat* (IV, ii), where Theocrine, pleading to her father,

“Alas, Sir,

Did I but know in what I give offence,” &c.

recalls “in tone, phrasing and metre” the voice of Katherine.¹

I select Mr. Sykes’s article on *Henry VIII*,² then, for the reason that, as we have a large amount of the work of each of the two authors in question, Massinger and Shakespeare, and as we have already some data on Massinger’s frequent borrowing from Shakespeare, we should be able to determine more accurately the value of the parallel-passage test than we should in the case of a play for the authorship of which we have no clue, or in the case of authors whose undisputed work is limited to comparatively few plays.

I shall not pause over Mr. Sykes’s introductory arguments. Most of them are weak and unconvincing, and he apparently recognizes them as such when he writes: “Decisive proof of Massinger’s authorship must be found, if it is to be found at all, in the language of the play.”³

Mr. Sykes then marshals his host of parallels between *Henry VIII* and the plays of Massinger, and after presenting them, hazards: “But it will probably be agreed that the evidence already produced renders any more elaborate investigation unnecessary.”⁴ Though doubtless there are among his parallels some which we might question, on the whole the passages cited are surprisingly similar, and, I think, present one of the most striking arrays of parallel passages ever brought together for such a purpose. But how can he suggest that he has rendered “any more elaborate investigation unnecessary”? What has he proved other than that there exist a number of parallel passages in *Henry VIII* and various plays of Massinger? The line of investigation he began he abandoned when it was hardly a third finished. Before we are justified in drawing any conclusions whatsoever from the existence of these parallels, several other rather extensive pieces of investigation must be made.

¹ *Sidelights on Shakespeare*, Publisher’s Note, pp. viii–ix.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 18–47.

³ P. 22.

⁴ P. 43.

1. One must investigate the extent of Massinger's borrowing from other Shakespearean plays. Are there, for instance, in the plays of Massinger proportionately more echoes of the ideas and phraseology of *Henry VIII* than of *Hamlet*, *Othello*, or any other of the more popular plays? Until we are able to answer this question positively, our knowledge of the recurrences in Massinger of the ideas of *Henry VIII* avails us nothing. If we must judge from the Shakespearean allusions which have been noted in Massinger—and here it seems fair to omit the parallels collected by Mr. Sykes, who searched Massinger's plays for echoes of *Henry VIII* but says nothing of echoes of other plays—we are justified in assuming, until investigation has shown the contrary to be true, that Massinger borrows as heavily from *Hamlet*, *Othello*, and *Coriolanus* as he does from *Henry VIII*. In *The Shakespeare Allusion Book* and in Appendix IV of Cruickshank's *Philip Massinger*, the number of echoes noted in Massinger are: from *Hamlet*, 11; from *Othello*, 8; from *Henry VIII*, 6;¹ from *Coriolanus*, 5.

2. Investigation must likewise show at what period in his career Massinger reveals the greatest influence of Shakespeare. Mr. Sykes admits that the style of the disputed scenes of *Henry VIII* is "more akin to Shakespeare's than is Massinger's normal style as exhibited in his later independent plays," and he suggests that "the explanation is to be found in the early date of the play, and in that alone," affirming that we should expect that "Massinger's earlier dramatic work would most strongly show the influence of his master."² But we have no right to entertain such an expectation until further investigation has reversed the conclusions which would be drawn from the data so far collected. The three plays in which have been noted the greatest number of parallels to Shakespeare all postdate the First Folio, and two of the three are very late plays, *The Great Duke of Florence* (1627), and *The Emperor of the East* (1631). Likewise when we examine the passages collected by Mr. Sykes, we discover not only that three of the four plays in which he saw the greatest number of parallels to *Henry VIII* were written after the appearance of the Folio, but also that among the four are the two late plays mentioned above, *The Great Duke of Florence* and *The Emperor of the East*.³ If, indeed, Mas-

¹ This does not include what has been noted as an echo from that part of the play generally ascribed to Fletcher.

² P. 43.

³ The five plays in which the greatest number of parallels have been recognized are:

| | To Shak. Plays Other Than <i>Henry VIII</i> | To Henry VIII Noted by Mr. Sykes | Total |
|---------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------|-------|
| <i>Emperor of the East</i> (1631) | 6 | 8 | 14 |
| <i>Great Duke of Florence</i> (1627) . . . | 6 | 6 | 12 |
| <i>Parliament of Love</i> (1624) | 8 | 4 | 12 |
| <i>Duke of Milan</i> (1620) | 4 | 7 | 11 |
| <i>Renegado</i> (1624) | 0 | 8 | 8 |

singer's earlier dramatic work most strongly showed the influence of Shakespeare, we might expect to find a large number of echoes and parallels in the scenes which Massinger contributed in his collaboration with Fletcher. However, of the twenty-six parallels and allusions to Shakespeare which have been noted in the Beaumont and Fletcher plays, only three are found in scenes frequently ascribed to Massinger, nor is there general agreement in the ascription of these three scenes (*Knight of Malta*, IV. i; *Queen of Corinth*, I, ii; *Beggar's Bush*, V, ii). Until, then, further investigation has demonstrated that it was in his earlier plays that Massinger was most strongly influenced by Shakespeare, we must infer, with Mr. Cruickshank, "that Massinger studied the folio of 1623 carefully."¹ In Massinger's sixteen² independent plays more allusions to Shakespeare have been found in the last eight—those after 1626—than in the first eight—those before 1626.

3. Again, it seems hardly fair for one seeking to determine authorship by parallel passages to examine the work of one claimant without examining with equal care the work of all possible claimants. Mr. Sykes remembers to tell us only when Shakespeare does not use a similar word or phrase. I have space for but one instance. I quote Mr. Sykes:

Norfolk describes to Buckingham the wonders of "The Field of the Cloth of Gold," in a speech ending with these words:

When these suns—
For so they phrase 'em—by their heralds challeng'd
The noble spirits to arms, they did perform
Beyond thought's compass; that former fabulous story,
Being now seen possible enough, got credit,
That Bevis was believed.

Whether contemporary spectators spoke of the two kings as "suns," we may be permitted to doubt. But that Massinger would so have "phrased 'em" we may well believe. It is one of his favourite figures of speech and it is used four times in this scene. "Fabulous story," which is nowhere to be found in Shakespeare, appears again in Massinger's *The Picture*, I. ii. . . . Nor is there in any of Shakespeare's plays a single allusion to Bevis. Massinger twice refers to that mythical hero . . . —on both occasions to typify the extravagant and incredible.³

Mr. Sykes did not think it necessary to remind us that the figure of the sun was likewise a favorite with Shakespeare, or that it appears again in *Henry VIII* in lines which Mr. Sykes ascribes to Fletcher. The figure is used in Shakespeare's other plays no fewer than eight times. To the opening lines of *Richard III*, which have probably already come into the reader's mind, I might add:

Pericles, II, iii, 40:

Had princes sit, like stars, about his throne,
And he the sun.

¹ A. H. Cruickshank, *Philip Massinger*, p. 168.

² As a number of parallels have been noted in *The Virgin Martyr* (1621), by Massinger and Dekker, I group that here with the plays written by Massinger alone.

³ Pp. 23-24.

King John, II, i, 500:

Being but the shadow of your son,
Becomes a sun and makes your son a shadow.

Richard II, IV, i, 261:

A mockery king of snow,
Standing before the sun of Bolingbroke.

Henry VIII, III, ii, 415 (which Mr. Sykes gives to Fletcher):

Seek the king,
That sun, I pray, may never set.

Finding the phrase "fabulous story" apparently but one time in the acknowledged works of Massinger, Mr. Sykes thinks its appearance in *Henry VIII* points toward Massinger's authorship. True, it appears in no other Shakespearean play. If we omit the possessive pronouns, Shakespeare uses *story* with sixteen different adjectives, and of the sixteen he repeats only one—*sad*, which appears five times. Upon examination, therefore, Mr. Sykes's observation would seem to have not more than one-seventeenth of the value he gives it. And the same is true in the case of *Bevis*, there being many figures to whom Shakespeare refers in but one play. Shall we question *Henry IV* because that happens to be the only play in which Sir Dagonet is mentioned?

Mr. Sykes's failure to inquire into Shakespeare's phrasing when noting parallels in Massinger is forcibly revealed by a strange error which he makes on page 28. There one is a bit surprised to read what is ostensibly a reproduction of *Henry VIII*, I, ii, 84 ff.:

If we shall stand still,
In fear our notion will be mock'd or carp'd at,
We should take root here where we sit, or sit
State-statues only.

"It is strange," adds Mr. Sykes, "that it has never been noticed that there is here a corruption of the text. It does not seem to have occurred to any commentator to ask himself why a person's 'notion' should be any less likely to be carped at because he was standing still. The word should be 'motion' i.e. movement, action."

It is possible, of course, that Mr. Sykes was so unfortunate as to possess only a carelessly printed edition of *Henry VIII*. But had he consulted the First Folio, or even another text, he would have found his judgment confirmed but his reading anticipated, for the First Folio and every one of the sixteen editions I have consulted, except two apparently edited by Sir Israel Gollancz,¹ have "motion" and not "notion." Clearly here Mr. Sykes did not, before citing what he considers parallel passages in Massinger, inquire into the possibility of parallel phrases and ideas in other plays of Shakespeare, for in no concordance could he have failed to find the passage under "motion."

¹ One is the Temple edition, the other the Booklovers' edition, published by the University Society, New York, 1901. Possibly Sir Israel is not responsible for the text of the latter edition, though the critical notes are said to be by him and the name of no other editor or collaborator is mentioned anywhere in the volume.

The compound *state-statue* in the preceding quotation is nowhere else to be found in Shakespeare. Although Mr. Sykes was unable to find the identical combination in Massinger, he did discover in Massinger's plays eight compounds with *state* for the first element, and he concludes, therefore, that "the word 'state-statue' is, again, characteristic of Massinger."¹ But the word is thoroughly Shakespearean. It suggests Shakespeare not only in the manner of its coinage, but equally in its being used but once. In an interesting study of "The Once Used Words in Shakespeare," James Davie Butler observed that "no one class of once-used words is more conspicuous in Shakespeare than *alliterative compounds*," and he illustrates his observation by listing in what he calls a "very partial register" one hundred and thirty-five such formations.²

The existence of parallel passages may be due to an author's repeating himself, to imitation or influence, to chance, or to the idiom of the day. Mr. Sykes has certainly pointed out far too many parallels to permit our dismissing them as due to either of the last two; they must be due either to direct imitation or to the same author's having penned them. But surely we cannot hope to distinguish between one's imitation of another's lines and one's recollection of lines which he himself had previously penned, simply by the poetic merit of the passages and by the aptness of their use. Here, again, it seems to me, Mr. Sykes fails to take into consideration much that is essential. To illustrate, a rather extensive quotation is necessary. Mr. Sykes writes:

I will now take the famous trial-scene (II. iv) and will first quote from Katherine's speech, when she is summoned before the King:

Alas, sir,
In what have I offended you? What cause
Hath my behaviour given to your displeasure
That thus you should proceed to put me off,
And take your good grace from me? Heaven witness,
I have been to you a true and humble wife,
And at all times to your will conformable,
Ever in fear to kindle your dislike,
Yea, subject to your countenance, glad or sorry
As I saw it inclin'd
. if in the course
And process of this time you can report,
And prove it, too, against my honour aught,
. in God's name
Turn me away, and let the foul'st contempt
Shut door upon me.

This, at least, say the critics, *must* be Shakespeare's—no one else *could* have written it. But after all, it is only Holinshed turned into blank verse. . . .

What reason is there to suppose that Massinger was not capable of turning Holinshed into good blank verse? And if the task was set him, how would he

¹ P. 29.

² James Davie Butler, "The Once Used Words in Shakespeare," *New York Shakespeare Society Publications*, 1886, p. 5.

perform it? I will try to show that he would do it precisely in the way in which it actually has been done here.

First, with regards to the words "Alas, Sir," with which the Queen begins her appeal. No inference can be drawn from the mere occurrence of the words, because, as we have seen, they are taken from Holinshed. But is there not a very strong inference that the speech is Massinger's when we find in his plays no fewer than six speeches beginning with "Alas, Sir," and that always these words take exactly the same position in the line and accent in the metre. . . .

This is, however, a minor detail. The whole speech is typical Massinger. And it is clear, I think, not only that he wrote it, but that he regarded it with great satisfaction and recalled it some years afterwards when he came to write Theocrinus's speech in IV. i. of *The Unnatural Combat*:

Alas, Sir,

Did I but know in what I give offence
In my repentance I would show my sorrow
. On my knees, Sir,
As I have ever squarred my will by yours,
And liked and loath'd with your eyes, I beseech you
To teach me what the nature of my fault is,
That hath incens'd you If that I,
. Out of the least neglect of mine hereafter,
Make you remember it, may I sink ever
Under your dread command, sir. . . .

Could there be anything more striking than the resemblance of these two speeches in tone, phrasing and metre? Can anyone doubt that they were written by the same man?¹

The only thing I see in the lines about which there can be little doubt is that Massinger recalled Katherine's lines when he wrote Theocrines. When Mr. Sykes notes that Katherine's speech is taken almost word for word from Holinshed, he neglects to remind us that in one or two of Shakespeare's later plays many long speeches are but paraphrases of his sources. He suggests, indeed, that we know of no such paraphrases in Massinger when he asks, "What reason is there to suppose that Massinger was not capable of turning Holinshed's prose into good blank verse . . . if the task was set him?" But it is not a question of capability so much as a question of method and habit. Mr. Sykes recognizes that when he adds "if the task was set him." But who would set him such a task? We can hardly believe it would be Fletcher, the only collaborator Mr. Sykes admits, whose method was very different and who, when he turned to Holinshed in *Bonduca*, retained nothing more than the faintest verbal echo.

I have tried not to appear an advocate of Shakespeare's authorship, but simply to call attention to the incompleteness of the "parallel-passage test" as Mr. Sykes has employed it. Although Mr. Sykes's collection of parallels may be justly said to be an important contribution toward the study of the authorship of *Henry VIII*, it is only a beginning. We are not justified surely in assigning the play to Massinger until further investigation along such

¹ Pp. 31-33.

lines as those I have suggested permits us to reverse conclusions forced on us by what is perhaps fragmentary evidence, but the only evidence we have.

Before we can hope to interpret properly the parallels pointed out by Mr. Sykes, we must study the plays of Massinger, first, in their relation to *Henry VIII*, and second, in their relation to the other plays of the First Folio. We must know not only to what extent Massinger repeats the ideas and phraseology of *Henry VIII*, but also to what extent he repeats the ideas and phraseology of other Shakespearean plays. We must likewise know to what extent Massinger repeats himself in plays admitted to be his, and we must compare with such repetitions his echoes of *Henry VIII* and his many obvious borrowings from the works of others. Again, we must study the relationship of *Henry VIII* not simply to the plays of Massinger, but to the plays of the First Folio as well. We must know to what extent the characteristics of Shakespeare's style are repeated in his various plays, and how in such repetitions *Henry VIII* compares with the other plays. Finally, since it is unanimously admitted that the style of *Henry VIII* more closely resembles the style of Shakespeare than does the style of Massinger's later independent plays, we must demonstrate rather than "expect" that Massinger's earlier work most strongly shows the influence of his master. Only when these supplementary studies have been made can the parallels noted be said to have any value in the question of authorship.

From the obvious necessity of these supplementary investigations in the case of *Henry VIII*, it should, I think, be clear that in the case of authors whose plays are few and in the case of plays for the authorship of which we have not a very restricted number of possible claimants, and where, consequently, these supplementary studies cannot be made, the mere parading of parallels is utterly futile as a test of authorship.

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Libro de Apolonio, Part II. Grammar, Notes, and Vocabulary. Edited by C. CARROLL MARDEN. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1922. Pp. vii+191.

This volume forms a worthy complement of Part I, containing the text of the poem. Its distinguishing feature is the completeness of the vocabulary. Future editors of Old Spanish texts may well follow Professor Marden's example, and thus pave the way to a complete Old Spanish dictionary.

The question of the dialect of the poem seems to have been finally and satisfactorily settled by the editor. Professor Marden believes that from both the linguistic and the metrical facts he is justified in inferring that the Aragonese traits are indicative of an Aragonese copyist. The extant manuscript shows also Catalan characteristics, the title itself being Catalan, and

on the last page a passage in Catalan is found. Between the extant version and the original poem there existed an intermediate manuscript.

This intermediate manuscript may have been by the hand of an Aragonese and the extant version by a Catalan. A simpler explanation, however, would seem to lie in the hypothesis that the present manuscript was copied by a scribe familiar with Catalan and Aragonese or with a dialect on the border between those two linguistic territories [p. 29].

The assumption, then, would be that the composer of the original wrote in Castilian, using some Latin version or versions as his model rather than a Provençal one, in view of the fact that the narrative adheres more closely to the Latin versions. The Aragonisms in the vocabulary and orthography would be due to the copyist.

The metrical side of the work was discussed at length by G. T. Northup, in *Hispania*, VI, 262-63. I shall limit myself to a few remarks on the grammar and vocabulary.

GRAMMAR

Orthography

P. 1. It is doubtful that *y* is a sign of palatalization of the following *t* in *muyt* 241a. In this form the word was most likely pronounced as the Galician *moito* or the Portuguese *muilo*.

P. 3. *Z* and *ç* probably were both pronounced *ts* in the language of the scribe, as attested by the rhymes 17cd, 478ab, 516ab, 586cd. Cf. discussion by Zauner, *Literaturblatt*, Vol. XLVI, Nos. 5-6 (1925), p. 170.

P. 4. In 300c, 398b, 415a, definite article *ell* is used before a consonant, which is ascribed to scribal carelessness, a rather weak argument for the statement that *ell* is used only before a vowel. It seems rather that the scribe was quite innocent of any hard-and-fast rules on the subject. When *ell* is a pronoun, phonetically equal to the definite article, no such rule is observed, as Professor Marden himself has noted; it is also used at the end of a line in 641a, regardless of following vowel or consonant. Demonstr. adj. *aquell tu senyor*, 497c, *aquell que*, 466a, should have been included after *null*.

P. 7. The inconsistency in apocope, especially after *t* and *s*, is, of course, characteristic of Aragonese scribes. It occurs in many *aljamiado* texts of that region. I shall have occasion to refer particularly to *Rrek.*, i.e., *Rrekontamiento del Rrey Ališandre*.

P. 15. *Escogir* in 216d is rather a special rhyme form.

P. 34. In l. 4, correct 541a for 514a.

On p. 35 obvious misprint "sinalepha" occurs three times, on p. 33 once.

5b. In the *Rrek.*, *abenido* is used without preposition in the sense of "discover," "find": *aš abenido konšellöbu^{eno}*, fol. 95v.

9d. Not necessarily, but probable.

11b. Could we not read: *Non deve el mi padre de mi seyer clamado*, meaning: "He should not deserve to be called father by me"; followed by 11c:

"I find it repugnant when he calls me daughter." Professor Northup suggests: *Non deve él de mí padre seyer clamado*.

17a. *es come* is left without an explanation. The meaning of the line seems clear in view of 25ab: "The foliage of the bough eats up the root." Should we understand *es come* as one word < *excomedet*, or *es* as an apocopated form of *essa* = *verdura*? *Ex-comedet* would fit the meaning exactly.

35a. A good explanation.

52bc. In view of 54, I would interpret *pecado* here as "sin," *doblar* as "redouble," i.e., "produce new sins," *aturar* as "*hacer asiento en algún punto*" (cf. Borao, 166; *Rrek.*; C. Torres Fornes, *Sobre voces aragonesas usadas en Segorbe* [1903], p. 255), *abscura* as "*oscuridad*." The interpretation would then be: "This was caused by sin, for the nature of sin is such that it multiplies itself into many other sins within a few days in the man in whose mind it stays long [as against 54c], so that it brings about a great darkening of the mind."

55b. Here *pecado* may be understood as "*Satanás*."

59c. Could we not read *qu'en tales* or *do'en tales*, and omit the second comma?

69a. *Sabor* would hardly fit the text.

77b. *louiere* is correct Spanish, hence really needs no apology. It might call for some caution were it the only example of proclitic use of pronoun in the poem. But there is *mende*, 118a, which could of course be used enclitically, *fizom*, and other cases; cf. p. 8.

78d. Could we suggest: *Torno pora su villa, su manto afiblado*? Cf. 145b. Forms in *-ando* rhyming with *-ado* occur several times in the poem. Similarly in Alex(O), 157cd, 499bcd. If the editor admits *amansa(n)do* in 425b there should be no objection to admitting such emendations elsewhere when warranted by the meaning or when attested by identical examples as in the present case.

91d. The line is a part of the quotation rather than an exclamation of the poet.

93a. *Provençia* should be emended to *proveençia*, meaning "Divine Providence," not "*provecho*." This also supplies the missing syllable. Contrary to the statement on p. 1, the *i* could not be atonic unless *proveençia* is meant.

142d. The emendation proposed is very plausible.

143d. Perfect of *posar* more than doubtful instead of perfect of *poner*.

147cd. The context shows that the rods here are something like hockey or golf sticks, not symbols of rank.

176c. The interpretation suggested is plausible.

200d. The meaning seems to be that "he loved him as much as he did his daughter."

225a-26d. Emendations proposed are all very plausible. In 227c, *sentençia* would be preferable. *Entençia* is more likely scribal error. Cf. Alex (O), 321d. In 227a, *entençia* means "*disputa*." Cf. Alex (O) 321a, 448b.

236b. The line needs no emendation: *mas cuyta* means "*más grande es vuestra preocupación.*"

255d. The repetition may be due to the desire of expressing intensity.

257d. No emendation necessary.

264b. *Lo* could be explained as neuter pronoun, anticipating *los tuertos y los danyos*.

275a. I would punctuate: *calla, ya*, taking the latter word for an interjection as in 560c.

300d. *Odiçepçon* may be a neologism: *audire+coepere*, i.e., the art of detecting sound of the heart by means of touch, which has recently been "rediscovered" by Professor Gault. The terms proposed as required to meet the situation are far fetched, except the last one. Vocabulary conjectures *concepción*, which would be more plausible. It seems that the art meant is what is now termed "auscultation": "the act, art, or process of listening for sounds produced in some part of the person, especially the chest or abdomen, in order to detect or judge concerning any abnormal condition."¹

366c. *depues* needs no emendation to *de[s]pues*. The editor himself lists the form in the vocabulary.

343d. Obvious misprint 324 for 342d.

346a. If the conjunction is retained, we must have synalepha in *la a*, or read *dot*. It is preferable to omit the conjunction.

360b. In the vocabulary *cabdalero* is given as "*adjetivo substantivado*" with the meaning "*persona principal y poderosa.*" Under *reçio* we read "*parece errata for rey o reyno.*" In the latter event *cabdalero* would be an adj. as in Alex (O), 2104c, *dos reys cabdaleros*, *ibid.*, 2002d, *faziendas cabdaleras*, and consequently could not have the meaning listed in the vocabulary. If the editor accepts that meaning, *reçio* could be left without emendation in the sense of "*esforçado*" (cf. J. Ruiz, 177c), or more easily amended to *regio*. If we take *reçio* to be a scribal error, then *reyno* would be a very plausible emendation.

389b. *La gra del Senyor* in the second hemistich would suffice as an emendation.

425b. *amansado* would be preferable, as it would describe an immediate effect of the lady's talk.

431a. *meior* here could hardly be emended to *meior[ar]* as in 264c, the situation here being quite different. *Meior* here means "*am besten.*" Perhaps *meior el la querie*, or *el meior la querie*, would supply the missing syllable.

422a. The use of *sanar* in this form is not unusual, quite the contrary. An easier emendation would be *saluar* in 442d.

453d. *alongados* most likely refers to *naues* and should be emended as the editor suggests to "*alongadas.*" The scribe was probably misled by *fuero*n, which he took to refer to the people in the ships. A similar case occurs in Alex (O), 613d, where the scribe puts in the feminine form thinking of "*los planetas*" as "*las planetas.*" Cf. J. Ruiz, 119d.

¹ Funk & Wagnalls, *Standard Dictionary*, 1913.

473a. *mia* could be dissyllabic only if *pora* is read *por*, or if we admit synalepha *mia es*.

483cd is interesting from the phonetic point of view, as it shows that Castilian *s*, *ss*, was phonetically very similar to *x*, hence the Morisco ش for both.

488c. *donde quiera que* would give no satisfactory meaning if *de vida* means "vivo," as indicated in the vocabulary. I understand: "if his wound is not mortal or if he has (sufficient) life."

512c. A very good emendation.

538d. The interpretation given is the only plausible one.

546b. *cantos* needs some elucidation. Probably an elliptical expression.

577b. *blanqueado* would be preferable. Cf. Alex (O), 817c, *branqueado*, defined in the vocabulary thus: "*blanco: alude el poeta á los habitantes del cielo emptreo.*"

654c. *Guardamos para otrie* seems perfectly intelligible: we hoard up, save, accumulate property, for other people (our heirs).

655d. This probably alludes to Matt. 22:11-12. *Si no del conuiuio de Dios* would give the meaning: "unless it be one adequate for the repast of the Lord." The term γάμος is translated by Goodspeed preferably by "banquet," not preferably "wedding feast."

VOCABULARY

abenir, véase *avenir*: correct *auenyr*, p. 78.

abscura seems rather "*obscuridad.*"

afollar often means "*arruinar*," "*destruir.*" SMill 274d, *oios que avien afollados*, Alex (O), 538d, *afollados*, 157a, 654a, *túuos por affollado*. In the *Rrek.* it occurs in fol. 15 in this meaning: "*ya šera afollado tu šennoriyo.*"

P. 70, third line from bottom, correct: *Cuervo hace notar* for *notarse*.

almatrague occurs also in *Rrek.*, fol. 112v, in the later form *almadrague*.

aturar in 52b has already been discussed. Here it cannot mean "*porfiar*, *empeñarse*," but rather "*hacer asiento en algún punto, permanecer.*" Frequently it is a synonym of *durar*. Cf. JRuiz, 253d, *otro no les atura*, "Any other fire does not last them"; 1338b, *Si el amor da fruto, dando mucho atura*, "If love gives fruit, in such event it lasts long." Also in the *Rrek.*, fol. 13, in Alex (O), 689d, it means "to persevere, to hold out."

avenir en in 5b could be perhaps better rendered by "*conseguirla*," since the king has to be asked first; cf. 19c. In 145c, 164d, 299d, it may mean both "*tener éxito*" or "*ser hábil.*"

bueno in 96d seems to stand for "*lo bueno.*" The meaning of the line would then be: "In memory of the good wrought by Apolonio in this place."

doblar, 52c, should be taken in the Provençal meaning, "to increase": *ades doblara·lh folia*, Appel, Bernart von Ventadorn, p. 181.

esquivio, 308c, I understand "no mostró repugnancia," i.e., "did not shun the unpleasant task."

estorçer, frequent in *Rrek.*, also in Juan Ruiz, Alex (O), *Crón. Gen.*, Berceo.

fonsado < *fossâtū* originally means rather "trenches, entrenched camp"; *e son derramados por los fonsados*, Ferrant Sanchez Talavera, *Oxford Book of Spanish Verse*, p. 25. Cf. Alex (O), 793b, 1295b, *Mandó luego mover el su real fonsado*, which seems to correspond to the Latin *castra movere*, and should be translated "his entrenched camp" rather than "his royal army." In the present poem, *fonsado* is used in its extended meaning, "army."

gabar, *Rrek.* has "*wabar*," in the sense of "*alabar*," "*vantarse*."

matar in 81c simply means "to kill."

nozimiento and *nozir* occur in *Rrek.* *Nozir* also in Alex (O), 509c, 553d, 754b.

pella occurs also in *Rrek.*

plegar: no mention has been made of *plega contigo* in 89b in the vocabulary.

porfaçar occurs also in *Crón. Gen.*

provençia, 93a, should read *proveençia*, i.e., "Divine Providence."

provinçia, 647d, means "kingdom," referring to 646cd. The use of the word in this meaning is attested by an old manuscript sea-chart (*portolano*) on which one finds *proujncia de nubia, de la guinea*, on the African shores of the Mediterranean, as late as 1468 A.D.

saya occurs also in *Crón. Gen.*

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The Life and Poems of Nicholas Grimald. By L. R. MERRILL. "Yale Studies in English," No. LXIX. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1925. Pp. v+458.

This volume contains an account of the life and literary output of Grimald, the texts of his two extant Latin plays with translations into English, a discussion of the influence of *Christus Redivivus* in Germany, and the texts of the minor poems well annotated. As a whole, the editorial work is very creditable. The account of the life of Grimald, however, is somewhat disappointing. There are some additions to our knowledge and some corrections of errors, but Mr. Merrill was not able to add much to the account of the great humanist's work which was given by Bale in 1557. The aspect of Grimald's life to which Mr. Merrill gives chief emphasis is the supposed betrayal of Ridley. Mr. Merrill follows Strype's rabid and unjust statement that Grimald turned traitor and became a spy on his friend and benefactor Ridley (pp. 49, 454). The evidence cited does not substantiate the charge; indeed, it seems to me to point in the other direction. A letter written near the end of 1554 (p. 44)

indicates that, because of a charge which had shaken his faith in Grimald, Ridley was doubtful about suggesting to him some literary undertaking that would support the cause of Protestantism. In a second letter, however, written at the end of December and probably very shortly after the first (pp. 45, 46), Ridley obviously explains the situation by declaring that his brother-in-law had been imprisoned for sending Ridley's works to Grimald upon request and adding:

All these things they have gotten of Grimbold, as my brother doth suppose; not that Grimbold hath betrayed him, but (as is supposed) one which my brother trusted to carry his letters unto Grimbold; for it will not sink into my head to think that Grimbold would ever play me such a Judas's Part.

That Grimald was not a traitor is indicated by his own immediate arrest and by his sentence to be "hanged, drawn and quartered," according to report (p. 47), while Ridley's fate was still undecided. Apparently the greatest wrath of the government fell upon Grimald for the affair. A letter written after Grimald's arrest and supposedly by Ridley expresses regret at some rumor concerning Grimald but declares, "It matters not one jot to the cause of my brother" (p. 46). By January 18, 1555, Grimald had made his peace with the government. Several contemporary utterances of the Reformers indicate regret at a weakness not expected of one so close to the group, but there is surprisingly little bitterness as I see it (pp. 47-49). Probably he recanted to save his life, though the evidence is not clear on this point. Certainly greater men than he refused to face the martyrdom that Grimald's comrades expected of him, and even the intense Latimer wavered. It seems to me absurd to suppose as Mr. Merrill does—following Strype—that Grimald could have been a successful spy on his friends, or that the Catholics needed more to condemn Ridley than his own works and his refusal to recant. If Grimald had been such a traitor, we have enough polemical literature written at the middle of the century to judge what a storm of abuse would have been poured out on him. The bitter Fox merely calls him "a man who had more store of good gifts than of great constancy." It is altogether unlikely that, even on the Continent, Bale would not have heard of Grimald's treachery before he published a eulogy of him more than a year after his submission to the government, and Bale was as uncompromising as Fox. Googe's epitaph on Grimald's death printed in 1563 shows that he was still held in the highest esteem by one humanist at least, a poet who was a member of a large group of humanistic poets and a Puritan who selected two of the bitterest arraignments of Catholicism for translation into English verse. In view of the inherent improbability of the charge against Grimald, it is unfortunate that the first modern editor of his works should brand him "The Judas of the Reformation," the title given to Mr. Merrill's account of the affair when it was first published in *PMLA*, XXXVII (1922), 216-27.

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The English Versions of the "Ship of Fools." A Contribution to the History of the Early French Renaissance in England. By FR. AURELIUS POMPEN. London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1925. Pp. xiv+345.

Few books have had more conflicting statements made about them than the *Ship of Fools*. Its great length, its varied subject matter, and its several versions are only a few of the reasons why such conflicting opinions have arisen. It is pleasant, therefore, to be able to welcome the results of a study that clears up many of the misunderstandings. Professor Pompen's new book, *The English Versions of the Ship of Fools*, is a very substantial and interesting contribution to the literature on the subject—a very necessary and long-looked-for interpretation of this almost unknown classic.

Professor Pompen's main purpose, as stated in his Introduction, is "to bring both Barclay and Watson somewhat nearer to the student of English Literature, and correctly to appraise their historical and literary value." This he accomplishes by exposition of the texts of both English versions. The exposition is based on a detailed comparison of all the German, Latin, French, and English versions and editions of the *Ship*, in the course of which comparison Professor Pompen points out what changes occur, what is new and what is old, what the literary qualities of the different parts of each version are, and he clears up many of the historical and etymological obscurities. The study is strictly a textual one, and if at times it becomes somewhat monotonous reading, the reason is that the plan is necessarily always the same: What did Brant write? What did Locher make of Brant's work? What did Barclay make of Locher's version? What did Riviere do with Locher's version? What did Drouyn make of Riviere's text? And finally, How did Watson turn Drouyn's version into "nonsense and curiosities"? To the average student the book will be of chief value, of course, for reference and not for complete reading.

As the foregoing questions indicate, Professor Pompen gives a very definite answer to the much-mooted question of what source or sources Barclay used. The "bulk of the translation," he says (p. 309), "is all done from the Latin, that is to say from the Latin edition published at Paris and reprinted at Lyons in 1498." Professor Pompen thinks Barclay "must have diligently scanned the marginal notes of the French edition, and this accounts for the deviations in chapters 6, 8, 10, 53, 64, 85, and perhaps also 33." The chapter headings of the French version of Riviere are also reflected in the Barclay version. Also, "It must have been through Riviere's paraphrase that Barclay became acquainted with the *Ship of Fools*." But this is the extent of Barclay's use of the French. Concerning his use of the German text of Brant—the "Doche," as Barclay calls it—Professor Pompen says, "It is not impossible that Barclay has 'oversene' a copy of the German original, but it was all Greek to him; he did not understand a word of it." To be sure, the writer's

conclusions are not wholly new with him. Fraustadt and Koelbing and, more recently, Professor Berdan—of his discussions of the problem in the *Modern Language Review*, July, 1913, and in *Early Tudor Poetry* (New York, 1920), Professor Pompen has omitted mention in text and Bibliography—have expressed the belief that Barclay chiefly used the Latin. But no one heretofore has found that Barclay made no use of the German and almost no use of the French; and no one has made an exhaustive analysis of the texts to sustain his conclusions, as has Professor Pompen. In a study of the class satire in Barclay's *Shyp of Follys*, I have had occasion to undertake a similar comparison of texts, and my observations, so far as they go, tally exactly with those of Professor Pompen regarding the use made by the different translators of the various texts. The care and accuracy of his observations are evident throughout.

In this connection should be mentioned, also, the excellence of Professor Pompen's English summaries of the foreign texts. In these summaries he shows a very fine understanding of the style, moods, and psychology of the different so-called translators. The changes in thought as the text passed from German to Latin, to French, to English, have been, one feels, an object of keen interest to the critic. Several times he very neatly states the differences in temperament and style of the translators: Brant is shrewdly sententious, Locher indulges in "high-flown commonplaces," Riviere is verbose, and Barclay is original and colloquial again, like Brant. "In his own way," he says (p. 291), "he [Barclay] resembled Brant rather than Locher. He was much less of a Humanist than of a Late Medievalist. It is to be regretted all the more that the kindred spirits never met, and that Barclay was not able to work directly from the German original." One experiences a feeling of satisfaction that, in Professor Pompen's indication of Barclay's originality, Barclay is at last finding some of the appreciation that has long been due him. Professor Pompen repeatedly gives the impression that Watson's version, in contrast with Barclay's, is only "nonsense and curiosities."

In form, the book is clear and easy to use. A complete list of the various versions and editions of the *Ship* and a comparative table of all the chapters in the different versions form valuable additions. In his Introduction the writer expresses regret that the text has no unity and no equality of treatment. To me it seems quite unified. My chief objection to the form of the book is that the author has tried to achieve a kind of artificial unity by classifying the chapters of the *Ship* under such vague headings as "Chapters Relating to Injustice, Dishonesty, and Uncharitableness," "Chapters Relating to Wise and Unwise Actions," and under such obviously non-exclusive headings as "Chapters Relating to Lawyers and Physicians" and "Chapters Relating to Various Classes of Persons." The objection may seem trivial, but such a classification gives, to one unacquainted with the text, a false sense of completeness, of categories, of which Professor Pompen himself shows he is conscious when he says (p. 20), "It is rather difficult and even risky to arrange

the numerous chapters of the *Ship of Fools* into categories." For reference the student is not hindered by the scheme, because he can turn to the table at the back of the book, but as a whole the classification is misleading. The heading, "Wise and Unwise Actions," is broad enough to include almost all the *Ship*; and the term, "Classes of Persons," is so technical as to suggest the classes of society with which Barclay fills his *Shyp*. Professor Pompen seems to have classified according to titles in original texts, but chapters, once started, often digress, as he himself points out. As a result, chapter xxix on "Fault-Finding," but full of Dance of Death material, is listed with chapters on "Injustice, Dishonesty, and Uncharitableness," while chapter lxxxv, which is also a sermon on death, is listed with chapters on "Wise and Unwise Actions," and so forth. To maintain in discussion the order of chapters in the text would mean giving a truer impression of it; if categories seem necessary, however, they must be very wisely chosen.

The necessity for the modernized punctuation and capitalization of the quotations from Barclay also seems rather doubtful. The book will be of interest chiefly, of course, to the student who is already familiar with early English punctuation and who prefers his text unaltered. The alterations here are particularly noticeable, since the quotations frequently contain marks used to express the feelings of the critic and not the thought of the poet. The author's slightly exclamatory style colors even Barclay's staid measures. Professor Pompen's explanation—namely, that his work is historical, literary, and linguistic criticism, not bibliographical description—seems scarcely to justify the liberties taken with the text.

The exposition of the English versions is not based solely on comparison of texts, however. Historical and etymological obscurities are explained that have formerly been misinterpreted or not interpreted at all. For example, the history of the Beghards and Beguines, the Turkish danger, and the conflict of grammarians and logicians, as reflected in the *Ship*, are a few of the matters made clear. The analysis of the meaning of Barclay's "darayne" is an example of Professor Pompen's many ingenious and very probable explanations of etymological difficulties. In this respect he does for Barclay what Zarneke did for Brant. He raises a few difficulties, however, that seem no difficulties. He is uncertain, apparently, of the meaning of "charivary" (p. 65) in Drouyn's text, and when commenting on Barclay's satire on women's dress (p. 234), he has no explanation for the word "sadel." Naturally the *New English Dictionary* would give no meaning under "saddle" that would apply here, since the word is not to be taken literally. The rest of Barclay's sentence makes the meaning of "padding" or "bustle" seem obvious. As I read the account of Barclay's quarrel with Skelton (pp. 272 f.) I hoped that some explanation of Barclay's *Contra Skeltonum* was forthcoming. Professor Pompen says, ". . . It is rather remarkable that there is no trace of any retort from the quarrelsome Rector. Various little allusions in Barclay's works seem to be directed against his contemporary, but the real nature of the quarrel remains

entirely in the dark." I have long wondered whether Skelton's vicious *Contra Scottos*, in which he calls them "Folys and sottys," "The rude ranke Scottes," "Barbara Scottorum gens, perfida, plena malorum," may not have caused Barclay to engage in "flytynge," or the other way about. Of Barclay's Scotch origin Professor Pompen seems convinced (p. 154). Another word which, as Professor Pompen indicates (p. 47 n.), is used over and over again by Barclay and of which the writer gives no explanation, is "estate" or "state." In his footnote he says: "*Estate* or *state* is used by Barclay time and again to denote a person of high rank, a noble. This seems a somewhat peculiar use of the word, for it has been overlooked by the *NED*. The *Century Dictionary and Cyclo-pedia* (s.v. sub 10) mentions it with an anonymous quotation from *Notes and Queries*, one from Latimer, and one from the (unrevised) Authorised Version, Mark vi, 21." This use of the word does seem peculiar to a modern reader, but it was by no means peculiar to Barclay and his contemporaries—nor to those who preceded and followed him. In the study of the class satire in Barclay's *Shyp of Folys* which I am making, I hope to show, at the suggestion of Professor Ayres, how the philosophy of the estates of the world, the French *états du monde*, permeated much of the medieval and early and late Renaissance literature in England. The meaning of "estate" in definition Number 3 in the *New English Dictionary*: "status, standing, position in the world; degree of rank; especially exalted rank or dignity," easily came to indicate a "person of high rank" as well as the rank itself.

Professor Pompen very rightly judged that the first thing to be done for the *Ship of Fools* was to make a complete and accurate comparison of all the versions. The size and difficulties of the task no doubt account for the fact that it has been left to this late date for accomplishment. And Professor Pompen's interpretation is excellent, so far as it goes. Further study of German, French, and English didactic literature before the *Ship* should throw more light on many passages. As the writer indicates, he omits all discussion of the influence of the *Ship* and attempts no connected biography of Barclay. As a basis for all further studies, however, Professor Pompen's book is invaluable, and all future students will be his grateful debtors.

ADELPHI COLLEGE

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Geschichte der lateinischen Liebesdichtung im Mittelalter. By HENNIG BRINKMANN. Halle: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1925. Pp. vi+110; 2 indexes.

Mr. Brinkmann is *Privatdozent* of German and Medieval Latin philology at the University of Jena. His recent contributions to scientific journals, e.g., *Anfänge lateinischer Liebesdichtung im Mittelalter* (*Neophilologus*, 1924); *Die Dichterpersönlichkeit des Archipoeta* (*Germanisch-Romanische Monatsschrift*, 1925), prove him an industrious worker in his chosen field of research, a

reputation which is upheld by his *Geschichte der lateinischen Liebesdichtung im Mittelalter*, published a short while ago.

In this book the author purposes to sketch the history of Medieval Latin love-poetry from its beginning up to its period of efflorescence. At the same time the book is intended to be a preliminary study for a new investigation of the origin of *Minnesang*, the problem to be approached this time from the Medieval Latin angle (p. v). As is to be expected, a large portion of the book is devoted to a discussion of the *Vagantenlyrik* (pp. 31-73). And there again, the whence of the songs of the wandering scholars is taken up at some length, not only because of its pertinence in such a book as this, but also because this question is important for the folk song and the lyric poetry of the vernaculars. . . . Answer the question concerning the origin of the songs of the wandering scholars and you answer at the same time the problem of the whole of occidental poetry. The student of Medieval Latin has a chance here to solve an important problem of general literary history [p. 46].

Mr. Brinkmann does not say it with just so many words, but one can read between the lines that he thinks he has gone rather far in cutting the Gordian knot of the origin of Goliard song, and all that this implies.

This is how he goes about it: He claims an uninterrupted line of natural descent from the friendship epistles of Apollinaris Sidonius and Venantius down to the *Cambridge Songs* and the *Carmina Burana*. Ninth- and tenth-century Italian poetry with its *invitatio amicae* and pastoral *in ovo*, Ovid and the *Song of Songs*, Abelard and his pupil Hilarius, metrical and rhythmical verses of the clerics and nuns, the classroom exercises in poetry—all these he carefully notes and uses as links in the chain which extends from the fifth to the twelfth century. The wandering scholar and his song is a product of the school. His poetry is but the continuation of the friendship epistle of Venantius, Bonifatius, Alcuin, and their more or less saintly male and female successors. What if he does not compose epistles? No longer is there need for the writing of letters; the vagabond student carries his own message. The form he may have changed, but not the substance of materials handed down.

And yet, says Mr. Brinkmann, there are three things that cannot be properly accounted for by tracing the Goliard love-songs back to the school and its scholastic tradition: the *Natureingang*, the "refrain," and the "dance motif."

First, the *Natureingang*: The wandering student could not have taken this device from the learned poetry of the schools; it is not found there, nor is it found in the folk-song. The fifty-five volumes of the *Analecta hymnica* furnish Mr. Brinkmann proof for his contention that the *Natureingang* must be derived from the Latin hymnal poetry (pp. 46-50).

Second, the "refrain": Its source is the refrain used in the hymns of the tenth and subsequent centuries (p. 61). *Natureingang* and refrain both have a common source, viz., the sacred poetry of the Middle Ages. And this is a new source for the Medieval Latin love-lyric, Mr. Brinkmann claims, discovered by him (p. 50).

Third, the "dance motif" in the songs of the wandering students: It is not to be connected with the popular folk-song, which Mr. Brinkmann only ironically calls *Volkshied*, because, according to him, the folk-song did not exist before *Minnesang*. There were in existence, to be sure, "primitive *Gemeinschaftslieder*." And these primitive communal or community songs are the source of the Medieval Latin love-songs that have to do with dancing and play (p. 72).

In general, then, the songs of the vagabond students start from previously used and developed literary forms and models, be these of the school or of the liturgy; but in the case of the dance song, the student poets have imported a decidedly popular, i.e., unliterary, *novum* into their repertoire and have fashioned it with conscious art (p. 73). And that is all. It is wrong to claim that hymns written in praise of the Virgin or of *Minnesang* exerted influence on the development of Goliard poetry. There is no such influence; at least, its importance is nil (pp. 50-56). *Et damnamus secus docentes*, of whom there are quite a number, e.g., Spiegel, Giesebrecht, Allen, Santangelo, Jeanroy, Pillet, Gaston Paris.

Certainly a stimulating book and a lucid presentation (but oh, the many parentheses!). The author has a plan, and he follows it closely. His development of the argument is logical, even where he, in my opinion, depends a little too much on deduction (p. 52; cf. p. 2). But does Mr. Brinkmann really believe all he says about the dawn of the eleventh century and the "fundamental transformation in the structure of souls"? To me, such a thought is rather disconcerting.

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MS ROYAL IRISH ACADEMY 23 D 43

In the library of the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin, is an Icelandic vellum MS, 23 D 43, dealing almost wholly with medical subjects. It is the richest medical MS yet found from the Old Norse period. It was discovered by Mr. Edward Gwynn, Fellow of Trinity College, while engaged in cataloguing the Irish MSS of the Academy. The MS was turned over by Mr. Gwynn to Professor Carl Marstrand, then of Trinity, now of Oslo, who with some aid from Professor Oluf Kolsrud made a complete transcript. The work being outside the field of these scholars, it was temporarily laid aside; and in the summer of 1923 Professor Marstrand offered me all his material provided I would undertake to edit the MS. I accepted the task, and in the course of the following winter went to Dublin to investigate the MS itself. Whatever I give in this paper is based on my collation of Professor Marstrand's transcript with the original.

The MS is a small octavo volume, $5\frac{3}{4} \times 4\frac{1}{2}$ inches, consisting of seventy-three leaves and a small strip of vellum inserted and numbered as an additional leaf. Except for two pages it is well preserved, though stained and browned by exposure. The whole is written in a clear hand in black or in brown ink with chapter headings in red (now badly faded) and with initials in red and in green.

The contents fall into the following divisions:

1. Charms and conjurations for stemming blood and curing fevers
2. A brief chapter on the depth of the seas
3. A book of simples [i.e., uncompounded medicines—chiefly herbs] and their efficacy

4. An antidotarium [i.e., book of compound medicines]
5. A lapidary [on the medical uses of gems]
6. A leechbook [or possibly two]—clearly going back to a leechbook arranged "from head to foot"—listing diseases of the various parts of the body and giving treatments of them
7. A cookbook

Aside from the Dublin codex, there are extant five medical MSS in Old Norse—three Icelandic and two Norwegian—all fragmentary.¹ Of these, four are chiefly leechbooks and the fifth is a small fragment of a West Norwegian book of simples translated from the Danish of Henrik Harpestræng.² Two of the Icelandic MSS also contain chapters coming from the same book of simples.³

The importance of the Dublin MS is, in the first place, that it throws light on all the other MSS, the fragmentariness of which has left many unsolved problems; and, in the second place, that it gives us a great deal of new material not contained in any of the other MSS. This material is of great interest to the medical historian, but of even greater to the philologist, who finds a wealth of lexicographic material that enables him to follow the creation of a medical vocabulary in Old Norse times.

Editors of the five MSS just referred to have pointed out that nearly all the medical literature of Iceland and Norway presupposes Danish originals. In fact, the West Norwegian book of simples has been traced to the K MS of Henrik Harpestræng—or more accurately to a now lost MS of the same type as K.⁴ The Icelandic MSS show, too, that Norway has been a middle link. This movement of medical literature—Denmark to Norway to Iceland—is made even more evi-

¹ A.M. 655, 4to, from the second half of the thirteenth century. Edited by Konr. Gíslason, *Fire og Fyrrtysve Prøver af Oldnordisk Sprog og Litteratur* (Kjöbenhavn, 1860), pp. 470–75 (Icelandic).

A.M. 194, 8vo (37 recto—45 verso) written in 1387. Edited by Kr. Kålund, *Alfræði Íslensk*, I (Köbenhavn, 1908), 61–77 (Icelandic).

A.M. 434, 12mo, from the second half of the fifteenth century. Edited by Kr. Kålund, "Den islandske lægebog Codex arnamagneanus 434a," 12mo, in *Kgl. Danske Vidensk. Selsk. Skr.*, 6. Række, Köbenhavn, 1907 (Icelandic).

A.M. 696, 4to, from ca. 1350. Edited by Marius Hægstad, "Gamalnorsk Fragment av Henrik Harpestræng," *Vidensk. Selsk. Skrifter*, Kristiania, 1906 (West Norwegian).

A.M. 673a, 4to, from ca. 1370. Edited by Marius Hægstad, "Eit Stykke av et Austlandsk Lækebok fraa 14 Hundrædaaret," *Vidensk. Selsk. Forh.*, Kristiania, 1913 (East Norwegian).

² A.M. 696.

³ A.M. 194 and A.M. 434.

⁴ Cf. Marius Kristensen, *Harpestræng* (Köbenhavn, 1920), p. xxix. I. Reichborn-Kjennerud, *Karakteristik av de gamle nordiske lægebøger* (Kristiania, 1924), p. 3.

dent by the Dublin MS. Thus the book of simples, the lapidary, and the cookbook go back almost *in toto* to a Danish parallel to K. A few chapters of simples may have been added in Norway. The leech book includes almost everything in the published MSS but adds a great deal that may, at least in part, be of Norwegian-Icelandic origin. But the antidotarium is an entirely new find in Scandinavian medicine. That some such work was known in Scandinavia is clear from a few names in the Danish MS A.M. 187,¹ and from the Latin version in MS Gl. kl. Saml. 1654, Copenhagen, the same MS that contains the *Dosis M. H. Daci*.² The antidotarium is full of Norwegian forms, but I have not found positive evidence of Danish antecedents.

That the chief source of medical knowledge in Scandinavia was the famous school at Salerno has been pointed out by earlier editors, particularly by Dr. Marius Kristensen, the editor of the Danish Harpestræng MSS. Dr. Kristensen has shown conclusively that the Harpestræng sources are two eleventh- or twelfth-century works from Salerno, Constantinus Africanus, *De Gradibus Simplicium*, and Macer Floridus, *De Viribus Herbarum*.³ The discovery, in the Dublin MS, of an antidotarium of the Salerno type strengthens Dr. Kristensen's conclusions. The source of this section is largely the *Antidotarium Nicolai*, also an eleventh-century Salernian work, and the most famous pharmacological work of the Middle Ages. In our MS there are listed in all sixty compound drugs. Of these, forty-four are derived from *Antidotarium Nicolai*, the accounts often being word-for-word translations. Of the other sixteen, eleven go back to Salernian sources, three are mere duplications of names. Of the two others I have as yet not identified parallels nor discovered sources.

But our MS gives us one new source contact not noted by students of Scandinavian medicine. Both in Danish and in Old Norse MSS there are several chapters on blood-letting, the origin of which has puzzled editors. The Dublin MS has similar chapters, clearly related to the ones already published, but differing so radically from them that there can be no thought of the derivation of the Dublin chapters from

¹ Vilgo Sæby, *Det Arnamagnæanske Håndskrift Nr. 187 i Odias*, København, 1886.

² Its presence in the library of Archb. Jens Grand (cf. *Ann. f. n. Old.* [1860], p. 174) is not conclusive, for the archbishop had lived abroad many years prior to the cataloguing of his books.

³ Marius Kristensen, *Harpestræng*, pp. xi ff.

the Danish. Dr. Kristensen states that he has been unable to find sources for the Danish version.

For the four chapters of the Dublin MS I believe I have located the source in a medical tract forming one section of the large encyclopedic MS 17, St. John's College, Oxford, a Latin MS written in England in 1110-12.¹ This MS contains a version of Bede's *De Phlebotomia* varying greatly from the version printed by Giles, *Venerabilis Bedae Opera*, Volume VI. The Dublin MS follows closely the very passages in 17 St. J. not found in Giles's text. The Old Norse compiler could get in contact with Bede almost anywhere in Europe; but a special augmented and re-worked Bede, such as that of 17 St. J., was probably obtained by him from England. We must, therefore, in any future study of Scandinavian medical history consider not only the possible loans from Salerno and Montpelier via Denmark, but those from English sources as well.

There are other minor passages of our MS that may also point to England. Particularly is this true of a brief chapter from Galen's *Prognosticon* that agrees with the version in the St. John's MS.

To pass now to the internal problems of the MS. The peculiarities of paleography and language establish the MS as Icelandic of the fifteenth century—of the second half rather than of the first. There seem to have been two main scribes. Certain changes that begin at folio 26 recto seem to indicate a new scribe from this place on. The changes are slight and chiefly in spelling. Paleographically, the principal difference is in a very marked reduction in the use of abbreviations and in a more open hand. Besides the main scribes—or scribe—one interpolator and three or four assistants have written passages varying from four and one-half lines to two and one-half pages. Of these assistants the last might have been elevated to the rank of a main scribe had the whole MS been preserved. He has written the beginning of the lapidary, which concludes the volume as now bound, but the greater portion of this—at least six leaves—has been cut out.

The characteristics that establish the date of the MS are both paleographic and linguistic. There is, in the first place, that excess of abbreviations peculiar to the fifteenth-century scribe. Particularly significant is the regular use of the interlinear dot to indicate double consonants. The almost uniform use of svarabhakti *u*, e.g., *madur*

¹ The medical part of the MS has been published by Dr. Charles Singer, *Medical Literature of the Dark Ages*, London, 1917.

(9 verso), *lætur* (2 recto), *adur* (1r), is a spelling not fully established before the fifteenth century. So also is the change of *nn* > *rn* after *ei*: *steirn*=*steinn*, *eirn*=*einn* (29r), and even *hirna*=*hinna*, "a membrane" (31v). Spellings peculiarly Icelandic, though not necessarily of so late a date, are the retention of *h* before *r* and *l*, though numerous exceptions point to Norwegian contact. So also is the change of *é* > *jé* or *ié*; the complete fusion of *æ* and *ø*; the use of the diphthong *ey*, never *øy* or *øi*; and the change of *eng* > *eing*, e.g., *leingi* (11v).

That, however, Norwegian originals have existed for almost all sections of the MS is also evident. Clear proof of this is found in the not infrequent dropping of *h* before *r* and *l*, e.g., *reinsar* (7r), *rensar* (16r)=*hreinsar*, "cleans, purifies"; *ræz[lu]* (23r), *ræzdlu* (S. 23r)¹=oblique case of *hræzla*, f. "terror"; *land*=*hland* (S. 14v), "urine." The use of *æ*=*e* in *ælld* (31r)=acc. sg. of *eldr*, "fire," and *svæfnleysi* (41r)=*svæfnleysi*, "sleeplessness," may also be Norwegian. Though *u*-umlaut of "a" is dominant, a few unumlauted forms may come from a Norwegian source: *fadur* (3r)=Icl. *födur*; *hafud* (S. 16r)=*höfud*; *of-gangu* (6r)=oblique case of *of-ganga*, f. "excessive walking." Several times the pp. fem. of *stappa* is written *stapp^d* (16r, 21v, etc.), which, if it is expanded *stappud*, would fall in the same category, but as the neut. of the participle is often used indiscriminately for fem. and masc., we may have to expand *stappad*.

The use of *gh*=spirant *g*, which is frequent though the exception, is more common in Norway than in Iceland. We find it often for the guttural spirant, e.g., *lôgh* (27r)=acc. sg. of *lôgr*, "juice, liquid"; *magha* (29r)=oblique case of *magi*, m. "stomach." Though infrequently, it occurs also for palatal spirant, e.g., *ulf-sigh* (34r), n. "falling of the uvula"; *deghe* (48r)=d. sg. of *dagr*, "day."

But more definite proof of the Norwegian antecedents of our MS is given by the vocabulary. For one section, the leechbook, Kålund has already shown the origin to be Danish through a Norwegian intermediary.²

The following list gives a few illustrations:

- augna*-nest, n? *canthus* (21) Ross, *Norsk Ordbog* p. 544 nest, n. *øiekrog* (Sæt. Tel. Ma. *augne*-nest. Ogsaa mask. Tel. neste). Danish Leechbook *øgne* nest.
augna-ra, f. *canthus* (23) Aasen, *Norsk Ordbog*, p. 585, *raa*, m. Particularly important because DL. here has *øræ*.

¹ A number of leaves of the MS are incorrectly bound and numbered. These I have termed "the secondary series," and in referring to the folios mark them "S."

² Kålund, *Det Arnam. Haandsk.* 434, p. 398.

- aungvi, m. (=ongvi) *asthma* cf. Hægstad, *Gamalnorsk Fragment*, p. 13.
 balldebra, f. *daisy* (15). The Icelandic form *balldursbrá* also occurs.
 blomstur-kold, f. (?) *the center of a flower* cf. Aasen, p. 375 kold, f. *en fordybning i jorden, en lavt liggende flate*. The scribe did not understand the word.
 briost-speni, m. *nipple*, Icl. briost-varta.
 burkn, m. *fern*, Icl. burkni, m. cf. Kålund, *A.M.* 434.
 deili-ker, n. *a vessel* (of definite size) (S. 27v) Found once in *NgL*, V, 132, listed as doubtful; now confirmed by this reading.
 eski-borkur, m. *the bark of the ash* (18v). This occurs in a chapter not in the Danish original. The ash is not Icelandic so that the addition may be Norwegian.
 fimá, f. *disease* Ross, 161 *omgangs syge* Ryf. Jæd. feema.
 frjo, n. *seed*. Icl. fræ also occurs.
 greni-tre, n. *spruce*. Not in Danish; possibly added in Norway.
 gron, f. *spruce*. Same as preceding.
 jam-giegntt, adv. Icl. jafn-gegnt, *just opposite to*.
 jamn-vægi, n. *an equal weight*. Icl. jafn-vægi.
 kaun, m. *boil*. The Icl. is always neuter.
 kodda, acc. pl. m. *testicles* cf. Aasen, 374 kodd, m. *testicle* (=eista). Icl. kodri, m. *scrotum*, metaphorically *virility*.
 læknis-blád, n. *plantain* Icl. græði-sura.
 smysl, f. *ointment* cf. Aasen, 713. The Icl. is smýsl, n. pl. Both forms occur.
 veitur, n. *sheep tick* Aasen, 915 *faarelus*. Not recorded in Icl.

Though less numerous than the Norwegian, Danish forms also appear frequently:

- annbod, n. *membrum virile* DL. anboth. The word is common in Icl. and Norw. but this specific meaning seems carried over from DL.
 bi-stockur, m. *bee-hive* DL. bystock. Icl. bý-flugabú; Norw. biehus, bi-kube.
 bukarfe, m. *fumitory* DL. bukarwe. A mistake carried over by translator (cf. M. Kristensen, p. 302).
 berendi, *genitalia muliebria* from DL. bærændæ.
 etur, n. *poison*, Icl. eitr.
 halld, n. *constipation* (or possibly *tenesmus*?). The word not used in this sense in Norw. or Icl.
 hæns, n. sg. *chicken* cf. DL. et hens.

Many more could be enumerated, but this must suffice.

The MS offers, furthermore, many words not recorded before in the old languages and a goodly number neither recorded in the old nor in modern dialects. They are largely compounds created for the special medical use:

- armkrika-ædur, f. *the vein in the crook of the arm*.
 barns-efnni, n. *foetus* (35r).

barns-væni, n. (1) *expectation of a child*, (2) *foetus*.

blod-pungi, m. *state of being bloodshot (eyes)*.

briost-veilsa, f. *inflammation of the chest, consumption*. (Col. Sal. i. 475, *extirpat phthisis*.)

bruna-blod, n. *cholera rubra*.

farens-yrt, f. *hyosciamus, henbane*.

fiall-kominn, pp. *having come down from the mountains*.

hryggjar-tangi, m. *the end of the spine*.

humaku-fullur, adj. *having excessive humors*.

istur-kvidur, m. *paunch-belly*.

svalg-rum, n. *gullet*.

tungl-far, n. *course of the moon*.

The internal evidence of the MS gives us, then, a fair history of its development. This can be supplemented by some external evidence. The records of the Royal Irish Academy show nothing as to the time or place of acquisition, but I found in the library of Trinity College a paper MS L-2-27, catalogued but never studied, that upon closer investigation proved to be a copy of the Academy MS.¹ The Trinity MS is made directly from the Academy MS and not merely from one of the same type.² The copy was made in 1756 and probably in Copenhagen. Many of the spellings indicate a Danish transcriber or one under the influence of Danish linguistic atmosphere. Furthermore, the MS was bought by the library from the Reverend Mr. Johnstone, chaplain of the British Legation in Copenhagen. It is safe, then, to conclude that MS 23 D 43 was in Copenhagen in 1756.

Two marginal notes made by former owners throw a little more light on its history. On folio 15v, opposite the article on Balldebra, someone had added: "hon vex j skridu j horgardal." And on folio S. 9v, "NB urtica netla a Islandsku hoensabane þat er urtica sem brenner vex j Saurbær i Kræklinga hlijd." According to Kålund,³ all of these names are found near together in the north of Iceland not far from Holar.

And finally, the last and most interesting evidence is found in the MS itself in a title in red ink now so faded that both Professor Mar-

¹ Cf. T. K. Abbott, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin*, 1900; Olaf Skulerud, *Catalogue of Norse Manuscripts in Edinburgh, Dublin, and Manchester*, Kristiania, 1919.

² Henning Larsen, "Nok et Harpestræng-Haandskrift," *Danske Studier* (Köbenhavn, 1925), p. 177.

³ *Bidrag til en historisk-typografisk Beskrivelse af Island*, II (Köbenhavn, 1877-82), 104 and 108.

strander and I at first passed it by without even seeing it. On folio S. 14r, which begins a gathering of the leechbook and was undoubtedly the introduction of an independent section, we find first a Latin passage on phlebotomy and next a short section—a typical introduction and one paralleled in many MSS¹—beginning: “Madur het ypocras. hann var spakaztur lækna. hann baud virkta vin sinum a andlaz degi sinum at hann skyldi leggja undir hofud ser j grof hans allrar (!) virkta bækur hans.”

Alongside the opening of this anecdote two half-lines on the right side of the page are seemingly blank. A trace of red suggests that the space once contained a title. In the very brightest of light and after wetting the vellum slightly, I read: “Hier hefir lækna bok þorleifs biornssonar.”

Records show a Thorleifur Björnsson to have been well nigh the most prominent man in Iceland ca. 1480. *Diplomatarium Norvegicum*² has a letter from the National Council of Norway to all people who dwell in Iceland, appointing Torleif Biörnssen *hyrd stioræ*. Records published in *Diplomatarium Islandicum* show that he retained the position for several years and that he died in 1486. Further, we have a letter from the brothers and sisters of “Munkelifs klostre” dated 1480 stating that they have “anamet ærlighan man Torleiff Biörnssen i fuldkomplighet bröðhralagh meth oss i Gudh besynderligha fore then kærleek ock tro ock tröst akt ock villia ock gudlighit begerilse som han hafwer til waara hælgha ordens patrona fru Sancte Birgitte.”³

Here, then, we have our clue. Our MS is in all probability prepared for—possibly even by—Thorleif Björnsson for use in Iceland. It goes back to Norwegian sources and has probably been assembled at Munkelif in Bergen, then one of the leading centers of learning and one with which Thorleif Björnsson himself was intimately connected.

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¹ Kålund, *A.M.* 434, p. 369; *Alfræði*, I, 61; Südhoff, *Arch. f. Gesch. d. Med.*, III, 280; O'Grady, *Catalogue of Irish MSS in British Museum*, pp. 265, 281; *Articella*, Lyons, 1534.

² *Dipl. Norw.*, Vol. V, No. 915; the letter is dated Bergen, Saturday after St. Bartholomew's Day, 1481.

³ C. A. Lange, *De Norske Klosters Historie*, p. 304; *Dipl. Norw.*, Vol. XII, No. 216.

THE PUNCTUATION OF *BEOWULF* AND LITERARY INTERPRETATION

All who have read the Old English *Beowulf* know its difficulties, compared with modern poetry, owing to its different sentence structure. Some of these peculiarities, as noted by Tolman in his excellent article on "The Style of Anglo-Saxon Poetry,"¹ are abrupt transitions, the few and less clear transitional particles in the poem, the rather common lack of clear indication regarding dependence of clauses, the frequent interposition of parenthetical expressions. We see at once in beginning the poem that we must deal with a new style. Yet something may be done—perhaps one may venture to say much—for this old poetic style by a more appropriate punctuation than has sometimes been accorded the ancient masterpiece.

Some idea of what I have in mind may be gathered from comparison of the punctuation of the poem by different editors, and by suggestions as to certain kinds of sentences and certain typical passages. For example, of the first one hundred lines in the poem, ninety-eight exactly, Grein made eighteen complete sentences,² fourteen closed with periods, and four with exclamation points followed by capitals in the next words. Schücking's *Heyne* of 1913 divides the same ninety-eight lines into thirty-one complete sentences, Chambers' edition into twenty-three, and Klaeber's into twenty. Now, granting all that may be said for individual preference in pointing, it is scarcely possible that all of these systems of punctuation represent desirable divisions of the same matter, or indeed what the *Beowulf* poet intended.

That we may understand more fully the differences among these editors, some further facts may be ventured. Besides the period and comma Grein used the colon twelve times in the lines cited, the exclamation point five times, the semicolon once (l. 46), the parenthesis

¹ *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, III, 17 ff., reprinted in *Views about Hamlet and Other Essays*, pp. 337 ff. Mention should also be made of the exhaustive study by Schücking, *Die Grundzüge der Satzverknüpfung im Beowulf*, on which I have ventured to make one criticism in another part of this paper.

² *Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Poesie*, I (1857), 255 ff.
[MODERN PHILOLOGY, May, 1926]

once (ll. 55b-56a). Schücking uses all of Grein's fourteen periods, and a period for nine of his colons, for four of his exclamation points, for three of his commas, and for his single semicolon. He also uses the semicolon for Grein's colon three times, the parenthesis as by Grein, and he adds a dash at the end of line 85. Curiously at variance with most editors, but in agreement with the original Heyne,¹ Schücking retains Grein's exclamation point at the end of line 11, but does not make the sentence end there. Chambers, who gives Wyatt's edition the entire credit for his punctuation,² uses periods for all such marks in Grein, for four each of Grein's colons and exclamation points, and for his single semicolon. Chambers differs from Grein mainly in his use of the semicolon for Grein's colon in eight instances, for his comma in two cases (ll. 82, 89), for his semicolon in line 46, and for the exclamation point in line 40. Chambers also uses the dash more freely, as before and after 18b, and for Grein's parenthesis about 55b-56a. Klaeber uses the period as by Grein except after 16a, for Grein's exclamation points twice (ll. 25, 52), for his colon once (l. 42), for his semicolon at the end of 46, and for his comma after 36a. He uses the semicolon instead of Grein's colon eleven times, for Grein's period in line 16, for his exclamation point in 40, and for his commas in 82 and 89. Klaeber retains Grein's exclamation points at the ends of lines 3 and 11, and shows that they complete sentences by beginning the next lines with capitals. He also uses the dash, not only as by Chambers, but at the ends of lines 30 and 98.

In general, we may say that Schücking's breaking up of these first ninety-eight lines of *Beowulf* into thirty-one sentences, as compared with Grein's eighteen, implies less of connection in the material than is warranted by the consecutiveness of the thought. Such consecutiveness and closer union of parts of the sentence, too, are better shown by the more frequent use of the semicolon, as by Chambers and Klaeber, than by the use of the colon as by Grein. Disuse of the exclamation point entirely, as by Chambers, need not be adopted, though less frequent use as by Klaeber (ll. 3, 11), or by Schücking in 11 only, is much better than the too frequent use of that point by Grein. On the other hand, Klaeber's more common use of the dash is

¹ At least the second edition (1868).

² See his Introduction, pp. xxix-xxx.

particularly appropriate to the frequent parenthetical phrase or clause throughout *Beowulf*, and the scarcely less frequent breaking off of the sentence for an added phrase or clause in somewhat different construction.

An idea of the difference in sense, and so in literary interpretation, that may result from different punctuation may be illustrated by some passages in these first one hundred lines. For example, Grein connected the *þær*-clause in line 89 with the preceding lines, evidently giving to *þær* its not unusual meaning of "where." This makes the line 89b-90a explain more directly the *drēam* . . . *hlūdne in healle* of lines 88-89. The song of creation is made to follow immediately, as if a climax to the reasons why Grendel, *fēond on helle* (l. 101) and envious of man's happiness as of his favor with the Creator, attacked Heorot.¹ Such punctuation and such interpretation reflect new credit on the cleverness of the *Beowulf* poet, who thus makes the *scop* sing of that creation of the world and of man which brought on the great struggle between Grendel's devilish ancestor and human beings. Surely no song could have inspired more deadly hate in the mind of Grendel, God's adversary (*Beow.*, 786, 1682). If, too, the English poet, who knew his Bible and medieval tradition, not to say his Old English *Genesis*, used the song of creation for this purpose, he is not only accorded some greater art, but is relieved of the necessity of going to Virgil or any other classical source for his inspiration. The punctuation of Grein, it seems to me, is fully justified and should be adopted.

A second passage in which a *þær*-clause, though not so punctuated by Grein, might better be joined more closely with the preceding sentence occurs in line 36. The reason for such closer union is that, after mentioning the laying of Scyld's body in the ship, the poet clearly passes to an emphasis of the treasures with which the ship was loaded. He speaks immediately of never having heard of a comelier ship adorned, not for the funeral of a king as we might expect, but "with war weapons and war weeds, bills and burnies." The ship, too, still in

¹ See my article in *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, XVI, 113 ff. The song of creation, by the way, was punctuated by Grein with commas only. Yet it is made up of three clearly marked parts: the creation of the world, the creation of light and vegetation, the creation of life—a neat summary of the main features of the first chapter of *Genesis*. Separation of the song into three parts, as by Holder (1884), Wyatt (1894), and Chambers (1913), through the use of semicolons, better accords with the sense and is demanded by the length of the passage.

mind, he continues, "on its bosom lay a great quantity of treasure which must with him pass far away into the possession of the flood." Only with *him mid* of line 41 does the poet return to the dead king, who then becomes the center of interest to the end of the passage in line 53. The objection to referring *him* of line 40 to Scyld, the usual interpretation, is that the quantity of treasure described could not have been laid on the bosom or lap of the dead body, placed as it was with its back against the mast,¹ to say nothing of the unseemliness of such a procedure. Earle avoided the difficulty by translating *him on bearme*, "in his keeping." But instead of using this exceptional meaning of *bearme* all difficulty is resolved by referring *him* to *cēol* (l. 38), as we should expect from the emphasis in these lines upon the ship.²

Three other examples of *þær*-clauses in the first five hundred lines may be considered. The first, in line 440, is separated from the preceding sentence by a colon in Grein, a period in Schücking, but by a semicolon only in Chambers and Klaeber. Even closer union is possible. The boast of Beowulf is not completed until the idea is conveyed by the *þær*-clause that the fight with Grendel is to be one to the death, "where [when] he whom death takes must rely on the judgment of God." In line 493, both Grein and Schücking place only a comma before the *þær*-clause. The action is not complete with the clearing of a place for the Geats, but with their taking the seats provided, "proud of their strength." The meaning of "to which place, whither" is entirely possible for *þær*, as in examples cited by Toller-Bosworth, but "where" alone is sufficient. Garnett, following Grein's punctuation, so renders the clause: "where the bold-minded hastened to sit, proud in their strength."³

The third example in which the *þær*-clause may be united with the

¹ See Stjerna, *Essays on Questions Connected with the Old English Poem of "Beowulf,"* pp. 127 ff.

² It would indeed be possible, and by no means entirely out of keeping, to assume that *him mid* (l. 41) and *hine* (l. 43) refer to the ship. In that case specific resumption of the reference to the dead king would begin with *hine* (l. 45). In any case the adornment of the ship, with all its elaboration, is a tribute to the departed Scyld.

³ Incidentally, we know from ll. 1188-91 that Beowulf at least was seated with the sons of Hrothgar. It would therefore seem reasonable to assume that *sunu* of l. 2013, where Beowulf tells of this earlier feast, must be a late West Saxon accusative plural for earlier *suna*. The earlier and later passages should agree, and the apparent discrepancy may be easily attributed to the late copyist.

preceding sentence occurs in line 497. Here Grein used his favorite colon, which Klaeber has made a period, but Schücking and Chambers a semicolon, thus recognizing closer relation, at least, to the preceding sentence. The short paragraph, lines 491-98, embodies three things: the seating of the Geats as friends in the banquet hall, the serving of the mead (*wered*), and the happiness of the Danes and Geats before it was disturbed by the churlish Unferth. A comma before *þær* in line 497 would emphasize the unity of the three ideas composing the paragraph. Support to this interpretation is given by the fact that, in telling Hygelac of this day of feasting in lines 2014-16a, Beowulf remembers only the happiness of the company, making no mention of Unferth's interruption.

Comparison of these two passages, and consideration of the unity we should expect in these last lines of the paragraph, might have led to a better interpretation of *duguð unlýtel* than has usually been accorded it. Assuming the ordinary meaning of *duguð* as "company [of the doughty]" Klaeber places the phrase under the heading of "incongruous combinations" in *Modern Philology*, III, 239-40. Schücking says, "*Die Bedeutung . . . wird klar aus Andreas 1270: þā cōm hæleða þrēat . . . duguð unlýtel.*" But Holthausen, though citing Klaeber's article above, is clearly in doubt, asking, "*Ist unlýtel Prädikat?*" Now the simplest explanation is to assume that the expression was intended to explain and emphasize *drēam* of the preceding line, that is, to continue the idea of the happiness at the feast, *duguð* being intended as practically a synonym of *drēam*. The meaning of "happiness," too, is fully justified, not only by the semantic development of *duguð*, but by a sufficient number of such uses in other places. For the latter I cite from Toller-Bosworth, *Daniel* (l. 87), *Gifa ðe him tō duguþe Drihten scyrede*, "gifts which the Lord had bestowed on him for his happiness"; and especially *Christ* (ll. 1407-8), in which the word is united with *drēam*, *Eallum bedæled duguðum ond drēamum*, "deprived of all happiness [blessings] and joys." The semantic development is natural. *Duguð*, "the availing," became on the one side "the doughty man, hero [men, heroes]" or "the benefit, gift"; and on the other, "that which characterizes the hero" as "excellence, glory, prosperity, blessing, happiness." Nor need the fact that *duguð*

is usually concrete in meaning as used by the *Beowulf* poet be an insuperable objection to this abstract sense. Such abstract meaning occurs in *Beowulf*, 3174, perhaps in lines 2020 and 2501.¹

Like the *þær*-clause, that beginning with *þanan* (*þonan*, *þonon*) may be more closely associated with the preceding, since *þanan* may quite as properly have relative force as *þær*. There are four places in the first five hundred lines in which *þanan*, or rather its more common variant *þanon*, begins a clause, that is, in lines 111, 123, 224, 463. Now in line 123 Grein used only a comma before the word, evidently feeling that Grendel's departure to his home "rejoicing in his spoil" was an essential part of the description of this first raid. The comma, better than the semicolon of Chambers and Klaeber, and far better than the period of Schücking, preserves the unity of the action.

I cannot but think this closer union is also better in lines 111 and 463. In the first, from lines 111 to 114, the poet is accounting for the evil progeny of Cain in such creatures as Grendel, and that accounting is not complete until the concluding lines *þanon*, etc., "whence all evil births were born," etc., are finished. These lines alone indicate the relation of Grendel to Cain, and are an intimate and essential part of the description.²

The *þanon*-clause of line 463 is also, it seems to me, an essential part of the preceding sentence. In welcoming Beowulf, Hrothgar naturally refers to Beowulf's father and his intimate relation to the Danes. The passage (ll. 459-72) is made up of four parts. First is the mention of the feud and its occasion (ll. 459-61a inclusive). Here,

¹ To the citations of *duguð*, "joy, happiness," cf. also *Christ*, l. 563, *Genesis*, l. 930, *Satan*, l. 122, as noted by Cook in his edition of *Christ*. J. R. Clark Hall (1901) has even translated the *Beowulf* phrase in l. 498, "no slight joy of Danes and Weders"; and Tinker (1902), "no little rejoicing of Danes and Weders." I venture that *for duguð* in *Beowulf*, 2020, is better in the sense of "for courtesy" than the usual "before the nobles." It is a mark of gracious kindness that Hrothgar's daughter should bear the cup to the earls.

² I cannot accept Klaeber's direct union of *in Caines cynne* (l. 107a) with the preceding lines, as first suggested by Sievers, rather than with the following as by other editors. That there is intended direct connection of *Caines* with the preceding I grant, because Cain was the only one the Creator directly proscribed. But that connection is entirely clear if we assume that *wonsaelli wer* of l. 105 means Cain, as I ventured to suggest in my article on "The Legends of Cain" (*Mod. Lang. Assoc. Pub.*, XXI, 831 ff.). The Lord never directly proscribed Grendel, nor did Grendel inhabit specifically the dwelling place of monsters (*fífelcynnes eard*). Grendel's home, as we have been told immediately before, was in the moors, the fens, and inaccessible places (*fæsten*). For the holding in suspense of the name of Cain for a few lines while he is being described we have the far more striking example of the hero Beowulf, who is characterized in various ways from ll. 194 to 343, when he is first announced to us by name. Closer union of the *þanon*-clause in l. 111 would imply the same in l. 1265.

incidentally, a comma after *mæste* (l. 459) as by Chambers and Holt-hausen is better than a fuller pause as by most other editors, since lines 460-61a merely explain the origin of the feud. Next comes the account of Ecgtheow's leaving his native land, his coming to the Danes, and the time of that event in relation to Hrothgar's reign. Again, beginning with 461b we have a third particular in the single sentence reaching through 467a, and completed by the additional clause 467b through 469. The clause beginning 461b is not directly a part of the preceding sentence, as by Grein, but the beginning of the new idea—the self-exile of Ecgtheow. Grein's period after *mihte* (l. 462), which has been usually adopted, was due to his misunderstanding of the preceding clause. On the other hand, Grein rightly saw that lines 465-67a were closely associated with the preceding, even if he unfortunately connected 467b too closely with that which goes before. I would begin a new sentence with 461b, and place commas only at the end of 462 and 464. The passage would then read:

Then, for fear of war, the Weder people were not able to harbor [*habban*] him, whence he sought the Danish folk over the welling of the waves, the noble Scyldings, when I first ruled the people of the Danes and in my youth held the spacious kingdom, the treasure city of heroes.

Finally, in explanation of his becoming king when so young, Hrothgar notes that his elder brother had passed away and adds a pleasant tribute. Of the latter, however, I am inclined to think too much has been made. The *se* of line 469 may better be considered a relative, as in lines 142, 370, and other places. Hrothgar's praise of his elder brother is not like the emphatic *þæt wæs gōd cyning* of line 11, and is more incidental than an exclamation point would imply. The sentence from 467b to the end of 469 mainly explains Hrothgar's youthful accession to the throne and his early possession of so great a kingdom, a kingdom which he could not have been expected to acquire so early by his own powers or under ordinary circumstances.¹

¹ Garnett, following Grein, connects the *ðā*-clause of l. 465 with the preceding sentence, as seems to me best. Schücking's *Grundsätze der Satzverknüpfung im Beowulf* does not include this clause as a possible instance of *ðā* in temporal relation at the beginning of the first half-verse (see § 2, Anm. 1). But Schücking bases his study on a punctuation assumed to be correct, often without regard to the logical basis of sentence structure which I am proposing. That *ðā* (*þā*) should more commonly appear in new sentences at the beginning of the line is only part of the general fact that new sentences more commonly begin the line. For example, the proportion of new sentences beginning the line in the first one hundred lines is 14 to 6, assuming Klaeber's twenty sentences in those lines.

Other instances in which closer union of clauses ordinarily detached is desirable are found in lines 57 and 82. In the latter Grein does so connect the clause *heaðo-wylma bād lāðan līges* with the preceding by using a comma only, and in this is followed by Schücking. The destruction of Heorot by fire, which is alluded to, while seeming so far off to us as we read the poem, actually happened in about five years after Beowulf's visit to Hrothgar, and certainly not many years after the Hart-hall was built. Grein did, indeed, misunderstand the relation of the burning of Heorot to the Grendel horror, but the closer union of the building of the lordly hall and its destruction by fire is fully justified. So the closer union of 57b-58 with the preceding sentence is better than separation by a semicolon, a colon by Grein. The poet has not much space to give to Healfdene. He dismisses him with a reference to his birth as a son of Scylding Beowulf, and to his ruling the Scyldings while he lived to old age (*gamol*). The two references belong together, and at most a comma after *Healfdene* (l. 57) best indicates the fact.

It is characteristic of the *Beowulf* poet to add to one statement, without expressed connection, an explanatory or descriptive phrase or clause. The punctuation should assist the perception of this closer union rather than suggest separation. For example, after *syrede* (l. 161a) and *rūne* (l. 172a) Grein and Chambers use commas, as I think is to be preferred to the semicolons used by Schücking and Klaeber. I would suggest a similar comma after *hȳnða* (l. 166a), and would adopt Holthausen's comma after *frēan* (l. 271a) for a similar reason. In the first case the inhabiting of Heorot by Grendel makes clearer the particular offense which was so disheartening to the Danes. In the second, Beowulf quickly disarms any fear which might have arisen from his insistence on carrying his message directly to Hrothgar by saying: "Nor shall there be anything dark (or deceitful), as I ween," or as we should say, "as I assure you."

In order to indicate the closer union in idea which I believe to be implied, I should assume that *se* at the beginning of line 196 and *þæt* in line 309 are true relative pronouns. In the first, indeed, Holder does imply this closer union by using a comma only at the end of line 195. The idea is not that the thane of Hygelac learned of the deeds of Grendel, but the thane of Hygelac, who was the strongest man of

his time, so learned. Lines 194 through 198a are a single sentence. The separation of the relative clause from its antecedent, while foreign to present English and likely enough to mislead the casual reader, is common enough in the Old English period.¹ So the relative clause of 309-10 gives the reason why Beowulf and his men were able to see the timbered hall from so great a distance. Its closer union with the preceding clause makes the situation more vivid. It more naturally leads to the fuller explanation of the following clause: "Its light shone over many lands."

The punctuation of Grein, by which a new sentence is made to begin with 50b has usually been adopted, though Holder suggests a somewhat closer union with the preceding clause by the use of a colon after 50a. The change from past to present tense in the verb *cunnon* perhaps partly accounts for the difference in punctuation. Yet the present tense, I take it, is merely a generalization of the idea conveyed. Not only did the Danish retainers of Scyld not know who received that precious cargo—the specific cause of their sorrow—but no one else, not even hall-counselors or heroes under heaven, have any such knowledge. The break in sentence connection is not really a break in thought, but merely a broadening of the idea. Its intimate relation to the sorrow of the retainers may better be indicated by a dash at most at the end of 50a. In an exactly similar passage in line 162 Chambers and Klaeber use a semicolon only.

This use of the dash, as more frequently by Klaeber, I have already mentioned and would heartily approve for the punctuation of broken sentence structure in *Beowulf* and Old English poetry generally. Grein used it only once in the first five hundred lines, that is, at the end of 114, although he used the parenthesis, which was formerly common in parenthetical expressions four times, as for 55b-56a, 348b-50a, 405b-6, 423b. In the same lines Chambers has five dashes; Schücking, the dash five times and the parenthesis as often; Klaeber, the dash seventeen times. In this respect, too, I think Klaeber's usage the best. While one might differ as to the importance of some of these dashes, as perhaps those at the end of 98 and 169, some more rather than some fewer marks of this sort might be used. I have

¹ How badly such a single sentence (ll. 194-98a) may be broken up is shown by Earle's translation, in which this sentence is separated into four distinct clauses.

already suggested one after 50a. One might also be used to advantage after 119a, and in one or two other places to be discussed later. The dash after 119a would better indicate that the sorrow which the men did not feel was the result of the soundness of their sleep.

Paragraphing also, in the larger sense an element of punctuation in such a blank-verse poem as *Beowulf*, has been given special attention in most modern editions. The manuscript divisions are in general rightly disregarded as essential subdivisions of the poem.¹ Chambers, it is true, more conservative in this respect than other late editors, has only two breaks in the first five hundred lines, one at 194 and another at 494. Yet the breaking up of the poem into paragraphs is desirable, even though it has sometimes gone too far. Thus Holthausen has forty-four paragraphs in these first five hundred lines to Schücking's twenty-eight and Klaeber's seventeen. While there will always be some differences among editors, one may quite rightly say that Holthausen has too many paragraphs to represent logical divisions of the thought. It is interesting, too, that late editors do not hesitate to make paragraphs begin in the middle of the line. This is a proper improvement, since an Old English poet freely began his new thought with the second half-line, the Old English poetic line having no such unity of thought as the ordinary line of modern English verse. Yet here again Chambers has no such paragraph divisions in the whole poem, and Holthausen only four. Schücking, on the other hand, has twenty-eight such paragraph breaks, while the conservatism of Klaeber admits seventeen.

The closer unity in the *Beowulf* poet's expression, as I conceive it, and the importance of a more careful punctuation may be illustrated from certain typical passages not yet mentioned. For example, the speeches of Beowulf are unusually clear and unified in their content. Take that which includes the twenty-five lines 260-85. This speech has three parts: the accounting for himself and his companions in

¹ Whatever one may think of the article by Bradley, "Numbered Sections in OE Poetical MSS," *Proceedings of the British Academy* VII, 165-89, the uneessential character of these sections, from any modern point of view, must be admitted. Witness especially the beginning to number only with the second section, the omission of a sec. xxx, the marking of sections in the middle of sentences as at xxv, xxix, and where no paragraph seems needed as at sec. xli. For these reasons it would seem to me far better, if the section numbers are to be preserved in the text, that they be placed in less obtrusive position at the right of the page, as by Holder, Schücking, Holthausen, than at the left as by Chambers and Klaeber.

relation to his king Hygelac and his father Ecgtheow, whom the Danes well knew (ll. 260-66); the announcement of his message to Hrothgar and its relation to the Grendel trouble (ll. 267-77a); his purpose to remedy the trouble if possible (ll. 277b-85). Now most editors make the first two lines an independent sentence, but it is surely more important to the Danes that Beowulf should emphasize his relation to his father, whom the older men among them must have remembered, than to say merely he was a Geat. Grein seems to have appreciated this since, although he puts his favorite exclamation point after line 261, he begins line 262 with a small letter, showing his belief in the more intimate connection with the preceding sentence. I would put a semicolon after *heorðgenēatas* (l. 261) and a dash at most after *hāten* (l. 263), since Ecgtheow's long life was the special reason for his being so well known.

The second part of the speech (ll. 267-77a) does not require special comment, except as I have approved Holthausen's comma after *frēan* (l. 271a) rather than the semicolon of Chambers and Klaeber. Incidentally, this short passage of at most three sentences as usually punctuated is divided into five by Schücking. The third part (ll. 277b-85) is a closely connected whole, as most editors have seen. Personally I should prefer dashes before and after 281b-82 rather than as Klaeber puts them at the end of 279 and 281.¹

The manner in which a somewhat different punctuation would improve the literary interpretation may be shown from the speech of Wulfgar (ll. 361-70). The speech consists of two parts: the announcement of the strangers (ll. 361-66a), and the urgent request that their petition be not denied, with the reasons therefor (ll. 366b-70). The first part consists of three statements, the name of the people, the name of their leader, and their request to speak with King Hrothgar. The best punctuation would indicate the close relation of these three statements by a semicolon after *læode* (l. 362)—the punctuation of Chambers and Klaeber—another after *nemnað* (l. 364), and a period

¹ This is not the place to discuss at length the MS *edwendan* of l. 280, but I can see no reason for changing to the noun because the verb is otherwise unknown. *Beowulf* is a mine of such otherwise unknown words. According to the indications of Klaeber's glossary, there are seventy-five such words in the A and B portions alone. If this proportion holds for the whole glossary of *Beowulf*, the number of words not used elsewhere in Old English—so far as yet discovered—is fully five hundred. *Edwendan* may easily be read as an infinitive with *bysigu* (l. 281) as subject of *scolde* (l. 280), while we should thus preserve the text in another reading.

after *wrixlan* (l. 366). The second part of the speech is a vigorous plea to Hrothgar not to deny the request, because the strangers seem by their war trappings to be worthy of consideration, and at least this is especially true of their leader (ll. 247–51). This plea of Wulfgar, Hrothgar's personal representative, was broken by Grein with an exclamation point after *Hrōðgar* (l. 367), which Klaeber retains and Chambers replaces by a period. Now the separation of the plea from the strong reasons for the plea seems to me especially unfortunate. We might expect a "for" or "since" before *Hȝ* of 368, but the more direct union of the reason for the request with the request itself is natural and adds strength to the two. In fact, it indicates the eagerness of the trusted Wulfgar to prevent his master from refusing an interview to such important personages. I would place only a comma after *Hrōðgar* (l. 367).

The passage in lines 399–404 is an extreme example of the broken sentence structure which the *Beowulf* poet sometimes uses. The main action consists of three parts: Beowulf's prompt rising from the bench outside the door to which he and his men had been first directed (l. 327); the hastening inside the hall of those selected to accompany their leader, and the stepping forward of Beowulf to a position directly in front of King Hrothgar; Beowulf's preparation to speak. But the poet thought it important to introduce in these few lines two, perhaps three, other significant particulars, and yet in such a way as not to interfere with the rapid movement of the main action. These particulars are Beowulf's ordering of some of his men to guard the weapons left outside the door of the hall—the wise provision of a thoughtful leader; the fact that a guide—doubtless Wulfgar himself—led the men into the hall; and the splendid appearance of Beowulf's armor as he began to speak, a natural way of emphasizing in that age the importance of the man himself, as the poet had already twice done.¹

¹ See the words of the Warder of the Shore in ll. 244–51, and those of Wulfgar to the king in ll. 368–70. If the MS reading *þā secg wisode* is retained in l. 402, with the exceptional anacrusis in a D type in the second half-line, that half-line is not parenthetical but an integral part of the sentence. Holder, Schücking, and Chambers retain the *ða*, the latter with a note but with no clear expression of opinion. Klaeber's statement that such anacrusis in the second half-line was "studiously avoided" seems to me much too strong. All we certainly know is that such lines do not usually occur, as indeed they are uncommon even in the first half-line. But that is not proof of a conscious effort on the part of the poet. Negative evidence must never be assumed to be positive proof of intention.

The third of these added particulars, *on him byrne scān*, etc., has been generally treated as parenthetical—Grein, Holder, and Schücking all using the parenthesis; Chambers and Klaeber the dashes now more common in English for such parenthetical expressions. The first, *sume þær bidon . . . bebēad* (ll. 400b–401), equally parenthetical it seems to me, is so indicated only by Holder, who uses the parenthesis. The advantage of assuming the parenthetical character of this expression, and treating it as such, is that it brings more closely together the rapid actions of *arās þā se rīca* (l. 399) and *snyredon* (l. 402), actions which must have followed each other closely.

This discussion of punctuation in five hundred lines of the poem, a little less than one-sixth of the whole, will indicate, it is hoped, what might be done with the whole poem. The purpose has been to show something of the mental processes of the Beowulf poet, in order to understand his manner of expression and appreciate more fully his literary art. The newer attention to paragraph structure, to the larger units of thought, has been of distinct advantage. Similar close attention to sentence structure in the poem seems no less desirable.

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CORNEILLE'S *ANDROMÈDE* AND CALDERON'S *LAS FORTUNAS DE PERSEO*

In the face of strong opinion to the contrary,¹ recent investigations have established that Calderon's *En la Vida* is posterior to Corneille's *Héraclius*, and hence the imitation, if any, of one author by the other must have been Calderon's.² This was long thought to be impossible because of the lack of known influence of French literature on Spanish until 1678 and of Calderon's supposed ignorance of French. It has apparently occurred to no one to compare other plays of the two dramatists. Further, the assumption that Calderon was unfamiliar with French and therefore was unable to read Corneille has been accepted with greater facility than circumstances warrant. His most recent biographer does not even consider the question.³ It is the purpose of the present article to extend the inquiry farther in these two directions.

Corneille's *Andromède* was first staged in the closing days of 1649 or in February, 1650;⁴ *Las Fortunas de Perseo y Andrómeda*, by Calderon, was given in June, 1653.⁵ The interval of three years between the two dramas was sufficient for Calderon to have familiarized himself with Corneille's work either directly, if that were possible, or indirectly. But so essentially different are the two plays that imitation, if any,⁶ could only have been superficial, going no farther than the amplification of a few notes, together with the extraction of a

¹ *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*, XIV, 702 f.; E. Martinenche, *La Comedia espagnole en France* (Paris, 1900), pp., 265 f.; Menéndez y Pelayo, *Calderón y su Teatro* (Madrid, 1910), pp. 250 f.

² E. Cotarelo, *Boletín de la Real Academia Española*, IX, 640; Castillo, *Mod. Phil.*, XX, 391-401. Cf. Segall, *Corneille and the Spanish Drama*, "Col. Univ. Press" (1902), p. 140.

³ E. Cotarelo, *op. cit.*, VIII, 517-62; IX, 17, 163, 311, 429, and 605. But cf. Philareté Chasles, *Études sur l'Espagne* (Paris, 1847), p. 460, "Calderón l'a traduit [i.e., Corneille]; Diamante l'a traduit." Cited by G. Huszar, *Corneille et le Théâtre Espagnol* (Paris, 1903), p. 17.

⁴ *Œuvres de P. Corneille*, (ed. M. Ch. Marty-Laveaux; Paris, 1882), V, 291 f.

⁵ E. Cotarelo, *op. cit.*, IX, 623; Menéndez y Pelayo, *Obras de Lope de Vega* (published by the Royal Spanish Academy), VI, xlv.

⁶ "... Pero no tiene relación alguna con ella, salvo el ser las dos piezas de grande espectáculo" (Menéndez y Pelayo, *ibid.*).

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phrase here and there, and this the result of a mere perusal or at least indirect knowledge of the play. Structural similarity suggests acquaintance to this extent. In order to clarify the exposition, let us see what was the classical plot from which both poets necessarily obtained their principal ideas. Danæ, daughter of King Acrisius of Argos, was imprisoned by her father in a tower that she might have no offspring. There Jupiter descended in a shower of gold, and nine months later Perseus was born to her. Mother and son were, at Acrisius' command, exposed to the fury of the sea in an open boat. They drifted to Seriphos where its king, Polidectes, in order to separate Danæ from her son and protector, sent Perseus to bring back the Gorgon's head from Africa. Perseus, with the aid of equipment divinely bestowed, accomplished the feat. On his return voyage through the air, seeing Andromeda exposed on a cliff to a voracious sea monster, he effected her rescue and returned to Greece with her as his bride.¹

The ultimate source of Calderon's plot is, of course, Ovid.² Secondary sources might be Lope's *El Perseo*, the handbooks in use at the period, e.g., *Natalis Comis*, *Ravisius Textor*, and finally, his own memory of the story. None of the innovations made by Calderon are traceable to the mythographers; Lope followed in *El Perseo* the lead of Ovid with unusual fidelity. Hence, variations from the classical version common to Corneille and Calderon concern these two alone.

The classical writers localized the exposure of Danæ either in Ethiopia or on the coast of Phoenicia near Joppa. Although the myth was well known in Sicily,³ no writer available to Calderon at least made any of the events occur there. Calderon, however, places Cepheus' court in the island, and Perseus is made to visit it before undertaking the Gorgon exploit. For this variation there is no precedent except in *Andromède*, Corneille having made the entire action of the play take place there. The change of location is awkward to the extent that neither writer states how Perseus reached Sicily, while Lope with

¹ Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie*, see "Perseus."

² Ovidio en las *Metamorfosis* (lib. IV, v. 610 y siguientes y lib. V hasta el verso 249) es la verdadera fuente de *El Perseo* de Lope, de *Las Fortunas de Andrómeda* de Calderón y de todas las *Andrómedas* modernas" (Menéndez y Pelayo, *Obras de Lope de Vega*, VI, xli).

³ Daremberg et Saglio, *Dictionnaire des Antiquités*, IV, 402, col. 1. Some Roman writers, however, placed the scene of Perseus' activities in various parts of Italy. E. S. Hartland, *The Legend of Perseus*, I (London, 1894), 5-11.

greater heed to detail mentions the ship in which he sailed to Africa. Corneille, according to his own confession,¹ converted Perseus into a wandering knight, and Calderon has made a measurable approach to the same idea. Two improbable reasons could have dictated the choice of Sicily: first, that the hero might have a convenient halting place en route for Africa; second, Calderon assumes that Venus, not Latona or primarily the Nereids, was the goddess offended by Cassiope's vanity² and Venus was worshiped at Mount Eryx in Sicily. Obviously, Calderon was not impelled by either of these reasons to break the threads of a story so familiar. In the *Examen*³ (written in 1660) accompanying *Andromède*, Corneille is at pains to justify the liberty he took and to enumerate the reasons as being: (a) the vagueness of the conventional geography, (b) Andromeda as a dark-skinned Ethiopian would not attract Perseus, (c) any point on the seacoast would suit his purpose. Although Calderon was often unjustifiably careless in the matter of geography,⁴ the coincidence here noted seems hardly due to accident.

It is possible, also, that Calderon's introduction of Venus into the plot may not have been original. Corneille previously accorded her considerable prominence in his play and wrote a chorus for fair nymphs to sing in her honor,⁵ although he does not state that she was angered by Cassiope's invidious comparison, and her rôle is not the same as in *Las Fortunas*.⁶ In themselves so unimportant, the changes here noted are in reality of the utmost significance. They cut deep into Calderon's conception of the argument and shape the plot in a vital way. In the myth proper the Medusa and Andromeda exploits are separate and unrelated incidents in Perseus' career, and did not originally belong together.⁷ Their incoherence was an obstacle in the way of successful dramatization. Lope established a faint relation by imagining that Perseus had heard while he was yet in Africa of Andromeda's beauty and impending danger; the sight of her portrait confirmed his resolution to undertake her rescue.⁸ Corneille accom-

¹ *Œuvres*, V, 300.

² *BAE*, IX, 636, 152 f.

³ *Œuvres*, V, 301-2.

⁴ *BAE*, IX, 256, n. 1.; XIV, 284, 2, n. 1.

⁵ *Œuvres*, V, 307; V, 329.

⁶ Neither by Ovid nor by Lope is Venus made a character in the plot.

⁷ E. S. Hartland, *op. cit.*, III, 158.

⁸ *Obras de Lope de Vega*, VI, 89, 2, 25 f.; VI, 94, 2, 14 f.

plished the unification at one stroke by centering the action at Cepheus' court. And Calderon, whether consciously or independently followed his example. There the hero both sees Andromeda and learns of her peril. His quickly excited love determines his voyage to Africa in order to procure the physical means, i.e., the Gorgon's head, the sword, and the sandals, with which to accomplish her deliverance. Her salvation, then, logically stands at the pinnacle of Perseus' career, the earlier scenes preparing for it and the death of Medusa herself being preliminary to it.¹ The integration, though artificial, is skilful, but the French dramatist led the way. It is not probable that an innovation so striking would have escaped the eye of a master in the classics even with the superficial observation which he may be supposed to have accorded the play. Be that as it may, the idea permeates Calderon's entire effort, determining the unity of the piece. It establishes an absolute cleavage from Ovid and, more important still, from Lope,² aligning Calderon with Corneille. The former's use of *Andromède*, even though casual, might be expected, and would be entirely natural because it abounds in spectacular effects, and Calderon was writing a play of this character for court presentation.

In another particular Calderon has drawn toward Corneille and away from Lope. According to the mythographers, Cassiope boasted of her own excellent beauty as superior to that of the nymphs and they, offended, appealed to Neptune, who sent the monster. Lope pursued distinctly his own path on this point. Cassiope is another Niobe. She declares herself equal to Latona, not in having more than two children, but in having a daughter as beautiful as Andromeda; and by Latona she is punished. Here his treatment is distinctive. In several passages³ this peculiar interpretation is insisted upon. Corneille's treatment agrees with Lope's in that Cassiope lauds, not her own beauty, but her daughter's. With him, however, as Andromeda receives the punishment, she is considered the real, though innocent, cause of its infliction. In the *Examen*⁴ he explains that consistency of

¹ BAE, IX, 638, 2; IX, 640, 3, 48 f; IX, 645, 1 f; IX, 646, 3.

² Calderon is not entirely independent of Lope. Cf. the comic scene (Lope, VI, 94, 2, 8 f.) with the same scene, in Calderon (BAE, IX, 649, 3, 37 f.).

³ "Hice consultar los dioses/Y responden en su templo/Que por tu soberbia madre, / Que se igualaba con ellos, etc." (VI, 98, 2, 17 f.); "Si de Andrómeda la madre / Tuvo aquel soberbio intento / De competir con Latona, etc." (VI, 99, 1, 40); "Porque quieren castigar / Habérseles igualado (VI, 100, 2, 16).

⁴ *Œuvres*, V, 299.

character is thereby preserved, because the mother of a marriageable daughter would have passed the stage of radiant beauty. Calderon's treatment is again nearer Corneille's, both referring to the nymphs as the auditors of Cassiope's idle vaunt and both extolling Andromeda's beauty.¹

Furthermore, Corneille supposes Perseus to have been acquainted with Andromeda long enough before her exposure to render reasonable his interest in her.² Hence he is made to sojourn for a time at Cepheus' court. Calderon, as has been seen, agrees with Corneille in his view of this situation. In both, the killing of Medusa is subordinated to the liberation of Andromeda. And Corneille further explains³ his purpose to attribute to Perseus ample generosity in not stipulating marriage with the virgin as the price of her defense. Conditional rescue was distinctly a feature of the Ovidian myth,⁴ and consequently it was retained by Lope also.⁵ It is noticeable that in Calderon's play the offensive bargaining is absent, and on this point, too, he is at one with Corneille.

In a few detailed points in which accident might be the determining factor, not only is the argument of *Andromède* and *Las Fortunas* identical, but the language used similar as well. Corneille, possibly reminiscent of Juno's rôle in Vergil, introduces her⁶ as Phineus' abettor and protectress filled with desire to thwart the designs of the amorous Jupiter. Calderon, also, assigns her a corresponding rôle of opposition to Perseus' success, announced in somewhat the same terms as in the French play:

Fort de tant de seconds, ose, et sers mon courroux
Contre l'indigne sang de mon perfide époux.⁷

Cf.:

No sólo embotar a Mercurio y a Palas
Pero de Jove, mi adúltero esposo,
La publicidad de dorada traición.⁸

¹ *Ibid.*, 321, l. 131, and 322, l. 138; cf. "Je sais vos déplaisirs / mes filles" (V, 363, l. 1028); "Pues ella sola debía / Ser de la hermosa reina. / Ofendieronse las ninfas" *BAE*, IX, 636, l. 58 f.).

² *Oeuvres*, V, 300.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ "Ut mea sit, servata mea virtute, paciscor / accipiunt legem, etc." (*Met.* iv. 703-4).

⁵ "Voy a librarle; mas dame / Palabra que serás mía" (*Obras de Lope de Vega*, VI, 105, l. 13 f.).

⁶ *Oeuvres*, V, 376, l. 1332 f.

⁷ *Andromède*, ll. 1332, 1333.

⁸ *BAE*, IX, 642, 3, 48 f.

Lope, Corneille, and Calderon refer to the ravages of the monster inflicted on Cepheus' lands and subjects. Lope's account is a mere mention,¹ brief and unimpassioned; Corneille's, highly rhetorical and rich in detail. Calderon's argument amplifying Corneille's, viz., the scene on the water's edge, Andromeda's beauty, the mother's pride, the displeasure of the nymphs with the resulting disastrous effects reproduces at one point his language also:

Son haleine est poison, et poison ses regards;
Il ravage, il désole et nos champs et nos villes.²

Cf.:

Con su saliva las aguas
De todo el río avenena,
Con su anhélito inficiona
Del monte plantas y yerbas."³

Finally, Corneille constructs a vivid scene of the maid's despair, when, left alone on the cliff, she sees no help at hand and no deliverer in sight. Especially does she deplore the desertion of her lover, Phineus:

Ici que je n'ai plus ni parents, ni Phinée,
Sur qui détourner mes regards.⁴

The lament and this particular feature are found in Calderon also:

¿Es posible que aquel joven
Después que ciego aventura
Mi vida y mi honor, se ausente
Sin que de mis desventuras
Sea testigo?⁵

Lope, it should be said, leaves the point unnoticed. Here similarity between the two plays ends except in broad outlines. The case for imitation is not strong, but resemblances in structure and expression with coincidences in particulars not elsewhere found constitute presumptive evidence.

The probability of indebtedness to Corneille would be increased, if it could be shown that Calderon could read the original. In the

¹ "Entre las rocas/ Del mar, un monstruo soberbio/ Apareció como sabes/ Vertiendo ardiente veneno./ Con que la tierra y la mar / Juntas se van destruyendo" (*Obras de Lope de Vega*, VI, 98, 2, 11-16); "Y que abracará la tierra / Con rabias, veneno y fuego,/ Si no le entregan . . ." (*ibid.*, II, 23-25).

² *Andromède*, II, 169-70.

⁴ *Andromède*, II, 802 f.

³ *BAE*, IX, 636, 2, 31 f.

⁵ *BAE*, IX, 651, 1, 6 f.

first place, it is unlikely that, granted his court connections, he could be entirely ignorant of that language. His alleged visit to Paris,¹ even if it occurred, would prove nothing and may be disregarded. The statement that he did not know French, first made by Voltaire² and repeated elsewhere,³ rests solely on the circumstance that in two *entremeses* Calderon wrote for Frenchmen a part in which Italian words largely outnumber French.⁴ The evidence, however, is very dubious. In *La Franchota*,⁵ containing one hundred and sixty lines, a character called *un Franchote* delivers fifty-six lines. Perhaps 85 per cent of his words may be understood as Spanish, 10 per cent as Italian, and 2 per cent as French. The remainder are unintelligible. In *Los Flatos*,⁶ with three hundred lines, Coqueron, supposedly French, delivers thirty, in which 5 per cent of the words are Italian, 2 per cent French, and 90 per cent or more Spanish. The distribution being such, neither is Menéndez y Pelayo's statement strictly accurate that Italian predominates in the part, nor Hartzenbusch's, that the jargon does not at all resemble French. As between French and Italian, the latter was doubtless freely used because the Spanish public understood it best of the foreign languages. It was extremely current in the stage jargon of the day. Besides, this case should be not considered alone, but in connection with the entire genus. Although it is not possible to reproduce exactly Calderon's examples,⁷ yet an examination of similar parts in the *entremeses* and plays of the period shows

¹ Segall, *op. cit.*, p. 141; *BAE*, XIV, 704.

² *BAE*, XIV, 702.

³ *Ibid.*, 662; Martineche, *op. cit.*, p. 269; Menéndez y Pelayo, *Calderón y su Teatro*, pp. 246 f.; Castillo (*op. cit.*, p. 401) does not accept the statement nor does he examine the evidence.

⁴ "... Los franceses que introdujo en *La Franchota*, y el botillero, *Coqueron*, que figura en *Los Flatos* (francés indudablemente por su apellido), hablan una jergonza que nada se parece a la lengua francesa. . . . Calderón pues, testigos sus *entremeses*, no sabía el francés" (Hartzenbusch, *BAE*, XIV, 662); "Sabía malamente italiano; así es que cuando en alguno de sus *entremeses*, por ejemplo, en *la Franchota*, quiere hacer hablar en francés a ciertos personajes, pone en boca suya una jerga, donde predomina el elemento italiano; prueba indudable de que el autor no conocía la lengua que se proponía ridicularizar" (Menéndez y Pelayo, *op. cit.*, p. 247).

⁵ *BAE*, XIV, 640.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 642.

⁷ The following may be considered as an approach to them: "Ma soy monsieur si voules/ je port un brave capitene./ Qui vou donarà un cheval, / tout asteur qui vou voudres./ argent, cuiraza, pistola./ samordio, alon, amene./ A diner à mon meson / vitemant, et tout insemi" (*Nueva Bibl. de Autores Esp.*, XVIII, 364, 1, 21 f.); "Churo a Dio non pare qua estante/ a do vechie contachio semejante, / encor que en la mia vita toros viera./ Estrita se me fa cuesta escalera, etc." (XVIII, 642, 1, 11 f.).

his plan of construction to be fairly typical. In most of the *jerigonzas* written for foreigners and provincials and of course intended to be humorous, the base is Spanish. Their authors, however, did not restrict themselves absolutely to Spanish and the language parodied, but used freely others and even meaningless words which preserve the rhythm and create a linguistic *potpourri*.¹ Even Latin more or less corrupt was written for churchmen, doctors, and conjurers.² It does not necessarily follow from the circumstance that these foreign words are few or incorrect that the author did not know the corresponding language; rather the contrary is true. Calderon wrote even bad Latin for certain characters when rhyme required it or it suited his purpose to do so.³ Clever manipulation of this type of dialogue demands a certain degree of familiarity with the languages used. In *La Franchota* the statement is made in advance (*BAE*, XIV, 639, 1, 10) that the character called *un Franchote* speaks no known language. Again (l. 21) it is called *una lengua franchota*; the *canción* (640, 1, 5) sung by him is unintelligible, and finally he speaks purest Castilian. We therefore expect a medley, and no serious attempt to maintain the dialogue in French. In such a part Italian might well appear. The following passages from *La Franchota* show unmistakable French words: "monsieur de la Veleta" (*BAE* XIV, 640, 1, 27); "Porque me mata vú" (640, 1, 28); "Si soy tan bon soldat" (640, 1, 29). Noteworthy is the correct use of the preposition in: "Si yo me vach en Fransa" (639, 1, 31); and from *Los Flatos*: "Coqueron"; "chocolat" (*BAE*, XIV, 642, 1, 26); "de agua e vin" (642, 1, 33; 640, 2, 33); "Les limonatas,/ Les aguas, les guarapiñas" (643, 1, 36 and 37). In addition, there are other examples which are doubtful because it is uncertain whether to regard them as French, Italian, or Spanish, e.g., "pois" = *puis* (?) (644, 1, 6); "por nostra Xente" = *pour* (?) (639, 2, 7); "e San Xaco" = *et* (?) (639, 2, 14); "gentilhomo" = *gentilhomme* (?)

¹ *Obras de Lope de Vega*, II, 191 (Morisco); II, 549, 2, 33 f. (Portuguese); *BAE*, VII, 336, 3, 15 (Morisco); IX, 351, 3, 45 (Morisco); *N. Bibl. AE*, XVII, 223, 1, 49 f. (Ital.); XVII, 328, 1, 3, and 4 (Lat., Span., Ital.); XVIII, 565, 2, 16 f. (Portuguese).

² "Dominus maledictus quae entrabit corpor muller, et tentabit estomagor et risorum sacrum" (*NBAE*, XVII, 146, 2, 2 f.); "¡Jesul, que hablamos parede. / Cum, clum, cum, clum, vade a retrum" (XVIII, 620, 1, 2); "Domine doctor, mulam non hallabis,/ mientras que cien escutis non pagabis" (XVIII, 769, 2, 11).

³ "Sede apud ego" (*BAE*, XIV, 617, 1, 15); "Ite, comida est" (IX, 238, 3, 11); ". . . ved, que devoto flos sanctorum/ Libro de vidas, que es flos latronorum" (XIV, 627, 1, 20 and 21).

(642, 2, 33). Note, also, the following of varying significance gathered from his plays: "y ahora digo *Bonamí*" (BAE, VII, 191, 2, 65); "Pues ha tanto que te sirvo/ De *parlier*, y nunca medro" (VII, 304, 2, 33); "Coquin" (VII, 350, 1 f.); "Quiero, monsiur, y rogaros" (IX, 216, 3, 12); "Monsiur de Orliens" (IX, 242, 2, 43 and 58); "Jaques" (IX, 299, 1, Sc. 8); "monsiur bugre, bon pasaje" (IX, 299, 2, 22); *alternative* (?) (IX, 176, 1, 16).

The material here listed is too slight to prove that Calderon knew French well, and it is too important to dismiss entirely. The truth may lie between the two extremes. Calderon could have put into the mouths of his personages more and better French, if it had suited his purpose. As a rule, he did not adulterate Spanish with foreign words. French, Italian, and Portuguese gallants are made to speak elegant Spanish carrying over nothing from their own tongue. Latin is sparingly introduced in citation or as a show of learning.¹ One citation in Italian is found.² Although he uses the French language but little, and bad feeling against Frenchmen prevailed in Spain during the greater part of his life, Calderon wrote plays on French subjects, introduced freely French personages, and betrayed his familiarity with French history.³ The final conclusion is that by hasty perusal, if nothing more, he could have gained some idea of Corneille's play. Indirect means, such as a translation or an interpreter, might also have been available. That several of the innovations recommended by Corneille in the *Examen* and carried out in the play were adopted by Calderon is suggestive. It is possible, therefore, that he knew *Andromède* at first hand and extracted from this show piece a few ideas for his own show piece.

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¹ BAE, IX, 155, 3, 34; XIV, 360, 1, 26; XIV, 399, 3, 59 and 60; XIV, 634, 1, 44.

² *Ibid.*, VII, 75, 2, 7 and 8.

³ *La Cisma de Inglaterra; Con Quien Vengo, Vengo; La Puente de Mantible*; cf. also IX, 3, 3, 32; IX, 297, 2, 3 and 46; XIV, 358, 2, 8.

THE COPLAS DEL PERRO DE ALBA

According to Algarobilla, in the *Entremes de los Alcaldes de Dagaño*,¹ Pedro de la Rana had committed these *coplas* to memory, "sin que letra falte"—and this accomplishment gained him the votes of Panduro and Pedro Estornudo in that memorable election. There are references to these *coplas* on the stage by Lope de Vega,² more than once by Quifones de Benavente;³ and, in the novel, by the probable author of the *Pícara Justina*⁴ and the unknown author of *Estebanillo González*.⁵ Gonzalo Correas still knew the name of the dog's owner.⁶ In Andrés de Claramonte's *comedia* (very successful in its time), *El Valiente Negro en Flandes*,⁷ the second title of which, as Restori⁸ has pointed out, was *Perro de Alba*, the hero, Juan de Mérida, whom all had spurned as an infidel "dog," is accepted as a soldier by the Duke of Alba in the Netherlands and given his protector's name. The negro, in gratitude, declares,

Pues me dais
Segunda naturaleza,
y soy negro y alba soy,
corrido de vuestras perlas*
el perro de Alba seré
de las escuadras flamencas,⁹

and succeeds in carrying off the Duke of Orange bodily, shouting meanwhile: "[El Perro de Alba soy] vengan Judíos!" The precise

¹ Cervantes, *Entremeses* (ed. Schevill-Bonilla; Madrid, 1918), p. 45.

² In an *entremes* of 1613. Cf. Cotarelo, *Colección de entremeses*, II, 495.

³ "Entremes de los alcaldes encontrados," (Seg. parte, 1635), ap. Cotarelo, II, 664; also in the "Entremes de la Constrefida" (1657), *ibid.*, p. 768.

⁴ *La pícara Justina*, III (ed. J. Puyol; Madrid, 1912), 286, with an excellent note, containing all the foregoing references and the two following, besides a summary of the *Coplas* here reprinted under A. But No. 4088 of Gallardo, as will be shown elsewhere, is not the copy now in the Biblioteca Nacional. Schevill-Bonilla, quoting the first stanza as in Gallardo, add a further reference (Antonio de Maluenda's *Rimas*).

⁵ BAE, XXXIII, 311.

⁶ *Vocabulario de refranes*, p. 548.

⁷ Barcelona, 1638.

⁸ *Piezas de títulos de comedias* (Messina, 1903), p. 152.

⁹ BAE, XLIII, 497. The edition of Madrid, Sanz, 1745, has *ceñido* for *corrido* in the line marked with an asterisk. Restori's quotation omits the line.

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meaning of some of these lines, which Restori did not succeed in ascertaining, becomes clear only after perusing the famous *coplas*. The dog was a "perro prieto," it will then be seen, and Claramonte's second title and the soldier's "soy negro y Alba" are explained.

That the dog's name was used "para motejar de Judío," as in the first example from Quifones de Benavente, is easily understood. The quality of the *Coplas* accounts for the idiom quoted by Correas, "no lo estimo en las coplas del perro de Alba," and the comparatively remote origin of the story, necessarily before the Spanish expulsion of the Jews in 1492, gave currency, as in Benavente's second instance, to the expression, "en tiempo del insigne perro de Alba." But the phrase used by Lope, "venir por flores al perro de Alba," is not quite so obvious. Indeed, there is little doubt but that we do not yet know everything about the famous dog and we probably never shall, because printed sources are unlikely to reveal the whole of his story. Yet these sources, at least, may be saved. The oldest-known version is preserved in perhaps only one or two copies, and its peculiarities of language are not without interest. Besides, as Puyol suspected, there is at least one other form of the *Coplas*, a later one, worse if possible than the first, and this, as a matter of record, we also venture to print. The oldest form so far known is the version by Johannes de Trasmiera, printed in or before 1524 and described as follows by Ferdinand Columbus:

- (A, 1). Jo. de trasmiera pleyto de los iudios contra el perro de alua en metro castellano. I. en alua estando el alcalde. d. como lo he a muchos oydo. In fine est oratio metrica eiusdem en español. I. señora virgen maria. est in 4º, 2. col. Costó en medina del campo .3. blancas, a .23. de noviembre de .1524.¹

To my knowledge no copy of this edition has been preserved.

(A, 2).—A probably later edition of the same version in which, however, Trasmiera's *oratio metrica* was replaced by a *romance* of Encina, belonged at some time to the Biblioteca Campo-Alange, where Gallardo examined it:

Este es el Pleyto de los Judios con el Perro de Alba, y de la burla que les hizo; nuevamente trobado por el Br. Juan de Trasmiera, residente en Sala-

¹ *Catalogue of the Library of Ferdinand Columbus*, reproduced by A. M. Huntington, New York, 1905. Cf. Gallardo, *Ensayo*, II, 55.

manca; que hizo a ruego y pedimento de un Señor.—E un Romance de Juan del Encina. En 4º.—l.g.—Pliego suelto.—Frontis (un perro y tres Judíos, en el traje que debían de usar entonces en España).¹

No copy of this edition is known to me.²

(A, 3).—What may be a still somewhat later edition is preserved in the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid (R. 9.495) with a title identical to that of the preceding edition, but with the word *bachiller* spelled out and no *romance*:

¶ Este es el pleyto delos judíos [larger type] / con el perro de Alua: y de la burla que les hizo. Nueuamen / te trobada [sic] por el bachiller Juan de Trasmiera residen / te en Salamanca, que hizo a ruego y pedi = / miento de vn señor. //

There follows a rectangular woodcut occupying about one-third of the page, representing a large mastiff-like dog, chained to a column with a heavy chain, and standing on his hind legs on very rocky ground. Although his long tail has a most friendly curve, he is represented as tearing at the cape of a turbaned gallant who keeps his hands folded and looks surprised and grieved. The text begins on the title-page, 4º, two columns, black letter, eight unnumbered pages without signatures. This edition will be reproduced below under A.

There was at least one other form of *Coplas del Perro de Alba* in circulation, at any rate in the seventeenth century. Sancho Rayón or Zarco del Valle, who edited Gallardo's papers, report:

(B, 1). Coplas del Perro del [sic] Alva, en las quales se trata como los Judios le procuraron matar, y de como el Perro se libró dellos por orden de un Gato, y de la venganza que despues tomo de los Judios, y de las grandes lamentaciones que ellos hicieron. Compuestas en verso por Pedro Rodriguez, vecino de Burgos. Impresas con licencia de los Señores del Consejo Real. En Cuenca, en casa de Salvador de Viades, año 1629. Estan tassadas á quatro maravedis. (Falto.)³

This print is not accessible to me. But there is a later edition, of which a copy⁴ has been preserved by the curiosity of Samuel Pepys,

¹ Gallardo, IV, 796. Gallardo reprints the first and last stanza, and the *Romance of Encina*.

² L. Montoto (*Personajes, personas y personillas, etc.*, I [Sevilla, 1911] 64) reports a copy of the *Pleito*, not further identified, in possession of the Duke of 't Serclaea.

³ Gallardo, IV, 203.

⁴ Cf. Gaselee, "The Spanish Books in the Library of Samuel Pepys" (Suppl. to the *Bibliographical Society's Transactions*, No. 2), 1921, No. 150.

now in the Pepysian Library, Magdalene College, Cambridge, with the classmark 1545^(ss). The full title follows:

(B, 2). COPLAS DEL PERRO DE ALVA, / EN LAS QVALES SE TRATA,
 COMO LOS JVDIOS / le procuraron matar, y de como el Perro se
 librò dellos, por orden / de vn Gato; y de la vengança que despues
 tomò de los Judios, y de / las grandes lamentaciones que ellos hizieron.
 Lleva vna letra / muy graciosa, de quando la Rana tenga pelos; con
 otra / letra contra las mugeres bravas, obra muy / graciosa. //

A square woodcut signed "P.P.," with a certain strange likeness to the woodcut on (A, 3), shows a mastiff, more realistic and with a short tail held low, but chained also to a column and with extended tongue as if rejoicing after having torn a piece of clothing from a fleeing person of whom only a skirt and a foot are visible. The text begins on the title-page, 4^o, Roman letter, two columns, eight unnumbered pages, sigs. A, A2. Colophon: "Impresso en Seuilla, por *Iuan Cabeças*, / año de 1676. / A costa de Lucas Martin de Hermosilla, Mercader de Libros, / vendese en su casa en Calle de Genova.// " The *Coplas* occupy about five pages of the pamphlet. At the foot of the fifth page begins the *Letra graciosa de quando la Rana tenga pelo* with the lines:

Tiñe la vieja con mafias
 negros los blancos cabellos ...

ending at the beginning of the seventh page with:

... con maças, y sin ançuelo;
 quando la Rana tenga pelo.

This is followed by a *Letra contra las mugeres bravas*, beginning:

Quien quisiere tener plazer
 dele de palos a su muger.

and ending:

... ni al marido puede ver,
 dele de palos à su muger.

With the kind permission of Mr. O. F. Morshead, librarian of the Pepysian Library, the *Coplas* in this edition are here reproduced under B. Both A and B are reprinted without any changes, except occasionally in evidently mistaken punctuation, but no long *eses* are printed and ligatures are solved.

TEXT

A

¶ Querella de los judios.

[col. 2] EN Alua estando el alcalde
jugando muy retamente
parecio infinita gente
de judios casi en balde
quexando de aquel ronalde
el perro de Anton Gentil
contra el qual ellos hizieron
y querella le pusieron
criminal que no ciuil.

5

[p. 2] ¶ Uirtuoso y noble señor
juez desta villa y su tierra
nos por quitarnos de guerra
con vn perro muy traydor
pedimos que por rigor
de derecho castigueys
el perro del dicho Anton
y tomada su informacion
de sus males nos vengueys.

10

15

¶ Y si aquesto no hizieredes
al Duque lo contaremos
quantos daños padecemos
y de vos si procediredes
contra los que nos oyeredes
apelamos para alla
que castigue la malicia
vuestra y nos haga justicia
qual creemos si fara.

20

25

¶ Y porque nos remedieys
castigando este maldito
presentamos este escripto
que adelante leereys
porque mejor sentencieys
al perro brauo y sañudo
como ladron lo enforqueys
y en la picota dexeys
puesto por fi de cornudo.

30

35

¶ Escripto de querella.

[col. 2]

¶ Nos los *que* paz desseamos
 la noble aljama y caal
 contra vn perro natural
 desta villa nos quexamos 40
 y a vos señor demandamos
 le colgueys de la picota
 porque nos muerde y destruye
 nunca de nosotros buye,
 y nos trae al estricota. 45

¶ Dadnos lo señor atado
 o Aldoyan mose garçon,
 pues que temos razon,
 dalde la muerte de grado
 ya estuuiera sentenciado 50
 si en el poder nuestro fuera
 porende no dilateys,
 pedinos lo que quereys
 presto señor muera muera.

¶ Lo que dixeron Abrayme
 Abenaron y maestro
 Ysaac jubetero.

¶ O señor juez y que pena
 tenemos ambos a dos 55
 que se va detras de nos
 quando le viene la vena
 aunque vaya con cadena,
 nos ladra muerde este alano 60
 que quando del escapamos
 todos por cierto pensamos,
 quel dio le tiene con su mano.

¶ Samuel.

[p. 3]

¶ Este perro nos fatiga
 los balandranes rasgando 65
 nunca esta saluo ladrando
 que quereys que del os diga
 quando yo vo a ver mi amiga,
 jura al dio que me rasguña
 y me mete en turbacion, 70
 con muy grande alteracion,
 aunque le ruego no grufia.

¶ Borox.

¶ O ninguno aya piedad
de perro tan endiablado,
no ay rabi tan auisado 75
cierto en esta vezindad
trae tanta crueldad
que espanta la vieja ley,
y aun a mi el muy esforçado,
yo bien creo que forçado, 80
auremos de yr ante el rey.

¶ El juez a los judios.

¶ Yo vuestra demanda aceto
y querella criminal
por la qual pena mortal
dexis se de al perro prieto 85
y por mi juyzio reto
le condeno por derecho
y os mando que proueyes
y que mas no le halagueys
de quanto proueyes el hecho. 90

¶ Los judios al juez.

¶ Nos consentimos en esso
y a las costas nos ponemos,
pues que justicia tenemos
para en prueua del processo
presentamos vn confesso 95
que vino deste linaje,
y a otros desta mesma seta
damos en pena perfeta
porque mas no nos vltraje.

¶ Mandamiento para prenderlo.

[col. 2]

¶ Yo el alcalde desta villa 100
mando a vos Anton gentil
que deys a nuestro alguazil
vuestro perro el del asilla.
y aunque llegueys a Seuilla
tras el, hasta lo prender 105
porque vnos judios dieron
quexa del, y me pidieron
que mandasse proveer.

¶ Prosigue.

¶ Y meteldo en la sinoga
donde estan los acusantes 110
con que estan muy triunfantes
y ataldo con vna sogá
y miralde bien si se ahoga
hazedle biuir penado
que yo le dare su pago 115
y desque muerto, en vn lago
mandare sea echado.

¶ El autor.

¶ Luego como lo prendieron
don Uellocid lo acecho 120
y dixo juro os al dio
judios me lo traxeron
y en el barzel lo metieron
vamos todos a clamar
que se cumpla nuestra que[xa]
mirad que mucho se al[exa] 125
la muerte que le [han] de dar.

[p. 4]

¶ El r[abi] le[s] consejo
no oluidassen la querella
porque se auian por ella 130
de ganar como aprouo
y todo lo sustancio
lo que dixo por razones
luego todos con plazer
empeçaron a entender
en estas tribulaciones. 135

¶ Don Salomon çapa
tero a quexa.

¶ Oyd señor muy honrrado
que como soy çapatero
yo le di con el tablero
y el auantal de vn bocado 140
me dexo muy mal tratado
de manera que en mi officio
no tengo asiento sin el
porque en su falta vn fardel
traygo para mi officio.

¶ Don Abrayme y Bezaco el ferrero.

¶ Señor la muerte le dad 145
que nos a echado a perder
nunca dexa de morder
nuestros hijos con maldad
siempre anda con falsedad
es vn perro malhechor 150
nos muerde elnas graniallas
aunque le digamos guayas
[tan] maluado es el traydor.

¶ Que p[or] cierto estotro dia 155
nos mordio en medio la plaça
maldi[t]a la liebre el caça
son mordernos a porfia
porende por cortesia
lo querays bien castigar,
que si del perro fuymos 160
todas las calzas hinchimos
sin podernos remediar.

[col. 2]

¶ El Rabi.

¶ O cuyta tan desmedida
tan profunda para todos
que busca dozientos modos 165
vn perro contra mi vida
mi anima tiene metida
so la tierra con mi abuelo
el cuerpo aqueste lo tiene
para cada y quando viene 170
que me arrastro por el suelo.

¶ Yo Rabi Baru requiero,
a vos alcalde mandeys
que lo aforquen como veys
que merece de vn madero 175
pues que presume de fiero
veremos su fortaleza
o quien fuesse tan osado,
la alma le dare de grado.
si me da su fortaleza. 180

¶ Don Don el físico.

¶ Estando mirando orinas
dando purgas a dolientes
y mirando inconuientes
sobre ciertas medicinas
si eran malas o eran finas 185
vino el gran perro detras
yo luego como le vi,
el vientre libre senti
que no tuue embargo mas.

[p.15]

¶ Yo no halle otro remedio 190
para ciertos mis parientes
no curando de simientes
para embargo y para tedio
saluo pongan este medio 195
que luego se soltaran
con reuerencia hablando
poco a poco deshinchando
el enoxo dexaran.

¶ Yuce el luengo.

¶ Guay de la ley de Moysen
que nosotros tanto honramos 200
que vn perro si bien miramos
della haze gran desden,
si lo enforcan dire amen
con todos los de mi casa
y la lumbré lleuare 205
en cuya muerte estare
hasta que este hecho brasa.

¶ De noche con el me sueño
y doy voces en la cama
este perro nos disfama 210
dandome a comer veleño,
harto lo digo a su dueño
no quiere dallo mal fin
yo a vos señor juez lo pido
que por derecho regido 215
castigueys este malsin.

¶ Husillo.

[col. 2]

¶ Yo Husillo digo ansi
que pido justo castigo
contra vn atroz enemigo
que en mal hora conoci. 220
yo al mundo porque sali
y mi madre me pario
que vn perro el dia passado
vino a mi muy denodado
y en las nalgas me mordio. 225

¶ El qual en el templo estando
como a mi fijuelo vio
leon brauo se mostro
que estaua sabadeando,
mi fijuelo estando orando 230
el rabi circuncido
luego en pies le vi poner
y con pesimo saber
lo que el Rabi dexo asio.

¶ Autor.

¶ Luego vino Jacotero 235
y don Sento a le pedir
que mandasse bien punir
a perro tan brauo y fiero
y llevo Ayon çapatero
con vna sogá de cuero 240
con que fuessen bien vengados
y en su muerte sentenciados
como esta en su ley y fuero.

¶ Sentencia del juez

[p. 6]

¶ Uisto y bien examinado
vn processo criminal 245
entre la aljama y caal
y el perro de Alua llamado
cuyo tenor bien mirado
hallo deuo condenar
el perro a pena de muerte 250
y en vn palo rezio y fuerte
luego lo mando enforçar.

¶ Iten mando sea quemado
 hecho poluos bien molido
 todo aquesto asi cumplido 255
 en su manjar sea echado
 porque comeran de grado
 cosa de tal enemigo
 y que ellos den cien çuyços
 cessando en todos officios 260
 trompetas lleuen consigo.

¶ Esto hagan luego el martes
 a las diez del dia,
 toda la gran juderia
 se diuida en sendas partes 265
 lleuen ay sus estandartes
 para mayor vengamiento
 y Cerrulla el çapatero
 mando sea pregonero
 por su gran merescimiento. 270

¶ El autor.

¶ Luego todos consintieron
 la sentencia pronunciada
 teniendola por bien dada
 y tanto plazer huuieron
 que las cosas que hizieron 275
 eran de tanta alegria,
 que todos en gran heruor
 dauan gracias al señor
 por el bien de aqueste dia.

[col. 2]

¶ El martes el sol saliendo 280
 todos estauan armados
 por su regla concertados
 la borrica alli teniendo
 a grandes bozes diziendo
 luego se haga justicia 285
 el juez como assi los vio
 que la hiziessen mando
 como tenia cobdicia.

¶ Justicia al perro.

¶ Sacaronlo de prission
 al perro con aparato 290

con pregon y grita vn rato
trayendo gran turbacion
por salir con su intencion,
y pusieron su escalera
bien en la mitad de vna mota
arrimada a la picota
hecha por nueva manera.

295

¶ El perro como se vio
de la picota colgado
con enojo muy ayrado,
como trompetas oyo,
toda la sogá quebro
y asio luego del primero
del qual tan rezio mordio
que encontinente murio
aunque era espingardero.

300

305

¶ Los judios espantados
cayeron amortecidos
vnos rotos y mordidos
otros del todo finados,
luego fueron enterrados
los que el perro degollo.
los que despanto murieron
en sus huessas los pusieron
y el perro en sagrado entro.

310

315

¶ Prosigue.

¶ Luego sin mas dilatar
los que biuos se hallaron
con el miedo que llevaron
se dieron a caminar
que no osaron mas estar,
en essa villa de miedo
y porque no los sintiesse
o tras dellos no se fuesse
caminaron para Ouiedo.

320

¶ El perro despues quedaua
en la villa muy potente
para siempre residente
en quanto natura daua
a los christianos amaua.
como persona discreta

325

330

[p. 7]

a los judios si vey
 las carnes les comia
 todo por su via rezia.

¶ Si algun judio topaua
 con capa de algun christiano 335
 tocaualo con su mano
 la qual luego besaua
 al judio lo arrastraua
 no llegando a tal uestido,
 si el christiano se vestia 340
 con capa de juderia
 luego en ella estaua asido.

[col. 2]

¶ Cerrulla quando caso
 combido mucha compania 345
 el qual perro con gran saña
 las orejas le comio
 desto mucho se quexo
 pero aprovechole poco
 que como ayrado lo vio 350
 de las narizes le asio
 que lo hizo echar el moco.

¶ La muerte del perro.

¶ Despues de todo passado
 cayo el perro en gran dolencia
 y de mal de pestilencia 355
 fue desta vida sacado
 el qual fue luego tomado
 por muchos hombres honrados
 y en vn bulto muy labrado
 fue por todos sepultado
 con dos retulos dorados. 360

¶ El vno dellos dezia
 aqui yaze el brauo can
 que nunca comia pan
 saluo hombre o muger judia.
 ¶ El segundo que tenia, 365
 dezia lo que se sigue.
 ¶ Aqui esta vn brauo leon
 para judios passion
 cuya fama siempre viue.

¶ La tornada de los
judios.

[p. 8]

¶ Los judios desque oyeron 370

el perro ser ya finado
yuan con miedo doblado
que nunca bien lo creyeron
ya despues desque lo vieron
todos hizieron correr. 375
la alegria que trayan
y plazerres que hazian
aqui no se pueden poner.

¶ Ellos querian sacar
el perro de donde estaua 380

como fueron a la caua
en el bulto oyan ladrar
todos se van sin tardar
pensando los morderia
y porque de ay se quitasse 385
y en el bulto no ladrasse
se junto la juderia.

[col. 2]

¶ El bulto se derroco
por el juez a petition
he aquel grande Salomon 390

que en Alua despues murio
porque este perro capo
a el y a dos otros fijuelos
dio quexa graue y mortal
contra el perro natural 395
pues le dio tan grandes duelos.

¶ Fin.

Assi el buen can fenecio
con muy gran virtud y honra
los judios con deshorrta
y vituperio dexo 400

todo aquesto assi passo
no penseys que fue fingido
porque es de cierto verdad
publico en esta ciudad
como a muchos lo e oydo. 405

¶ Fin.

B

[sig. A, p. 1]

De poco nos ha servido
 acusar aqueste Perro,
 y se tiene por gran yerro
 el averlo perseguido.
 Somos tenidos en poco,
 todos nos tienen en cuenta,
 y nos dizen por afrenta:
 Guarda el Perro, guarda el loco!
 De que nos sirve avisalle,
 que castiguen su malicia,
 si haze burla la Justicia?
 mejor nos será matalle.
 Irà de mal en peor,
 no cessará nuestra saña,
 hasta que con arte, y mafia
 demos fin del malhechor.
 Aquesto dezires quiero,
 nadie mis intentos tuerça,
 lo que no puede la fuerça,
 acabe nuestro dinero.
 Otros Perros sus amigos
 bravamente regalemos,
 bien de comer les daremos,
 y serán sus enemigos.
 Muy buen aparejo he visto,
 y como dize el Proverbio:
 Aquel que fuere sobervio,
 será con todos mal quisto.
 Temenle mucho los otros,
 es con ellos muy cruel,
 y por verse libre dél
 le entregarán á nosotros.
 Con aqueste presupuesto,
 dando fin à su razon,
 vãn a buscar ocasion
 para que acabe con esto.
 Hallan lo que desearon,
 y à sus amigos fieles,
 que eran famosos lebreles,
 muy hambrientos los hallaron.
 Dieronles bien de comer,
 y no mirando su yerro,

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[col. 2]

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[p. 2]

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| | dizen, que en vender el Perro harán todo su poder. | |
| | Quedaronse allí escondidos, para quando el Perro venga, para hazer lo que convenga los traidores fementidos. | 45 |
| [col. 2] | Vino el Perro tan perdido de sueño, que no comió, y en el suelo se tendió, donde se quedó dormido. | 50 |
| | Sus pies, y manos atando, viendo su gozo cumplido, con grandissimo alarido lo llevaron arrastrando. | 55 |
| | En vn aposento obscuro aquellos Iudios malos le dån mas de ochenta palos con vn garrote muy duro. | 60 |
| | Alli le dixeron estos mil palabras injuriosas, danle cozes muy furiosas, hazele muchos denuestos. | 65 |
| | Y para dalle mas pena, donde llegar no pudiesse, y de hambre se muriesse, le ponen comida, y cena. | 70 |
| | Despidieronse burlando, y cada qual satisfecho, se vån en aqueste hecho de su traicion alabando. | 75 |
| | Y despues de despedidos, el buen perro solloçando, muy colorido, y ladrando, dixo con muchos gemidos: | 80 |
| | Oy por las desdichas mias se acabaron mis consuelos, y dan principios á mis duelos, y fin à mis alegrías. | 85 |
| [sig. A]2, p.[3] | Amigos fueron civiles, que nombrarlos assi quiero, à quien fuerça de dinero trastornó sus pechos viles. | |
| | Si vn buen Gato lo supiera, | |

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| que en pellejo de enemigo es mi regalado amigo, yo sè que a verme viniera. Apenas esto acabó, quando por el frontispicio, entrando por el resquicio, el buen gato alli llegò. Teniendo gran compassion de su amigo, y sus enojos, con lagrimas de sus ojos començó aquesta razon: Amigo no desconfies, no tengas miedo perezcas, no es justo que desfallezcas, sino que en mi te confies. Yo te traeré de comer, y hasta verte libertado pondré todo mi cuidado, como tu lo podrás ver. Dixo el Perro: Tal me siento, que sin duda yo me muero, y por esta causa quiero hazer luego testamento. No tengo mas que mandar, que hereden en este dia mis hijos mi valentia, y mi cuerpo vn muladar. Y dirá à mi muger, pues es tan hermosa, y bella, que no se junten con ella Perros de poco valer. No passes mas adelante, dixo el Gato, que me afijo, yo se que verá tu hijo tu valor fuerte, y pujante. Tu saldrás de la prision, y estos Iudios traidores que te dan tantos dolores, llevarán su galardón. Conviene, pues, que si quieres salir deste afan, y mengua, saques vn poco la lengua, y que finjas que te mueres. Y assi podrás escaparte | 90 95 100 105 110 115 120 125 |
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con la traça que yo diere,
y el Iudio que te viere
no procurará matarte.
Que viendo tan gran passion,
y lastima tan crecida,
te concederá la vida,
aunque no de compassion.
Quedate, que yo me parto,
y aunque estas hambriento aora,
estarás dentro de vn hora
alegre, contento, y harto.
Fuese el Gato, y los Iudios
entraron à visitalle,
y tambien à maltratalle,
para quitalle los brios.
Viendole tan maltratado,
y como que se moría,
cada qual mucho reía
de verle tan fatigado.
Y para que mas penasse
con su tormento importuno,
acordose que ninguno
al Perro de Alva matasse.
Diole la vida la traça
que le dió el Gato su amigo,
porque qualquiera enemigo
bien le diera mate, y caça.
Y viendo el perro sus daños,
puesto entre sus enemigos,
se quexa de sus amigos,
pues le amparan los estraños.
Y en estos inconvenientes,
y fatigas en que estava,
tristemente se quexava
que le olvidan sus parientes.
Diziendo quan cierto es,
y el tiempo fiel testigo
mover el mal al amigo,
y al ruin el interes.
Bien se yo que tengo amigos,
ni puedo, ni los convoco,
porque sè que pueden poco,
por ser mas mis enemigos.
El gato por otra parte

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[p. 4]

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| | andava por los rincones, caçando muchos ratones con mañosa industria, y arte. La vida les prometia, para que con él se fuesen, y la maroma royessen, que al Perro atado tenia. | 175 |
| | Buscòle para cenar con vn cuydado esquisito, no llevò assado, ni frito, porque no sabia guisar. Llevò allà su compañía, y a su amigo visitò, y con la cena le dió gran contento, y alegria. | 180 |
| [col. 2] | No le llevó que beber, porque no tenia dineros, ni podia á taberneros su deuda satisfacer. Estava alli vna tinaja con el agua que tenia, aunque no estava muy fria, cubierta de polvo, y paja. Royeron bien los ratones las sogas, y la maroma, y tal trabajo se toma con muy sanas intenciones. | 185 |
| | Comió y bebió y animoso con esfuerço, y valentia su vengança prometia al Judaismo alevoso. Alli estava vn agujero donde se veía vn pajar, y para aver de baxar el Gato saltó primero. | 190 |
| | Y porque no se hiriesse, viendo que ya el Perro baxa, se puso alli mucha paja, para que en mullido diesse. Baxan tras èl los ratones, ved que fieles amigos, que aun hasta los enemigos se mueven por sinrazones. | 195 |
| | Y para que no supiesen | 200 |
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| | los Iudios lo que avia, hasta que viniesse el dia se acordò que se escondiessen. | 220 |
| [p. 5] | Alli dieron sus razones, como el perro les hiziesse, la carne el Gato comiesse, y su trigo los ratones. Dava cada qual favor, dezia el Perro animoso: A vn traidor vn alevoso, y si no dos á vn traidor. Que serian buenos modos, para quando no le hallassen, y muchos mas se juntassen, que pudiesen dar tras todos. Con esta resolucion, la qual nadie no repugna, aguardan hora oportuna, para cumplir su intencion. Yendo à visitar el preso quien cuydado del tenia, viendo que no parecia, se espantaron del suceso. | 225 230 |
| | Malogróseles su gozo, cada qual se maldezia, porque toda su alegria se avia caido en el poço. Acudieron muchos luego con angustia, y agonía, y como no parecia, mas acrecientan su fuego. Y con gran saña, y rencor davan gritos; que dudamos, la Gata de Mari Ramos ha contrahecho el traidor. Ha mal ayan nuestros brios, que para aver de acaballe, y estando atado matalle, huvimos de ser Judios. | 235 240 245 |
| | Mas si otra vez le cogemos, no ay para que dilatar el querernos del vengar, y al punto le mataremos. | 250 |
| [col. 2] | La paciencia se acabò | 255 260 |

del Perro que lo escuchava,
y con vna furia brava
tras ellos arremeti6.
Alli fueron los gemidos, 265
fuelos el perro siguiendo,
y ellos salieron huyendo,
dando muchos alaridos.
Iva el Gato por su parte,
y los valientes Ratones, 270
furiosos como Leones,
imitando al fiero Marte.
Dava terribles bocados
á los traidores malsines,
que en aquellos tratos ruines 275
los hallava mas culpados.
Alli fue la mofa, y risa
de la gente que mirava,
la turba que caminava,
huyendo del Perro aprissa. 280
Veng6se bastantemente,
quitando á algunos la vida
desta gente fementida,
aqueste Perro valiente.
Hecho digno de memoria, 285
bien digno de que á luz salga,
y del fuerte Perro de Alva
aqui se acaba la historia.

NOTES

REMARK.—It is somewhat surprising to find the author of the early *Coplas* evidently familiar with the peculiarities of Judeo-Spanish, so much so that his text may be used for a small contribution to the study of *Ladino*. Spanish travelers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries have remarked on the affection for Spain and its literature evinced by exiled Jews in the Orient, and on the purity of their speech at that time. Antonio de Aranda¹ mentions the Spanish-speaking Jews in *Safet de Galilea*. R. Menéndez Pidal has already drawn attention to the interesting reports of Villalón and of Domingo del Toral concerning the Spanish Jews of Alexandretta, Aleppo, and Constantinople.² To these may still be added the testimony of Diego Galán, who, at the end of the sixteenth century, bore witness to the excellence of

¹ *Verdadera información de la Tierra Santa según la disposición que en este año de 1530 la vió y paseó*, Toledo, 1545. Cf. Picatoste, *Estudios sobre la grandesa y decadencia de España*, I (Madrid, 1887), 180. Aranda's book is not at present accessible to me.

² "Catálogo del romancero judío-español," *Cultura española* (1906), pp. 1052-54.

speech among the Jews of Salónica: "Hablan castellano tan fino y acendrado como en la imperial ciudad, cabeza y silla de tantos emperadores y reyes godos."¹

A, line 5. *Roncalde*. A puzzling word, unknown to the dictionaries, perhaps derived from the *refrán*: "Roncalde, que del almadraba viene." Correas explains this none too clearly, as "Vaya que les dan." Whom, "les"? If the Arabic meaning of *almadraba* is remembered, namely, "lieu où l'on frappe" (Dozy-Engelmann, *Glossaire*, pp. 149 f.), the *refrán* may be understood as an ironical warning to a quarrelsome person, urging him to attack someone who is adept at (returning) blows. The initial imperative may in time have come to be used as a substantive meaning, "snarler" (*roncar*). As a more or less convincing parallel, the expression "el timebrunt gentes," meaning "a weapon" (Correas [1924], p. 567), or "un Erasse que s'era" (A. Velásquez de Velasco, *La Lena*, 1602, *Orig. de la nov.*, III, 391) might be offered. Cirot ("Recherches sur les Juifs espagnols et portugais," *Bull. hisp.*, VII [1906], 186), in a somewhat similar manner, suggests that the word *cayó* = "luck," used by the Spanish Jews of Bordeaux, may be the preterit *cayó* in some such phrase as "me cayó el gordo."

6. *Anton Gentil*. Cf. 101: *Anton gentil*. In the note on the Perro de Alba, the new, reclassified edition of Correas (p. 601) has added a comma after *Anton*.

20. The Duke of Alba, no doubt.

27. *Si fara*. On the use of *si* for *se* cf. Gil, *Romancero judeo-español* (Madrid, 1911), p. 31. The prevalence of initial *f* may be noted here: *fara*, *enforqueis* (34); *fi de cornudo* (36); *ferrero* (before 145); *fuymos* (160); *aforquen* (174); *enforcan* (203); *fiuolo* (227, 230, 393); *enforcar* (252). But *hijos* (148) and, strangely enough, *huessas* (313). Cf. Gil, p. 6; it has been noted in Constantinople by Wagner, *Beiträge zur kenntnis des judenspanischen von Konstantinopel* (Wien, 1914), §§ 25-26; in Saloniki by Lamouche, *Quelques mots sur le dialecte espagnol parlé par les Israélites de Salonique* in *Mélanges Chabaneau* (Erlangen, 1907), p. 979, and also in Uskub and Monastir by Simon, "Charakteristik des judenspanischen dialekts von Saloniki," *ZRPh*, XL (1920), 675. However, the Spanish Jews of Sofia drop the *f*. Wiener, "Songs of the Spanish Jews in the Balkan Peninsula," *Mod. Phil.*, I (1903), 205, suggests that this peculiarity marks the division between two main groups; but the question is more complicated than had been supposed. Cf. Wagner, *Rev. de filol. esp.*, X, 242 f.

38. *aljama*. Cf. Dozy-Engelmann, *Glossaire*, s.v.

¹ *Cautiverio y trabajos* (ed. Serrano y Sanz; Madrid, 1913), p. 120. No compliment, of course, could be higher, since it has become a tradition that, as early as Alfonso el Sabio, the Spanish spoken in Toledo was the standard of excellence. Cf. Lope de Vega, *Amar sin saber a quién* (ed. Buchanan and Franzen-Swedelius; New York, 1920), ll. 206-10 and note; also Cervantes, *Rinconete y Cortadillo* (ed. Rodríguez Marín; Sevilla, 1905), p. 39, and Luna, *Diálogos familiares* (1621), Dial. XI.

38. *caal* (cf. 246). Heb. *cahal* = "congregación o lugar de reunión con fin religioso, sinagoga, iglesia" (Remiro, "Sobre algunos vocablos y frases de los judeo-españoles," *Boletín de la Real Academia española*, II [1915], 79). See also Wagner, p. 169; Simon, *Glossary*; Foulché-Delbosc, "Proverbes judéo-espagnols," *Rev. hisp.*, II (1895), 332: "Más vale el hazan que el kal entero." The word here counts for two syllables and is perhaps feminine. Cf. Cota, "Epitalamio" (*Cancionero del siglo XV*, ed. Foulché-Delbosc, II, 588): "... es un mangevo sin mal, de muy onrrado *cahal*." Evidently two syllables and masculine. Foulché-Delbosc, who first published the poem (*Rev. Hisp.*, I, 70), printed *cahal* in italics, as being a word "dont la lecture pouvait présenter quelque doute." In the "Ordenamiento formado por los procuradores de las aljamas hebreas en la Asamblea de Valladolid, 1432," first published by F. Fernández y González (*Bol. de la R. Acad. de la hist.*, VII, 145-89; 275-306; 395-414; VIII, 10-27), a document in Hebrew characters, but partly rabbinical Hebrew mixed with Spanish words, partly in Spanish interspersed with Hebrew words, *qahl* and even the plural form with the feminine ending, *qahlot*, are treated as masculine (VII, 184: *el qahl*; 182: *algun qahl*; 171: *los qahlot*) and the editor follows suit in the translated parts. There are a few instances of the feminine, with a dissyllabic spelling of the word: *las qehilot* (*guardelas su roca y su libertador*) (VII, 289, 304); but the masculine, monosyllabic form has prevailed. Speaking of certain persecutions of the Jews in Barcelona in the end of the fourteenth century, Fr. Jaime Villanueva says: "Vivian aquí los Judíos en el barrio inmediato a la parroquia de Santiago, que se llamaba el *Call*, apellido que hoy dura, y que tenían todas las juderías de este principado, como he visto en varios documentos del siglo XIII, relativos a la policía que debía se guardar con los de aquella secta; y llamábanse en latin como suena *Callum*, *Callium*, *Callia*" (*Viage literario a las iglesias de España*, XVIII, 21). A letter from Don Jaime de Mallorca, April 4, 1305, orders that "nullus clericus intret *callum* vel domos judeorum" (*ibid.*, XXI, 165), and Villanueva reports that in Gerona, in 1418, the passage of a papal legate was made the occasion "para robar y aun destruir la Sinagoga del *Call*" (*ibid.*, XIV, 30). This form is evidently distinct from modern Catal. *call* = *callejón* < Lat. *callis* (Pujal y Serra), which is apparently not used in Valencia (cf. Escrich) and is not mentioned by Lacaballería (*Gazophylacium*, 1696). Has the existence of *call* < *callum* brought about or increased the use of Cat. *carrer* (Sp. *carrera*)? In many cities outside of Spain the Jews are still living in groups or *cales*, according to the place of their origin. Cf. Yahuda, "Contribución al estudio del judeo-español," *Rev. de filol. esp.*, II, 353, 357.

44. *buye*. Read: *fuye*.

45. *nos trae al estricota*. The only instance known to me of the form *estricota* (substantiated by the rhyme) instead of the usual *estricote*. In Salamanca *estricote* and *entricote* (Lamano, s.v.). *Al estricote* appears in connection with *andar*, *traer*, and, occasionally, *echar*, e.g., in Juan Ruiz (*Libro de*

buen amor, st. 815), Torres Naharro (*Comedia Tinellaria*, Vol. II, p. 378), Cervantes (*Pedro de Urdemalas*, I [ed. Schevill-Bonilla], 147; *Don Quijote*, II, 8), and Quevedo ("Cuento de cuentos," *BAE*, XLVIII, 411), and was held up to ridicule as outdated by Quiñones de Benavente ("Entremes de las Civilidades, ap. Cotarelo," *Entremeses*, II, 504) but still survives. The meaning here is evidently: "in confusion" or "in suspense."

47. o *Aldoyan moss garçon*. *Aldoyan* is the Arab. *aldayyan* = "judge." Talmudic Hebrew has *dayyān* (Jastrow). The judge's name is Mose Garçon. One of the earliest-known documents written in Spanish by Jews, a deed of sale dated Aguilar de Campó, 1220, was witnessed a.o. by "Garson fide Iuceph" and "Mose fide Iago Ferrero" (Menéndez Pidal, *Documentos lingüísticos de España*, Vol. I [1919], No. 24). Cf., also, "... muy cercano pariente/ soes de *Mosse* Cohen ..." ("Le débat entre Anton de Moros et Gonzalo Davila" [ed. Morel-Fatio], *Romania*, XXX [1901], 56).

48. *Temos*. Read: *tenemos*.

Before 55. *jubetero*. The Academy explains *jubetero* as a maker of *jubetes*, or capes of mail. But perhaps it stands for the less warlike *aljubetero*, or maker of *aljubas*, an ample, knee-high vestment, variously described as having short and narrow sleeves (*Academy*), wide sleeves (Salmerón and de Diego, *Indumentaria española* [Madrid, 1915], p. 60), or sleeves wide in the upper part and narrowed at the wrists (Dozy, *Dict. des noms des vêtements*, pp. 107 ff.).

63. *quel díó*. Accented *dió*, a retrogressive formation from the OSp. *diós* (Pidal, *Cid*, p. 166; *Manual*, § 75, 3; Blondheim, "Essai d'un vocabulaire comparatif des parlers romans des Juifs au moyen âge," *Romania*, XLIX [1923], 14). Pero Ferrus (or Ferrandes), probably the oldest contributor to the *Cancionero de Baena*, since he flourished at the death of Henry II (1379), used the form *el dió* before the earliest occurrence known so far (1410) in a "Respuesta de los rraabyes á Pero Ferrus":

El pueblo é los hasanes
Que nos aquí ayuntamos,
Con todos nuestros afanes
En el Dio sienpre esperamos ...

—*Cancionero de Baena* ([Madrid, 1851], p. 334)

In the next stanza, however: "Al Dios santo de Israel." The text is not very reliable, and while it is unlikely that the first example is spurious, the second may very well have read: "Al Dio santo. ..." However, the form *Dió*, without *s*, even later was not used exclusively. Cf. Grünbaum, *Jüdisch-Spanische Chrestomathie* (Frankfurt a.M., 1896), pp. 41, 70. Kayserling, perhaps arbitrarily, writes *el Dios* or *Dios* in the collection of Jewish-Spanish proverbs included in his *Biblioteca española-portuguesa-judáica* (Strasburg, 1890), p. 128. Some further instances of the use of (*el*) *Dió* may be given from Spanish literary sources:

- (El Rabí a la muerte)
O eloym é Dio de Abraam. ...
[Danza de la muerte," Sevilla, 1520, *ap. Amador de los Ríos, Hist. crít. de la lit. esp.*, VII, 526]
- Este Cayn atrevido
jure luego por su Dio. ...
["Débat entre Anton de Moros, etc.," *op. cit.*, p. 52]
- "el buen jodio, de la paja hace oro; ya no me puede faltar el Dio, pues que de oro habló."
[Delicado, *La Lozana Andaluza*, 1522 (ed. Lara), pp. 59-60]
- "Pensóse don Simueque que me engañaba con su hija la tuerta, y por el Dio [sic], contrecho soy de un lado."
[Cervantes, *Novelas ejemplares* II (ed. Rodríguez Marín), 196. Correas (1924), p. 394, has a perhaps more correct form of this *refrán*]

See besides: Cervantes, *La gran sultana*, I; *Los baños de Argel*, II; Velásquez de Velasco, *La Lena, Orig. de la nov.*, III, 422. Nufiez, *Refranes o Proverbios*, I (ed. Madrid, 1804), 100, has another *refrán*: "Amencia, quel Dio dará." The word occurs seven times in Cota's burlesque "Epitalamis" (after 1472, *Canc. cast. del siglo xv*, ed. Foulché-Delbosc, II, 588-90).

68. *vo a ver*. The form *vo* is used in Judeo-Spanish (Gil, p. 50), but is common enough, of course, in older Spanish.

69. *jura al dio*. For *jura*, cf. Gil, pp. 36, 114.

94. *para en prueva*. Double preposition as in modern *para con ellos*, or *para entre los dos*, etc. Cf. Gil, p. 39. This particular instance is not exclusively *Ladino*. Cf. "Y aunque esto *para en* vna muger que quiere que la tengan en algo sea gran tormento ..." (Ioan Rodríguez Florián, "Comedia Florinea," 1554, *Orig. de la nov.*, III, 218). Cf., also, Pietsch, *Spanish Grail Fragments*, II, 53 f.

101. *Anton gentil*. Cf. 6.

103. *perro el del asilla*. A misprint; read: *perro del asilla*.

109. *sinoga*. Cf. Menéndez Pidal, *Documentos lingüísticos*, Vol. I, p. 476 (Écija, 1396), ll. 23, 30, 33; p. 477, l. 1; Pero Ferrus, *Canc. de Baena*, p. 334 (*sygnoga*); Foulché-Delbosc, "Testament d'un juif, etc.," *Rev. hisp.*, I, 198; "Le débat entre Anton de Moros, etc.," *Romania*, XXX, 53 and note; Gil, s.v. "*esnoga*," p. 107; Delicado, *Lozana Andaluza*, p. 76; Rodríguez Marín, *Dos mil quinientas voces*, Madrid, 1922. M. L. Wagner (*Rev. de filol. esp.*, X, 400) holds that the loss of the first *g* in *sinogoga* "no es, de ninguna manera, fenómeno regular," and concludes, quoting Lang and C. Michaelis, that *sinoga* is an instance of "desdoblamiento silábico" comparable to *arrecador* (9. de Diego), *magnimidad*, or *paripático* ([sic], Lang, *Rom. Rev.*, II, 337), or, one might add, *cuidoso* (GVicente, *Obras*, II [1852], 93: *y nos dais vida cuidosa*) and perhaps Aragonese *mida* < *medida* (Borao, 83). But if the text of our quotation from *CBaena* may be trusted, it might explain the development as

sinagoga > *singoga* > *signoga* > *sinoga*, with final passage of *gn* to *g*, as in *sinificar*, *manífico*, *dino*, etc. (Cf. Cuervo's references to Nebrija and the *Diálogo de la lengua*, Bello-Cuervo, *Notas*, p. 23, note, and, for the seventeenth century, *DQuiz.*, ed. crft. by Rodríguez Marín, I, 59f.)

122. *barzel*. Heb. *barzel* = "iron." "En comun modo de hablar, vale la carcel donde vno está con prisiones, y hierros: es nombre Hebreo, y Caldeo, de *Barcel*, ferrum." Covarrubias, *s.v.*

124. The letters and words placed in straight brackets are illegible in the edition used by me.

151. *elnas graniallas*. Read: *enlas gramallas*. Cf. *gramalla*: "vestidura larga hasta los pies, a manera de bata, de que se usó mucho en lo antiguo" (*Acad.*). Apparently often used in the plural, like It. *gramaglie* ("mourning vestments"), which the Crusca derives from Sp. *gramalla*. Cota (*op. cit.*, 590, twice) spells *gramayas*.

153, 154, 156. Cf. 124.

155. *en medio la plaça*. Omission of the preposition. Cf. Gil, p. 38.

156. *maldita la liebre el caça*. Omission of the relative, not observed by Gil. Cf. "Mis casas en las yo vivo con las joyas yo la di, lleve mi mujer" (Foulché-Delbosc, *op. cit.*, p. 198).

167. *son mordernos*. *Son* = *sino*; cf. Lucas Fernández, *Obras* (ed. Cañete), pp. 22, 36, 90, 187. From *sono*:

pongo mis pies en trabajo
sono que di un batricajo.

—TORRES NAHARRO, *Comedia Serafina, Introito*

229. *sabadeando*. On the predilection of the Spanish Jews for the suffix *-ear*, cf. Wagner, § 124. Asturian has *domenicar* (Rato, *Vocabulario*, *s.v.*).

246. Cf. 38.

259. *çuyços*. In the sixteenth century usually "infantry soldier." Cf. "Entra el Soldado, ó zoizo, ó infante" (Lucas Fernández, *op. cit.*, p. 89), or "Mas; ay! ¿qué gente es ésta? Zoyzos son, por el ánima de mi madre?" ("Auto de Naval y Abigail, ap. Rouanet," *Colección de autos*, II, 364), and

fuyme a la guerra Zuyço,
sin espada y çareguelles, ...

—*Romancero General* (Madrid, Sánchez, 1600, fol. 215 ro)

Here, however, it means evidently a member of a *suiza* or *zuiza*, i.e., "soldadesca festiva de a pie armada y vestida a semejanza de los antiguos tercios de infantería, que organizaban las justicias de los pueblos por recluta forzosa de gente de arte y oficios" (*Acad.*).

304. *aunque era espingardero*. The soldier in charge of, or armed with, an *espingarda* (small piece of ordnance or long musket). Soldiers provided with firearms, after having been the object of universal execration, became very arrogant, and later, as Branthôme observes (*Œuvres*, I [ed. Merimée

and Lacour; Paris, 1858-93], 163), were very much looked up to. The term *espingardera* seems to have had considerable force as an insult:

Espantajo de higuera,
quero seco de cazon,
paves viejo de barrera,
p ... vieja *espingardera*. ...

—HOROZCO, *Cancionero* ([Sevilla, 1874], p. 33)

390. *he aquel*. Read: *de aquel*.

B, line 6. *todos nos tienen en cuenta*. It is difficult to make this agree with the preceding line. For *cuenta* some meaning related to *cuento* (*desazón*, *pendencia*, *controversia*) might be suggested.

75. *colorido*. Read: *dolorido*.

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PLAY-LISTS AND AFTERPIECES OF THE MID-EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

The strong tendency seen in Elizabethan drama to supply song, dance, masque, or scenes of low farce, sometimes in the text of plays, sometimes as afterpieces of the jig type or even as intermeans, gathered more and more impetus after the Restoration with each passing decade. Songs, dances, and masques multiplied in the plays. Elizabethan masterpieces like *Macbeth* and *The Tempest* were revised in order to increase the operatic element. Under the influence of foreign opera many plays became "English operas" by virtue of the large musical element. Where farcical and operatic features were not woven into the text of a play, they were often provided as independent entertainments and not infrequently published with the text. In spite of the fact that in the staging of heroic scenes the age showed a passion for elaborate machines and scenery of a kind appropriate for masque, comic and burlesque elements became dominant in song and dance. The influence of the fairs where Punch, Harlequin, Scaramouch, and droll English and Dutch types flourished in farce and dance was far-reaching. This development came to a climax in the closing years of the seventeenth century and the early part of the eighteenth. In spite of the supply of able actors and dramatic masterpieces, more and more emphasis fell on supplementary entertainments because of their appeal to the increasingly plebeian taste of London audiences. The more highly organized of these were used as afterpieces—masques, operettas, and drolls or farces. During the early part of the eighteenth century two new forms assumed unusual importance. In the ballad operas after 1728 a form was perfected combining many elements of farce, satire, and popular song suitable to the demands of the London public. Though *The Beggar's Opera* whenever performed continued to be the chief piece of the evening, most of the ballad and pastoral operas that survived the first vogue of the type became afterpieces, and many new ones were written for performance in addition to regular drama. Before the rise of ballad opera, however, pantomime—thanks to

Rich's ready discernment of popular taste—had become an important form of afterpiece, feeding the Londoner's double passion, on the one hand for masque and opera, and on the other for the dances and drolleries characteristic of the booths in the great fairs. Farcical and operatic afterpieces remained standard types in London and were perhaps the only types ordinarily shown in the provinces.¹ But in the metropolis, where the receipts of the great managers allowed the necessary expenditure, the afterpiece in most seasons took the form of pantomime oftener than any other.

The system of supplementary entertainments grew to be somewhat stereotyped in the second quarter of the eighteenth century. Some special feature was advertised at the performance of practically every play. On most occasions, a dramatic afterpiece was given and, even when this included song and dance as in the case of operas and pantomimes, special interact entertainments were freely offered as additional attractions to the public. The system in fact developed to a point at which rival managers, in order to attract audiences, so overloaded an evening's bill with extras that the play was often obscured.

In 1747 an intense struggle began between Rich at the Covent Garden Theater, who had made pantomime a dominant feature of the performances on the legitimate stage, and Garrick, the new manager at the Drury Lane Theater, whose tastes and whose powers as an actor made him the chief proponent of England's great literary drama. The story of the struggle of these two managers has been told in too many forms to need retelling in its essentials. The attention of students, however, has been so fixed on the rivalry of the two houses in the matter of great actors and their chief rôles in literary masterpieces as to obscure the fact that the success of the managers turned from season to season on the entertainments and afterpieces that accompanied the plays as well as on the plays themselves. Various writers call attention to the part played by these pieces but without giving adequate details. Wilkinson in his *Memoirs* of 1790 has shown more interest in them than any student since. They are recorded from time to time by Genest in his *English Stage*, chiefly in the case of first per-

¹ See Colby in *PMLA*, XXXIX (1924), 645-51, for a list of afterpieces for strollers in the provincial theaters in 1741. The same material, from Add. MS 33,488, is also discussed by Colby in 11 *N. and Q.*, XII, 454-57. Most of the titles appear in the magazine lists considered in this paper.

formances or an occasional long run, but more recent writers have given them little more than incidental notice. My purpose is to point out the value of the play-lists in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, the *London Magazine*, and Martin's *Miscellaneous Correspondence*¹ as throwing light for a part of the period on the typical program of the London stage and particularly on the production of afterpieces. Though these magazine lists of performances at the two theaters have been seen by various students like Wilkinson, Genest, and Fitzgerald, little of the information they furnish has been used, and many recent writers seem never to have consulted them.

GM begins its lists with the January number for 1750, and except for a few omissions, continues them during the theatrical season through January, 1755, as follows:

- Vol. XX (1750), 44 (Jan.); 96 (Feb.); 140 (Mar.); 152 (Apr.); May omitted; 427 (Sept.); 439 (Oct.); 524 (Nov.); 571 (Dec.).
 XXI (1751), 48 (Jan.); 92 (Feb.); 141 (Mar.); 152 (Apr.); 239 (May 1-17); 431 (Sept.); 478 (Oct.); 525 (Nov.); 575 (Dec.).
 XXII (1752), 43 (Jan.); 91 (Feb.); 147 (Mar.); April and May omitted; 479 (Sept.-Oct.); 535 (Nov.); 582-83 (Dec.).
 XXIII (1753), 50-51 (Jan.); 99 (Feb.); 147 (Mar.); 201 (Apr.); 247 (May); 444 (Sept.); 493 (Oct.); 539-40 (Nov.); 589 (Dec.).
 XXIV (1754), 47 (Jan.); 94 (Feb.); March, April, May omitted; 485 (Sept. 14-Oct. 23); 532 (Oct. 24-Nov. 27); 578 (Nov. 28-Dec. 28).
 XXV (1755), 44 (Dec. 30, 1754-Jan. 31, 1755).

The following lists appear in *LM*:

- Vol. XXIII (1754), 429 (Sept.); 477 (Oct.); 525 (Nov.); 573, 605 (Dec.).
 XXIV (1755), 45 (Jan.); 93 (Feb.); 141 (Mar.); 190 (Apr.); 253 (May); 453 (Sept.); 502 (Oct.); 551 (Nov.); 595 (Dec.).

The lists in both these magazines are usually arranged in tabular form with the name of the theater at the head of the column and the dates of performances in the margin. Ordinarily the titles of afterpieces as well as plays are given.

In January, 1755, the scientist Benjamin Martin began the publication of a monthly magazine which was continued until December, 1763. For the first four years and again for the second four the pagina-

¹ The following abbreviations will be used hereafter: *GM*, *Gentleman's Magazine*; *LM*, *London Magazine*; *MC*, *Miscellaneous Correspondence*; *DL*, *Drury Lane Theater*; *CG*, *Covent Garden Theater*.

tion is continuous, but title-pages were issued for binding the magazine in four volumes, each covering two years. Those for the first two volumes are dated 1759. The title of the first volume in the British Museum reads: *Miscellaneous Correspondence, Containing a Variety of Subjects, Relative to Natural and Civil History, Geography, Mathematics, Poetry, Memoirs of monthly Occurrences, Catalogues of new Books, &c.* In the first number of 1755 Martin printed "A Register of Theatrical Entertainments" at Drury Lane and Covent Garden, using the tabular form of the other magazines, and apparently a complete monthly register of performances was attempted during the season until the end of May, 1756. For the season of 1756-57, the only list given is that for October, 1756, covering performances of plays from September 23 to October 23. The separate lists are found as follows:

- Vol. I (1755), 13-14 (Jan. 1-22); 32 (Jan. 23-Feb. 18); 49 (Feb. 20-Mar. 19); 64 (Mar. 20-Apr. 16); 83 (Apr. 17-May 14); 103 (May 15-27); 158 (Sept. 13-20, four performances at DL); 172 (Sept. 22-Oct. 25); 192 (Oct. 27-Nov. 25); 208 (Nov. 26-Dec. 25); 226 (Dec. 26-31).
 I (1756), 239 (Jan. 1-24); 256 (Jan. 25-Feb. 21); 274 (Feb. 26-Mar. 25); 288-89 (Mar. 24-Apr. 24); 306 (Apr. 26-May 25); 400 (Sept. 23-Oct. 23).

Two specimen lists are printed here from *MC* in view of the fact that this magazine is less accessible than the other two, and they are chosen from the year 1756 because *GM* and *LM* do not cover this period. An asterisk is prefixed to individual performances noted by Genest, and a dagger in the cases in which he records the fact that there were a number of performances without giving the remaining dates.

[Vol. I, p. 239; January, 1756]

| DRURY LANE THEATER | COVENT GARDEN THEATER |
|----------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------|
| Jan. 1. * <i>London Merchant</i> .— <i>Genii</i> . | <i>Romeo and Juliet</i> .— <i>Harlequin Skeleton</i> . |
| 2. * <i>Oroonoko</i> .—* <i>Apprentice</i> . | * <i>Love for Love</i> .— <i>Devil to pay</i> . |
| 3. <i>Mourning Bride</i> .—Ditto. | <i>Earl of Essex</i> .— <i>Miller of Mansfield</i> . |
| 5. <i>Much ado about nothing</i> .—Ditto. | <i>King Henry IV</i> .— <i>Lying Valet</i> . |

DRURY LANE THEATER

COVENT GARDEN THEATER

- | | |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------|
| 6. <i>King Henry VIII</i> —Ditto. | † <i>Country Lassies</i> .— <i>Orpheus and Eurydice</i> . |
| 7. <i>Provoked Wife</i> —Ditto. | Ditto. |
| 8. <i>Earl of Essex</i> .—Ditto. | Ditto. |
| 9. * <i>Mourning Bride</i> —Ditto. | Ditto. |
| 10. * <i>Tancred and Sigismunda</i> — <i>Chaplet</i> . | Ditto. |
| 12. * <i>Fair Penitent</i> .— <i>Apprentice</i> . | † <i>A new Burletta</i> . |
| 13. * <i>Tancred and Sigismunda</i> .— <i>*Oracle</i> . | <i>Country Lassies</i> .— <i>Orpheus and Eurydice</i> . |
| 14. <i>Fair Quaker of Deal</i> .— <i>Apprentice</i> . | Ditto. |
| 15. * <i>Tancred and Sigismunda</i> .— <i>*Miss in her Teens</i> . | * <i>Rival Queens</i> .— <i>Contrivances</i> . |
| 16. <i>Conscious Lovers</i> .— <i>Apprentice</i> . | <i>The new Burletta</i> . |
| 17. <i>Alchymist</i> .— <i>Miss in her Teens</i> . | <i>Rival Queens</i> . |
| 19. * <i>Tancred and Sigismunda</i> .— <i>*Miss in her Teens</i> . | Ditto. |
| 20. <i>London Merchant</i> .— <i>Apprentice</i> . | Ditto.— <i>Virgin unmasked</i> . |
| 21. † <i>Winter's Tale</i> .—† <i>Katherine and Petruchio</i> . [Cont. on p. 240] | <i>Miser</i> .— <i>Harlequin Skeleton</i> . |
| 22. <i>Merope</i> .— <i>Englishman in Paris</i> . | <i>Rival Queens</i> .— <i>Contrivances</i> . |
| 23. <i>Winter's Tale</i> .— <i>Catherine and Petruchio</i> . | <i>Country Lassies</i> .— <i>Orpheus and Eurydice</i> . |
| 24. Ditto.—Ditto. | <i>Rival Queens</i> .— <i>The Lover his own Rival</i> . |
- [Vol. I, p. 256; February, 1756]
- | | |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------|
| Jan. 25. <i>The Winter's Tale</i> .— <i>Catherine and Petruchio</i> . | <i>Rival Queens</i> .— <i>Damon and Phillida</i> . |
| 27. Ditto with Ditto. | <i>Constant Couple</i> .— <i>Orpheus and Eurydice</i> . |
| 28. Ditto with Ditto. | <i>Rival Queens</i> .— <i>Miller of Mansfield</i> . |
| 29. Ditto with Ditto. | * <i>Provok'd Husband</i> .— <i>Cheats of Scapin</i> . |
| 30. Ditto with Ditto. | <i>Rival Queens</i> .— <i>Double Disappointment</i> . |
| 31. Ditto with Ditto. | Ditto with Ditto. |

DRURY LANE THEATER

- Feb. 2. *Merope*.—*Apprentice*.
3. *The Winter's Tale*.—*Catherine and Petruchio*.
4. Ditto with Ditto.
5. *Alchemist*.—*Miss in her Teens*.
7. *Fair Quaker of Deal*.—*Genii*.
9. *Rehearsal*.—*Devil to pay*.
10. **Zara; with the Masque call'd Britannia*.
11. †*Tempest; with a Prologue*.
12. **King Lear*.—*Lying Valet*.
13. *Tempest, with a new Pantomime Dance, called the Garlands*.
14. **Hamlet*.—*Lethe*.
16. *Suspicious Husband*.—*Chaplet*.
17. *Every Man in his Humour*.—*Anatomist*.
18. *Tempest*.—*Garlands*.
19. *Alchymist*.—*Britannia*.
20. *Tempest*.—*Garlands*.
21. *Fair Quaker of Deal*.—*Genii*.

COVENT GARDEN THEATER

- The new Burletta*.—*Englishman from Paris*.
- **Lady Jane Grey*.—*Ditto.
- All for Love*.—*Orpheus and Eurydice*.
- **Phœdra and Hippolitus*.—*Englishman from Paris*.
- Rival Queens*.—*Contrivances*.
- **Old Batchelor*.—**Englishman from Paris*.
- Rival Queens*.—*Virgin unmask'd*.
- Country Lasses*.—*Englishman from Paris*.
- Rival Queens*.—*School-Boy*.
- Merry Wives of Windsor*.—*Englishman from Paris*.
- Romeo and Juliet*.—*Lying Valet*.
- Conscious Lovers*.—*Englishman from Paris*.
- Country Lasses*.—*Orpheus and Eurydice*.
- Constant Couple*.—*Englishman from Paris*.
- **Fatal Marriage*.—*Orpheus and Eurydice*.
- Beggar's Opera*.—*Englishman from Paris*.
- Rival Queens*.—*Cheats of Scapin*.¹

Taken together, the three magazines give a record extending through nearly seven years, from January, 1750, to October, 1756. For the four seasons 1750–51, 1752–53, 1754–55, and 1755–56, the

¹ MC is probably in error as to the performance of *Englishman from Paris* on February 2 at CG. Genest enters under February 3, "Lady Jane Gray, with, never acted, the Englishman returned from Paris" (IV, 466). Moreover farces were not ordinarily acted after burlettas. See Genest, IV, 456–57, 467, for the story of Foote's theft of the plot for this farce from Murphy, and Murphy's version at DL on April 3. Genest (IV, 452) also gives February 13 instead of the February 12 of MC as the date of a performance of *Lear* at DL.

record is relatively complete. Most of the performances are listed for 1751-52, about half for 1749-50, and a few for 1756-57. When checked by each other where they run parallel and by the evidence of playbills and newspapers cited by Genest and others, these magazine lists prove to be accurate on the whole, though scattering errors are found. If a play-list is at variance with other evidence, there is frequently no means of determining where the error lies. The playbills are not always a safe guide. Occasionally, on account of the illness of an actor or the lack of an audience, substitutions were made or plays were withdrawn after playbills had been issued or performances had been advertised in the newspapers.¹ Where two magazine lists are at variance, an entry of Genest will sometimes support one or the other. For 1755 a comparison of the corresponding lists in *LM* and *MC* suggests that on some occasions when no play was given, the compiler for *MC* filled in the record by repeating titles, usually of the succeeding performance.² In the spring of 1756, *MC* several times records a play as given on two successive occasions where Genest records it for the second only.³ There are relatively few errors or variations between the play-lists, however, in regard to the main feature of the program. More occur in connection with the record of afterpieces, and here Genest is not often helpful. In some of the early lists of *GM*, performances of both theaters are crowded side by side into a single column, with the obvious result that the titles of afterpieces are sometimes crowded out. For the year 1754 more than a dozen performances of afterpieces recorded in *LM* are omitted in *GM*. The two vary also in a few titles of afterpieces and in some details given in regard to special entertainments of singing and dancing. After the first two lists for 1756 quoted above from *MC*, the compiler seems to have become even more careless. Names of afterpieces are generally omitted through the next two lists, Genest supplying the missing titles

¹ See Wilkinson, *Memoirs*, IV, 135, for the frequent dismissal of plays at CG in 1747-48; Wyndham, *Annals of Covent Garden Theatre*, I, 106; II, 307-8.

² See DL, September 22, 24, 26, 29, December 25; CG, October 2, 13, December 25. Pretty certainly there were no performances on December 25.

³ See DL, March 24, 25 (first performance of a revival); May 22, 24; and CG, March 24, 25 (first performance of a revival); March 26, 27; March 31, April 1; April 2, 3; April 7, 8; May 15, 17. At times Genest may have used playbills printed for a first performance and so marked, but reissued for a second performance with a mere change of date. Yet the compiler of *MC* no doubt did record some performances that did not take place—possibly to keep his lists parallel.

in an unusual number of instances. Clearly then the estimates of performances given later as based on the play-lists of the magazines can be only approximately complete or accurate.

GM and *LM* in particular manage to give a good deal of information in addition to the regular items.¹ In the tables of *GM* the names of the actors in chief rôles and of those for whom benefits were given are often included during the seasons 1750-51 and 1752-53. At the foot of the *GM* lists, notes or quotations from other journals are added from time to time giving facts interesting in the history of the stage. At the beginning of the season 1754-55, the list was greatly expanded, an effort being made to include date of performance, title and author of play and afterpiece, names of chief actors and their rôles, and some significant facts in regard to performances. The amount of data decreases in the next two lists, however, and by the final one—for January, 1755—there is a return to the old brief tabular form.

While Genest gives more of what is significant for the drama and stage—in regard to first performances of new or revived plays, actors' rôles, etc.—the magazines both correct him and add valuable supplementary material. This is true for plays as well as afterpieces. The magazines are valuable even in regard to the vogue of Shakespeare, a matter in which Genest was particularly interested. According to *GM*, Yates played Shylock and Mrs. Clive Portia at DL on September 8, 1750, whereas Genest merely cites the performance. The number of performances of Shakespearean pieces was larger at both houses every year than Genest's statistics would show. For the season of 1750-51 at CG, Genest lists 50 performances of Shakespeare under 14 titles, and *GM*, 67 performances of the same pieces.² For 1752-53, there were

¹ There is even an occasional item in regard to other dramatic enterprises than those at the two chief theaters. See *LM*, XXIV, 398, 453, for a list of performances by "Bayes's (*Mr. Theo. Cibber*) new revised Company of Comedians, at the New Theatre in the Haymarket" from August 21 to September 15, 1755; *GM*, XXIV, 532 (November, 1754), for notice of Macklin's entertainment called *The British Inquisition*; *GM*, XXII, 43 (January, 1752), for a note on "a kind of farcical performance, called *The Old Woman's Oratory*, conducted by Mrs. *Mary Midnight* and her family; intended as a banter on *Henley's Oratory*, and a puff to the *Old Woman's Magazine*"; *GM*, XXIII, 51 (January, 1753), for a notation, "Old Woman's Oratory 30 nights in all." (See *Universal Magazine*, February, 1753 [XII, 90, 91], for an engraving of "*Mrs. Midnight's Animal Comedians*"—monkeys and dogs—and the accompanying description of the scenes represented, one of Harlequin, Pero, and Columbine, one of the siege of a town, etc.).

² Genest, however, gives 23 performances of *Romeo and Juliet* and *GM*, omitting December 7 and May 17 and 21, only 20. According to the entry of *GM*, there was no play on December 7. Though the playbill was issued, the play was possibly not performed

according to Genest 13 performances of Shakespearean pieces at CG, according to *GM*, 32;¹ for 1754-55, about 35 according to Genest as against more than 40 in *GM*; for 1755-56, about 25 in Genest as against twice that number in *MC*. Genest's lists, however, are more nearly complete for DL than for CG. There are also gaps in the case of other plays than Shakespeare's. According to the magazines *The Beggar's Opera*, for example, was performed more frequently at both houses during the seasons covered than the data given by Genest would indicate.

Occasionally the magazine lists give information even about the special features of song and dance so popular at the period. Wilkinson remarks on the number of notable dancers, English, French, and Italian, at the theaters between 1747 and 1755, and after mentioning Mr. Cook and Miss Hilliard as excellent dancers who added to the attractions of CG in 1748-49 (IV, 145-46), he says, "A Scotch dance was so pleasing, that it continued not only that but three or four seasons after." He mentions the pair again along with other dancers during the season of 1752-53 (IV, 173-74) and declares that the "dances were in such estimation as often to supply the want of a Farce." In a playbill printed by Wilkinson (IV, 177) the "Scot's Dance" by Cook and Miss Hilliard is announced as one of the interact performances at CG on April 30, 1753. *GM* records for 1750 that there was a Scotch dance at DL on February 1 and a "Grand Scots Ballad, Dancing" at CG on November 1 and 2, and that "Signior Fausan, the comic dancer, and his wife, and a gentleman to sing" were engaged by Garrick in the fall (XX, 96, 524, 422). The dancing of the Sabatinis at DL is noticed several times in the lists of the same magazine (XXIV, 485, 532) during the fall of 1754, as well as by Wilkinson, who speaks of two new ballads of theirs as unsuccessful, "the one called the Pandours, the other, the Italian Fishermen" (IV, 202).

on account of a poor house. Twelve consecutive performances of *Romeo and Juliet* had taken place at each of the two theaters between September 28 and October 11 "to try their strength and merit" (*GM*, XX, 427), and many were given later. Audiences had grown thin and the wits contemptuous (Genest, IV, 315-16; *GM*, XX, 471 [the famous epigram on the subject ending, "Ah! pox on both your houses"]). On December 7 and 8, when according to Genest two performances of the play were attempted at CG, *The Mourning Bride* was having a very successful run at DL with nine performances from December 3 to 15. The rivalry extended to the performance of other plays on the same date at both houses—*Beggar's Opera* on December 26 and *Tamerlane* on November 5 and 6, for example.

¹ Genest mentions the bad condition of the playbills for part of the season (IV, 374).

Again according to *GM* (XXIV, 532), Poitier of the Paris Opera House and Capdoville danced at CG on November 26, 1754.¹ At least some of the dances approached the pantomimes. "The Garlands," a dance of sixty children at DL designed for use with *The Tempest*, is called "a new Pantomime Dance" (*MC*, I, 256). A "Pigmaleon dance" was performed at DL, November 2, 1750,² a "Bird Catcher's Dance" at DL, November 27, 1750, and "The Gondoliers, a dance," at CG three times in January, 1751. At theaters and public gardens, new songs had long been featured, and they are often printed in the magazines. In the play-lists studied here, the following cantatas are recorded as sung at DL by the famous singer Beard: an unnamed one on September 14, 1754; "Cymon and Iphigenia" on September 17; "School of Anacreon" on October 10, November 26, 28, and December 4.³

Some of these songs and dances must have been fairly elaborate and probably often did "supply the want of a Farce." Usually, however, as I have said, they seem to have been merely additional to the formal afterpiece. A playbill of April 30, 1753, for example, announces titles and performers for four dances at CG as well as the musical farce *The Lover his own Rival* in addition to the play of the evening.⁴ Wilkinson bears out *GM* in regard to the performance of *The Siege of Damascus* and *Apollo and Daphne* at CG on December 30, 1752, but he adds an account of dances by four famous dancers (I, 53). Later he tells how *The Tempest* as an opera was redeemed by "The Garlands" at the end of Act II as well as by the pantomime *Fortunatus* or *The Genii* (IV, 213). Sometimes two features besides the play are mentioned in the play-lists also—"The Savoyard Travellers" twice in

¹ Wilkinson, who is notoriously inaccurate about details, says that the first appearance of Poitier was on December 3 (IV, 209). In *LM* (XXIII, 525), "Italian Bagpiper" is the secondary feature recorded for November 26.

² See Wyndham, *Annals*, I, 43-44, for an account of the ballet of "Pygmalion" performed in 1734.

³ *GM* (XXIV, 532) names Beard as the singer of the "School of Anacreon" on November 26, but for November 28 has merely "singing and dancing" (p. 578). *LM* (XXIII, 477) gives the title for the four performances. It is mentioned that the cantatas were sung after Act II of the play for each occasion. For a few other references to music and dance in the lists, see *GM*, XX, 472, for a child of four playing on a flute at DL; XXIII, 539, for dancing children at DL; XXIII, 589, for three entries of dancing at CG.

⁴ Wilkinson, IV, 177. See also Odell, *Shakespeare from Betterton to Irving*, I, 262-63, and Fitzgerald, *Garrick*, pp. 35-36, n. and 40-41, n. (also in Genest, IV, 12-13), for three bills of 1741, and Genest, IV, 142-43, for one of 1744, all announcing entertainments in addition to afterpieces.

January, 1750, in addition to the farce *Duke and no Duke*, for example, and the musical *Acis and Galatea* with the same farce in the following month, all at DL. These magazine records of special features supplementing the afterpiece represent only outstanding performances, however. In order to deal with this aspect of the London stage, a thorough study of the playbills of the period would be necessary.

The greatest value of the magazine lists lies in the data they give in regard to the afterpiece. Though Genest gathers from various sources valuable material about authors, actors, and the character of these pieces, he does not furnish the information to be gleaned from the play-lists in regard to the vogue of the afterpiece, the relative importance of the types, or the popularity of particular pieces. Above all, one fails to get from Genest a just conception of the share that the great pantomimes had in the success of one house or the other for any given season.

To judge from the play-lists, no afterpiece was performed with new plays or significant revivals, especially during the early part of a run.¹ Emphasis fell instead on the prologue and epilogue. The afterpiece seems to have been omitted also after oratorios, operas, and burlettas. Moreover, the relief element was sometimes furnished by special features belonging to certain plays. After *Romeo and Juliet* a funeral "procession," "scene," or "dirge" was presented at one theater or the other from time to time during the period of the play-lists—seven times at CG in October, 1753.² According to *LM*, a "Roman Triumph" accompanied *Coriolanus* at DL on November 13 and 15, 1754, and a "military entry" at CG on December 10, 11, 12 of the same year.³ A formal and detached afterpiece was usual, however.

During the seasons covered by the lists, both houses used a large number of farcical and operatic afterpieces. DL was perhaps more favorable to farce than CG. *The Lying Valet* was acted at DL several times each season—I do not include in any case 1756–57, for which the list covers only a month—with a total of 39 performances listed, and

¹ See also Wilkinson, IV, 206–7; Cibber, *Apology*, ed. Lowe, II, 184.

² In addition to the lists, see Wilkinson, I, 37 (the playbill for September 28, 1750); IV, 154; Genest, IV, 329.

³ See Wilkinson, IV, 201, for comment on the rivalry here; Odell, *Shakespeare from Batterton to Irving*, I, 419–28, for additional records of such features later; the *GM* lists for the performance of Dryden's *Secular Masque* after *The Pilgrim* at DL October 30, 31, and November 9, 1750, and Genest, IV, 318, for comment on it.

at CG only 15 times; *Duke and No Duke* at DL every season with a total of 45 performances, and at CG, 7 times (in the spring of 1756); *Miss in her Teens* at DL every season but one, something over 30 times all told, and about half as often at CG; *Englishman in Paris* at DL about 30 times and at CG 3 or 4 times. On the other hand, *The Miller of Mansfield* was given 32 times at CG and not half so often at DL. *The Knights, Taste*, and *Tom Thumb* appeared a few times at both houses, and several other pieces more rarely still. Some of the farces were acted at one house or the other. *Lethe*, which has three songs, was evidently a great favorite at DL with from 5 to 20 performances each season, and a total of about 80. *The Anatomist* too had a steady popularity at DL with over 60 performances listed in the six seasons. In the same way *What d'ye call it*, which had about 30 performances at CG scattered over the period, is not recorded for DL. Occasionally one of these afterpieces proved popular for a particular season. *The Cheats of Scapin* was shown only 6 times at DL, in the late spring and early fall of 1753, but in 1755 it had 16 performances at CG¹ from January 8 to May 16, and there were a number in the following season. It was usually the new pieces belonging to one house or the other which had these minor runs. Early in 1756 Garrick produced two new farces, *The Apprentice* and *Katherine and Petruchio*. According to the very incomplete lists of MC for this period, the first was acted 13 times from January 2 to the close of the season, and the second 11 times between January 21 and February 4. At the same time Rich put on *Englishman from Paris*, which had 15 performances at CG in February and March. The situation is much the same with the musical afterpieces—the operatic farces, ballad operas, and masques. Of the operatic afterpieces common to DL and CG, *The Devil to Pay* was acted at both houses each season, nearly 40 performances being recorded for DL and a few less for CG. *The Lottery* was performed a little less steadily, and *The Mock Doctor*, *The Oracle*, and *The Virgin Unmasked* several times at both houses for a few seasons at least. *The Double Disappointment* was put on 18 times at DL in 1752–53, and 12 times at CG in 1754–55 and 1755–56. Yet Genest, who describes this “musical trifle” (IV, 181–82), says that it was not acted at CG until 1759. Of the operatic pieces appearing at DL alone, the most impor-

¹ Probably Rich's pantomime version. See Wyndham, I, 12, 31.

tant are *The Chaplet* and *The Intriguing Chambermaid*, presented every season, the first for a total of over 60 performances, the second over 30. *The Shepherd's Lottery* was acted 18 times at DL in 1751-52, and a few times in the next two seasons. At CG alone, *Damon and Phillida* had a few performances every year from the season of 1750-51, and *Contrivances* and *The Lover his own Rival* proved popular from the seasons of 1751-52 and 1753-54 respectively. Of the pieces more scatteringly performed it is unnecessary to speak. These farcical and operatic afterpieces, then, were largely the common property of the two houses, and with a few exceptions were repeated from time to time through a number of seasons rather than used for a number of performances within a short period.

The case was very different with the great pantomimes. These were devised by one house or the other in definite rivalry. In expense and effort they were no mean undertakings, and if successful at all, they were expected to have long runs. At CG, the veteran Rich was of course the contriver of pantomime and the great Harlequin. Many of his pieces were old, but pantomimes could be revived with great success after a few years. The addition of a single startling scene often resulted in a long run to large audiences. During the first decade of Garrick's management a number of exceedingly gorgeous new pantomimes were produced at DL. Garrick relied chiefly on Woodward to prepare the shows and play Harlequin, and Woodward often achieved successes equal to those of Rich. The system of staging pantomimes as great Christmas performances was already in vogue, many runs beginning on the day before or the day after Christmas. A great deal has been written about pantomime,¹ and there is a general recognition of the rivalry of the two managers in this field. But the play-lists give definite data in regard to the fortunes of the two houses during the early years of Garrick's régime.

¹ Besides the account of early pantomime in Weaver, see Broadbent, *History of Pantomime*; Wyndham, *Annals of Covent Garden Theatre*, I, 3-18, 47-48, 72-74, 116-17, 123; II, 309-14; *DNE* under "Woodward"; and Nicoll, *A History of Early Eighteenth Century English Drama: 1700-1750*, *passim*. Oswald printed contemporaneously with the staging of the pantomimes *Musick in Harlequin Ranger*, *Comic Tunes in Queen Mab*, *Comic Tunes in the Genii*, and *Comic Tunes in Fortunatus*. Song sheets appeared with the chief songs of some pantomimes, such as "Come cheer up my Lads," ("Sung by M^r Champnes in Harlequin's Invasion.") and "In Story we're told," ("A new Song Sung by M^r Beard at the Theatre Royal Covent Garden, in the character of a Recruiting Serjeant in the Reviv'd Entertainment call'd the Fair.") Contemporary accounts of some pantomimes are cited below.

The beginning of the contest is not covered in the magazines. In his first season, however—1747–48—Garrick won a great triumph over Rich. He not only secured a large group of prominent actors, partly drawn off from CG, but he had a “set of very capital dancers” and staged repeatedly a “favorite pantomime dance” called “The Savoyard Travellers.” Rich had a very dull season, without performances on many dates, and Wilkinson attributes his failure not only to lack of good actors but to the fact that he “had not any pantomime in force, but the then very stale one of Merlin’s Cave, or Harlequin Skeleton.”¹ In 1748–49 Rich strengthened his company and drew good houses with a revival of a pantomime called *Apollo and Daphne*.² A new scene added on March 2, 1749, burlesquing the Bottle Conjurer at the Haymarket also attracted attention.³ Garrick with a weakened company was less successful. His chief afterpiece seems to have been an adaptation of *The Emperor of the Moon* in which Harlequin was tossed in a blanket, to the delight of the galleries.⁴

For all or part of the seven succeeding seasons the play-lists are available. In 1749–50, at least from January, 1750, Garrick was presenting as afterpieces a repertoire of alternate farces and ballad operas with *The Chaplet* as the chief piece. His pantomime dance “The Savoyard Travellers” also was performed a number of times. At CG Rich achieved an astonishing success with the operatic pantomime *Perseus and Andromeda*. Apparently with the exception of two nights, it ran from November 23 until February 27, and reached the remarkable total of about 80 performances in the season.⁵ Wilkinson (IV, 153) assigns to this season also Rich’s “little sketch of a pantomime called the Fair,” introducing the Turk dancing on the wire. If this is

¹ See *Memoirs*, IV, 134–35, 138–39.

² Genest (IV, 275–76) records the piece as revived for November 9, 1748, and says that it was frequently acted. Wilkinson (IV, 139), who describes it with enthusiasm, puts the revival—erroneously perhaps—in the spring of the year as an effort to retrieve the fortunes of 1747–48.

³ See Genest, IV, 280; Wilkinson, IV, 146.

⁴ Wilkinson, IV, 141. Genest (IV, 263–64) says that it was seemingly acted only three times. Another adaptation was staged as the main play at CG on December 26, 1748, but was not a success (Wilkinson, IV, 148; Genest, IV, 277).

⁵ Genest, IV, 303; Wilkinson, IV, 144–45. Genest excepts November 30 and *GM* records *The Fair* on February 7. Wilkinson describes *Perseus* but assigns its beginning to the season 1748–49. *GM* confirms Genest, however, and the pantomime would scarcely have had such a run in the second season. For 1749–50 Wilkinson declares (IV, 150) that on the whole DL bore the bell, “Rich not having any thing new, and only repeating the old plays, Lady Jane Gray excepted and the pantomime of the Fair.”

correct, the piece probably had its chief run in the early fall before *Perseus and Andromeda* was put on. Performances are recorded in the early lists of *GM* for February 7 and on six consecutive nights in March.

Having drawn several of his rival's best players into his own camp, Rich was emboldened early in the season of 1750-51 to enter into the famous contest with Garrick for supremacy in the production of *Romeo and Juliet*.¹ But in a special prologue spoken at the opening performance of the season, Garrick confessed to the importance of pantomime in the rivalry of the two houses:

Sacred to Shakespeare, was this spot design'd
To pierce the heart, and humanize the mind.
But if an empty house, the actor's curse,
Shows us our *Lears*, and *Hamlets*, lose their force;
Unwilling, we must change the nobler scene,
And, in our turn, present you *Harlequin*;
Quit poets, and set carpenters to work,
Shew gaudy scenes, or mount the vaulting *Turk*.²

Accordingly Woodward prepared *Queen Mab*, "a new entertainment in Italian grotesque characters,"³ in which he played a famous Harlequin rôle. Victor says that the piece was a reworking of a pantomime presented by Woodward in Dublin in 1748.⁴ According to Wilkinson (IV, 144), one scene in it was stolen from *Perseus*. This pantomime, which was produced on December 26, ran without intermission for more than a month, was performed 42 times before the end of the season, and remained popular during the four succeeding seasons. Meanwhile Rich was relying chiefly on the two favorites *Apollo and Daphne* and *Perseus* for 1750-51. The first was given on November 29 and for a score of scattering performances later. *Perseus* was performed about as often, and *Merlin's Cave* 11 times.

If the scale dipped toward Garrick with *Queen Mab*, it swung back toward Rich during 1751-52 with two pantomimes presenting scenes

¹ See Wilkinson, IV, 140, for the statement that the success of Barry and Mrs. Cibber as *Romeo and Juliet* at DL in 1748-49 was the basis for their going to CG in 1750.

² *GM*, XX, 422. See also *LM*, XIX, 424, 461-62, 468, 472 (Barry's Prologue at CG), 517-18 (Prologue at Bath), 518 (Epilogue at DL).

³ *GM*, XX, 571; Genest, IV, 320; Fitzgerald, *Garrick*, p. 140. In a note Fitzgerald calls attention to the famous caricature "The Theatrical Steel-yard" called forth by the success of *Queen Mab*.

⁴ *History of the Theatres of London and Dublin*, I, 132-33.

of magical transformations. *The Necromancer*¹ was put on at CG on November 11, and was performed 27 times during the season. Again on the day after Christmas, Garrick was ready with a rival, *Harlequin Ranger*, which had 20 performances in less than a month. The revised *Harlequin Sorcerer* was staged by Rich on February 11, and according to Genest (IV, 355) the playbills record its thirty-first performance on May 15. Wilkinson (IV, 169) says that it appeared "after several years' promise," and "made old Drury tremble; for any thing like the rage after that pantomime I never remember." Crowds gathered at the theater by three o'clock, and DL was filled with those who, not being able to get into CG, were in no mood according to Garrick for what they saw at his house.² Besides these new or newly revived pantomimes *Perseus* was given 18 times, *Apollo and Daphne* 17, and *Merlin's Cave* 8 times at CG; *Queen Mab* 12 times at DL during the season.

After an inauspicious opening for the season of 1752-53,³ Rich revised *The Fair*, introducing the wire dancer Maddox from Sadler's Wells and some strange animals from the Fair.⁴ It ran continuously from November 2 to December 3 and was so popular that a disturbance was created at DL during a burlesque of it.⁵ For the third time Garrick chose December 26 for his counterthrust—this year with *The Genii*, in which Woodward played Harlequin in tremendously effective scenes of enchantment. The pantomime is briefly described in *GM*,

¹ Wilkinson, IV, 168: "Mr. Rich revived that year the *Necromancer*, or *Harlequin Doctor Faustus*; the galleries liked such a dismal sight then, but I do not think it would be now tolerated." See Mountford's *Faustus*, ed. Francke, pp. xxxi-xxxv, for the rival pantomimes on *Faustus* in 1724.

² Genest, IV, 352-53. See *GM*, XXII, 52-53, for a detailed description of the pantomime, with its special songs and dances, including a hit at a song in the rival *Harlequin Ranger* and a closing entertainment of dancing. Odell (I, 440) reproduces an eighteenth-century print of a scene in *Harlequin Sorcerer*.

³ Wilkinson, IV, 173: "unless to a pantomime, or something of particular attraction, the boxes were often very thin at the early part of the season."

⁴ See *GM*, XXII, 535, 582-83; *Universal Magazine*, XI, 233-35; Victor, *History of the Theatres of London and Dublin*, I, 240-41, 248-51. Maddox also brought out pantomimes at Sadler's Wells (Victor, I, 240). After a month at CG he seems to have gone to Dublin (*GM*, XXII, 583). He was drowned with Cibber in 1758 on his way to Dublin to appear as Harlequin with wire dancing in another pantomime.

⁵ John Hill (see *DNB*) in two of his "Inspector" papers objected to the burlesque and caused a journalistic row. See the references of the preceding note and Murphy, *Gray's Inn Journal* (1756 edition), I, 7, 26-33, 40, 48, 96-100. A letter from Henry Woodward . . . to Dr. John Hill, 1752, and two letters to Woodward, purporting to be by men named Partridge and Sampson, were printed as separate pamphlets (see *Brit. Mus. Cat.* under "Henry Woodward").

XXII, 582, and fully in *Universal Magazine*, XII, 26–28. According to *The Scourge* as quoted in *GM*, it “fix’d the superiority of pantomime to Drury-lane theatre.” The piece was performed without intermission through February 5, and 50 times before the close of the season. On December 28, Rich tried *Harlequin Skeleton* but the 4 scattering performances indicate a lack of success at that time. By January 13, he had ready a revised *Harlequin Sorcerer* with an added fountain scene, “the machinery of which,” says Wilkinson (IV, 174), “I think surpassed any pantomime quirk I remember.” It ran until February 20, and was performed 45 times before the season ended. Among the other pantomimes, *Necromancer*, *Apollo and Daphne*, *Perseus*, *Merlin’s Cave*, and a *Harlequin Statue* had from 10 to 2 performances at CG; *Queen Mab* and *Harlequin Ranger* about a dozen each at DL. Of a *Harlequin Enchanter* given on April 25 at DL, nothing more is heard under that title.

Harlequin Sorcerer, with 34 performances for the season of 1753–54, continued the chief attraction at CG through the autumn of 1753. On October 9 *Harlequin Ranger* reappeared at DL. Murphy in *Gray’s-Inn Journal* states that “this piece was now acted as originally written,” and proceeds to attack Garrick for being “the first to introduce Pantomime Entertainments,” with the false idea that “the taste of the town” must be gratified with “such *Smithfield* exhibitions.”¹ This pantomime, indeed, failed with Garrick’s audience and was acted only four times. On Christmas Eve he brought out another pantomime, *Fortunatus*,² which proved successful. It was performed 27 times before the end of February and occasionally in succeeding seasons. At DL there were also 8 performances of *The Genii* and 6 of *Queen Mab* during the season; at CG, 13 of *Harlequin Skeleton*. But Wilkinson comments on the beginnings of Italian burletta at CG during this season and its success, especially in the case of *Gli Amanti Gelosi*.³

¹ According to the quotation in *GM*, XXIII, 493. The passage is not in the 1756 reprint of the *Journal*.

² See Murphy, *Gray’s-Inn Journal* (1756), II, 72, 129, 157–59, for a number of satiric passages that indicate the nature of the plot. Murphy made a number of other mocking allusions to the pantomimes and animal performances of 1752–53 and 1753–54 (see I, 82–83, 90, 104, 158–59, 173–74, 217, and II, 12, 25) and wrote three essays on the pantomime craze of the period (I, 289–93, and II, 118–22, 155–59). He often expressed his contempt for the taste of audiences that preferred such entertainments to Shakespeare.

³ IV, 199–200. In the next two seasons, however, he speaks of the failure of burlettas (pp. 208, 221).

In the fall of 1754 Garrick and Rich tried out favorite pantomimes, operettas, and farces, and special features like the interact cantatas or the processions already mentioned for rival performances of *Coriolanus*. At DL the Sabatinis performed new dances¹ for a time, Garrick's *Fairies*—an "English Opera" based on *A Midsummer Night's Dream*—had some success,² oratorios were performed in the spring, and the masque *Britannia* appeared near the end of the season—May 9. At CG Italian burlettas were continued, and oratorios, according to an old custom, were produced.³ On January 4, however, Garrick staged a new pantomime, *Proteus, or Harlequin in China*,⁴ which achieved 33 performances in the season. Before the end of the month—on January 29—Rich put on the revised pantomimic opera *Orpheus and Eurydice*,⁵ which was performed 31 times this season. Of the other pantomimes there were from 7 to 9 performances of *Fortunatus*, *Genii*, and *Queen Mab* at DL; 16 of *Harlequin Skeleton* and 10 of *Harlequin Sorcerer* at CG.

On account of national feeling Garrick failed with his elaborate pantomime *The Chinese Festival* in the fall of 1755.⁶ It was withdrawn after 6 performances, and *The Genii* became again the favorite of a season, with 21 performances according to MC. *Fortunatus* appeared a number of times, and in May a *Harlequin Mountebank* twice. The special pantomimic dance "The Garlands" was produced in connection with *The Tempest*. Rich tried no new pantomime. Of the old ones, *Harlequin Skeleton* with 24 performances all told was the favorite for the early part of the season, and *Orpheus* was performed 17 times from January on. Apparently new pieces of a farcical type succeeded best this season. Garrick's *Katherine and Petruchio* and Murphy's *Ap-*

¹ Wilkinson, IV, 202, gives some material additional to the play-lists.

² Genest, IV, 407; Wilkinson, IV, 202.

³ See Wyndham, *passim*, for oratorios at CG and Handel's long association with Rich.

⁴ Wilkinson (IV, 202) says that "Mercury Harlequin was the new pantomime that season." The name does not occur in the play-lists. On p. 224 he mentions *Proteus* as the pantomime of 1756-57 at DL. The account of Woodward in the DNB states that *Mercury Harlequin* was performed at DL in 1756. Wilkinson evidently reversed the years of the performance of the two pieces at DL.

⁵ See Broadbent, *History of Pantomime*, pp. 158-60, for the piece; *Scots Magazines*, II, 113; Wilkinson, IV, 209 (representing it as having a very limited success).

⁶ See Genest, IV, 443-44; Wilkinson, IV, 214-16; Victor, II, 131-35.

prentice at DL, and Foote's *Englishman from Paris* at CG, all produced in the spring of 1756, have been mentioned already. Though pantomime remained popular for a hundred years, it is possible that for the moment there was a slight waning of its great vogue.¹

The magazine lists thus show more clearly than any other material available to the average student what appealed to the theatrical audience of the mid-eighteenth century. They give definite details that seem to justify Theophilus Cibber's complaint as to the state of the stage in his *Two Dissertations on the Theatres* of 1756 (pp. 26-27). "Have we not had," he asks, "a greater Number of those unmeaning Fopperies, miscalled Entertainments, than ever was known to disgrace the Stage in so few Years? Has not every Year produc'd one of those patch-work Pantomimes? These Masquing Mummeries, replete with Ribaldry, Buffoonery, and Nonsense; . . . these Interludes stol'n from the stale Night-Scenes of *Sadler's Wells* and *Bartholomew-Fair*?" In spite of the increasing popularity of Shakespeare's plays and of other dramatic masterpieces, a manager's success evidently depended largely on his offering of additional entertainments. Among these the elaborate pantomimes with their songs, dances, droll characters, and strange scenes combining elements of farce, opera, and masque reigned supreme. Less formal pantomimic dances as well as farces with pantomimic features supplemented them. Garrick, professedly the protagonist of literary drama, was constrained to resort to pantomime, and he also continued the adaptations of Shakespeare's plays in forms in which kindred features—song, dance, and spectacular scenery—were outstanding elements. Cibber indeed accuses Garrick not only of adapting Shakespearean drama in a spirit contrary to his expressed devotion to the master, but of perverting public taste and debauching the stage by means of his pantomimes. But Garrick was doubtless expressing his own attitude when he brought out in 1759 *Harlequin's Invasion*—"A Christmas Gambol" in which the characters speak—depicting "a supposed Invasion made by *Harlequin* and his Train upon the Frontiers and Domains of *Shakespeare*" with

¹ Wilkinson (IV, 240) speaks, however, of Rich's success in the following season with *The Rape of Proserpine*—possibly *Harlequin Sorcerer, or, The Loves of Pluto and Proserpine* according to the title of 1725—and *Mercury Harlequin* at DL has been mentioned.

"the Defeat of *Harlequin*, and the Restoration of K. *Shakespeare*."¹ Popular audiences, however, remained loyal to Harlequin. In 1761 the audience at DL would not allow Murphy and Foote to hang Harlequin in *The Wishes, or Harlequin's Mouth Opened*² in order "from Pantomime to free the stage," and the death of Rich in the same year scarcely affected the career of pantomime, which he had upheld so long.

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¹ See Baker, *Companion to the Play-House* (1764), Vol. 1. Genest (IV, 580) calls attention to the resemblance of this to *Harlequin Student, or the Fall of Pantomime* acted at Goodman's Fields, March 2, 1741 (Genest, III, 641). See also 3 *N. and Q.*, X, 465-66, for the satire *Dido and Aeneas; or Harlequin, &c.* of 1727, in which it is proposed to banish Shakespeare and other great writers together with the chief actors and to promote singing and dancing. In the struggle against popular taste through the century Shakespeare's name was often placed in opposition to the names of the heroes of pantomime, as in Rowe's Epilogue to *The Ambitious Stepmother*, 1701 (see Cibber's *Apology*, ed. Lowe, I, 317) and Johnson's Prologue for DL in 1747. Pope does not mention Shakespeare, however, in his notable attack in the third book of *The Dunciad*.

² Genest, IV, 617-19.

THE BORDERERS AS A DOCUMENT IN THE HISTORY OF WORDSWORTH'S AESTHETIC DEVELOPMENT

In a previous article,¹ through a study of "The Female Vagrant" and "Guilt and Sorrow," we have attempted to discover some of the origins of Wordsworth's artistic impulses and practices. In these poems, we have shown him to be working in two of the aesthetic modes widely current during the years of his youth, that of terror and that of sentimental morality. They served as a fairly adequate expression of the emotions aroused by Godwin's radical ideas. Intruding upon these feelings, however, was a profound remorse evoked by his conduct toward Annette Vallon. He tried to suppress this emotion, but it escaped from his control and found furtive expression in this work. The poem written when the author's personality was thus disorganized was correspondingly confused in aesthetic effect.

When Wordsworth composed *The Borderers*, these same contradictory forces were at work. They appear in this poem, however, in a different relationship, and through their mutual interaction they reveal to Wordsworth the course of his subsequent aesthetic development. In other words, this play throws light upon the extraordinary transformation which took place in Wordsworth's aesthetic principles during the obscure years from 1793 to 1797. This change is the most important in his career. It carried him from the philosophy of William Godwin, and its artistic expression through the modes of terror and sentimental morality, to his own original conceptions of 1798. Critics have almost universally regarded this change as abrupt. The pessimistic and nihilistic implications of Godwin's rationalism, they say, suddenly became clear to the poet. Then he turned from the system in horror and, with the encouragement of Dorothy and the aid of Coleridge, built up an entirely new universe, which bears no ascertainable relationship to the older one. Garrod, for example, says that Wordsworth receded from Godwin "not by logical process or gradations but

¹ *Modern Philology*, XXIII (1926), 293-306.

suddenly—by the unpredictable melting of a proud and prodigal temperament."¹

This spasmodic view of Wordsworth's development we reject. We believe that a proper interpretation of *The Borderers* has yielded a key to an understanding of this crucial transition in the poet's career. We believe that this drama offers clear evidence that its initial aesthetic impulse was the remorse that his abandonment of Annette had aroused in him. We believe that he endeavored to cleanse his mind from that paralyzing emotion by adopting the rational doctrines of Godwin, in the hope that they would emancipate his will from the control of his feelings. These theories failed him completely. The remorse persisted. He began to see, therefore, that the natural ties and fundamental relations from which he had attempted to escape were more fundamental than the Godwinian rationalism to which he fled. They, therefore, became the facts upon which his new aesthetic was built. In other words, we shall show that Wordsworth's mature artistic practice, in most of its details, is the result of a clash between Godwin's philosophy and his own bitter and searching personal experience.

The play is the story of the intellectual and moral seduction of an innately noble man, Marmaduke. He possesses the essential human sensibility. Compassion is his ruling motive for action. Even his powerful love for Idonea is the firstborn child of his pity.² He has become the leader of a band of outlaws, largely, it appears, because he can thus most freely indulge his ardor for benevolence. He has successfully transformed his men into "ministers of peace and order." Even Oswald admits that

Aged men with tears
Have blessed their steps, the fatherless retire
For shelter to their banners.³

¹ H. W. Garrod, *Wordsworth: Lectures and Essays* (Oxford, 1923), p. 104.

² He gives the following account of the inception of his love for her:

" 'Twas my delight to sit and hear Idonea
Repeat her Father's terrible adventures,
Till all the band of playmates wept together;
And that was the beginning of my love."

This is easily recognized as a sentimental version of Desdemona's story of Othello's manner of winning her love.

³ II, ll. 62-64. The influence of Schiller's *Die Räuber* at this point is probable. Cf. Max J. Herzberg, "William Wordsworth and German Literature," *PMLA*, XL (1925), 338; also Coleridge's letter to Cottle in 1797 in Cottle's *Early Recollections*, II, 25.

Into the band of outlaws directed by this energetic philanthropist, comes the sinister Oswald. He has adopted a philosophy of life diametrically opposed to that of Marmaduke. Complete indifference to all human feelings—particularly to compassion—has become his master-bias. Reason presides in his mind in their stead. It has been enthroned because it has shown him how to escape from remorse for sin to a moral eminence beyond good and evil. To that height he forthwith seeks to conduct Marmaduke. He first tries to break down in his pupil's mind the authority of sentimental morality. Misery, he avers, is not sacred but degrading. Pity comes only through the seduction of reason by the "wiles of women" and "the craft of age." Then with singular literal-mindedness, he tries to bring about Marmaduke's moral emancipation by forcing him to pass through the same valley of remorse that he has trod. Since he had attained the remorse through which his emancipation came by realizing that he had murdered an innocent man, with pitiless logic he arranges to make Marmaduke commit a similar crime. He craftily composes a situation in which Marmaduke's old morality of compassion would naturally function most powerfully. By showing that this sacred feeling of his has duped him, Oswald will break down the authority which pity exercises in Marmaduke's mind. Then he can substitute for it his sort of mechanically rational justice. "Justice" he argues,

Admitting no resistance, binds alike
The feeble and the strong. She needs not here
Her bonds and chains, which make the mighty feeble.¹

To carry out this program, Oswald puts into Marmaduke's power Herbert, a helpless, blind old man, the noble and pathetic father of Idonea, the girl whom the chief adores. He then makes Marmaduke believe that this pitiful old man has committed an unspeakable series of crimes. He has been basely false to the most precious of natural affections. He has stolen Idonea and deceived her from infancy into believing him her father. Now he is planning to sell the girl to the old lecher, Clifford. The apparent proofs of these facts are so artfully supplied that Marmaduke himself believes that he has "seen the guilt," has "touched it," has "felt it at his heart." He is ready to act as Oswald designs. He conceives it to be an act of that justice

¹ II, ll. 538-41.

which weighs "the giant and the worm" "in one scale," to compass this false father's death.

Oswald accompanies his plotting with a running commentary on the new morality. Justice demands allegiance to a higher force than compassion. She shows no pity to the feeble. Justice is rather the application of personal impulse to immediate facts. Life itself formulates moral laws. Rule for conduct must be discovered by individuals,

By diving for it into their own bosoms.

Oswald, it is clear, seeks to drive from Marmaduke's mind social sympathies and reminiscent emotion as motives to conduct and to substitute sanctions which the individual is to derive from his immediate reaction to whatever conditions confront him. The moral law is

The immediate law
From the clear light of circumstances flashed
Upon an independent intellect.¹

This truth Oswald has learned from the liberation which he has gained by committing a murder. This deed has brought him the realization that

. . . every shape of action
Might lead to good.

This new ethical view had liberated in him a new spring of energy. He mounted

From action up to action with a mind
That never rested.

Man thus derives a sense of progressive living which gives him a joyous consciousness of life. Remorse cannot live in a mind thus straining toward the future.

What! in this Universe
Where the least things control the greatest, where
The faintest breath that breathes can move a world;
What! feel remorse, where if a cat had sneezed,
A leaf had fallen, the thing had never been
Whose very shadow gnaws us to the vitals.²

This is necessitarian doctrine; its implications are that moral laws serve only to reduce the individual to slavery. Only by realizing that we act in a world of unique particulars in which memory is an intru-

¹ III, ll. 360-62.

² *Ibid.*, ll. 428-33.

sion can our human empire be enlarged. Life, therefore, becomes a mere forward movement in which the past of the individual, in both action and feeling, is an unmixed evil. The only emotion still regarded as healthy is a joyous sense of progressive living. This is the way indicated by Oswald out of deadening remorse for a deed done.

Marmaduke at first seems thoroughly persuaded of the truth of this philosophy. He announces with appropriate bravado his conversion to the necessity of subjugating natural feeling to the rule of reason.

Now for the corner stone of my philosophy
I would not give a denier for that man
Who on such provocation as this earth
Yields, could not chuck his babe beneath his chin
And send it with a fillip to its grave.¹

Thus resolved, he takes Herbert out upon the moor to dispatch him, but "pity crossed the path of his resolve" and weakened his will. Instead of slaying the old man outright, he leaves him to die alone, in the storm. Oswald then tells him of his crime, which becomes a horror to Marmaduke only when he learns that the victim was innocent. When to this revelation is added the confession of the beggar-woman that she had lied to him, he becomes distracted. He revolts against the entire philosophy of Oswald—against his exaltation of reason divorced from all facts except its results in individual emancipation. His natural compassion reasserts itself with double force. He clings to remorse. The deep spiritual anguish that it brings becomes the penance wherein his salvation and his peace must lie. Suffering again seems to him the only authoritative moral agent. Action again becomes transitory and essentially superficial. He confesses to Oswald that there is no course of action from which he would shrink.

But to endure
That is my destiny. May it be thine;
Thy office, thy ambition, be henceforth
To feed remorse, to welcome every sting
Of penitential anguish, yea with tears.²

He bids farewell to his band, telling them that he has condemned himself to be a solitary wanderer over the face of the earth:

¹ *Ibid.*, ll. 106-10.

² *V*, ll. 285-88.

But over waste and wild,
 In search of nothing that this earth can give,
 But expiation, will I wander on—
 A man by pain and thought compelled to live,
 Yet loathing life—till anger is appeased
 In Heaven, and Mercy gives me leave to die.¹

The Borderers is usually recognized as in some sense a product of Godwin's ideas. M. Legouis' view, the one most widely held, is that this poem represents Wordsworth's first recoil from the doctrines of Godwin.² Oswald, the villain, derives from this philosophy all of his maxims of judicious conduct. Yet the philosophical murderer, according to M. Legouis, is only half-sincere in his beliefs. He craves a companion in crime. Marmaduke, the open-hearted, is a particularly easy prey for the wiles of such a specious realist. Once thoroughly involved, he sees no issue into moral light. He knows only how to curse Oswald and to grope in black ignorance and confusion. Wordsworth, like Marmaduke, at this time, knew no answer to this cynical philosophy. The play, therefore, ends in pessimism and despair. Yet even at that moment, he was on the brink of recovery. He completely purged himself of pessimism by writing this play. By so doing, he definitely rejected Godwin's moral nihilism. His experience with it, however, had been only negative and had merely served to show him the inadequacy of a system of reason which led to necessitarianism.

Garrod³ takes direct issue with this view of M. Legouis. He believes that *The Borderers* reveals Wordsworth as a loyal adherent to the doctrines of Godwin. Oswald is not a villain. "In so far, in any case, as the villain talks Godwinism," says Mr. Garrod, "he is not a villain, but a good man." The disaster in *The Borderers* is due to the failure of both villain and hero to be complete Godwinians. Neither of them followed reason completely; "neither asked for proof at the time of his trial. The whole of Godwinism is a cry for proof. He who does not wait for proof is the creature of impulse." The tragedy is thus due to a partial acceptance of a system which had to be adopted in its entirety.

These distinguished critics agree in finding autobiographical significance in the drama. This is natural and warranted. All of Words-

¹ *Ibid.*, ll. 330-35.

² *The Early Life of William Wordsworth*, pp. 276 ff.

³ *Op. cit.*, pp. 90 ff.

worth's poetry is rightly to be regarded as thinly disguised expression of his personal experience. Even his most loyal admirers have remarked his lack of dramatic power—what Coleridge called his "dramatic ventriloquism." The error of both Legouis and Garrod, as we conceive it, is that they have somewhat perverted the essential meaning of the play in their search for autobiographical significance. The truth about Wordsworth's mind which this work yields we believe to be more important than his realization of the danger lurking in the partial acceptance of a coherent radical philosophy and even more vital than his horrified rejection of the entire system. A fresh examination of the situation of both Oswald and Marmaduke will reveal these significant new facts.

In a sense, Garrod is right in asserting that Oswald is not a thoroughgoing Godwinian. This fact is evident particularly in the villain's various soliloquies. In them, he reveals the powerful conflict between reason and passion that is going on in his mind. When he broods alone on a desolate moor, he talks as follows:

Methinks

It were a pleasant pastime to construct
A scale and table of belief—as thus—
Two columns, one for passion, one for proof;
Each rises as the other falls: and first
Passion a unit and *against* us—proof—
Nay, we must travel in another path,—
Or we're stuck fast for ever;—passion then
Shall be a unit *for* us; proof—no, passion!
We'll not insult thy majesty by time,
Person, and place—the where, the when, the how,
And all particulars that dull brains require
To constitute the spiritless shape of Fact,
They bow to, calling the idol, Demonstration.¹

This juxtaposition of crass opposites, this balancing of two claims to allegiance, is dramatically inept. The soliloquy comes from a man who is about to set a purely Godwinian trap. Marmaduke is caught in it, not, as Garrod asserts, because he does not wait for proof—no emphasis in the play is placed upon this failure—but because he becomes a convert eager to show his complete emancipation from the control of natural feelings.

¹ III, 1, ll. 11-24.

For the purpose of the tragedy, at least, this muddled conception of Oswald produces obscurity. A dramatic figure who thinks in one fashion and acts in another is a source of confusion to any audience. It appears because Wordsworth finds it difficult to objectify a character. When he composed *The Borderers*, he was seeking to adopt a system of radical rationalism which was essentially antipathetic to his emotional nature. This effort precipitated a fierce struggle which he almost automatically transferred in different form to the two central figures in his play.

So in Oswald's soliloquy quoted above, Wordsworth is balancing two allegiances which at the time he believed to be incompatible. The one to a harsh form of eighteenth-century rationalism was not yet dead in his mind; the one to natural feeling had not yet matured into intuitive insight. Confusion in the conception of Oswald, and we might add occasional lack of clear distinction between him and Marmaduke, is due not so much to philosophical principle as to an artistic limitation which Wordsworth never transcended. In this play, as always, he seems unable to create any character who does not reflect the mental perturbations which he happens to be experiencing at the moment.¹

But the most interesting autobiographical revelation is to be found in Marmaduke's situation. His problem is not, as has often been asserted, how to extricate himself from a system of thought which he realizes to be detestable, but how to escape from insistent remorse due to the commission of a crime. The remedy which Oswald seeks to administer is Godwinian philosophy. Even though he may himself not have assimilated it in pure form, he applies it to his patient without dilution. The cure fails, and Marmaduke's tragedy lies not so much in the hideous nature of the attempted remedy as in the persistence of the remorse. In other words, all of the emotion in the poem gathers round an individual's tragic struggle with remorseless remorse. In this conflict, most of the autobiographical significance of the work should be sought: first, just because it is the focus of the author's intensity; and second, because it must have been primary in

¹ It should be noted also that, as Legouis suggests, Oswald seduces Marmaduke partly because he craves a companion in crime; because without sympathy which comprehends subjectively, he is wretched. This is also treachery to Godwin's self-sufficient intellectualism. However, as far as the actual march of the drama is concerned, it is no more than an incidental lapse.

the genesis of the poem. The remorse must have existed in the poet before he sought the necessitarian cure.

It must be admitted at once that remorse was a somewhat traditional theme for a tragic narrative as early as the seventeen-nineties. The conventional remorse, however, was always aroused by the commission of some crime. Superficially, that is also true of *The Borderers*. However, there is evidence in the poem that the more genuine remorse has a different and more personal origin. There is but one event in Wordsworth's life which suggests itself as capable of producing such devastating feeling as the poem depicts. That was his abandonment of Annette Vallon and their baby daughter.

The almost unavoidable inference that this desertion is the source of the emotion from which the poem springs is confirmed by clear indications throughout the work that Wordsworth's emotions are peculiarly sensitive: first, to the situation of the betrayed and abandoned mother; and second, to the relationship between a father and daughter. The emotions aroused by these situations are generally intrusions into the story. The dramatic unity is clearly disturbed so that Marmaduke may intrude the horror which he feels at the sight of the woman who has been betrayed and cast off by Clifford.

Alas!

What she had seen and suffered turned her brain
Cast off by her Betrayer, she dwells alone.

. . . . And so the wretch has lived
Ten years; and no one ever heard her voice
But every night at the first stroke of twelve
She quits her house, and, in the neighboring churchyard
She paces round and round an Infant's grave,
And in the Churchyard sod her feet have worn
A hollow ring.¹

In this poor creature, Marmaduke fancies that he sees the skeleton of Idonea. She, too, is to suffer such a fate through the baseness of a man who defiles the most sacred of relationships by pretending to be her father. This thought leads Marmaduke to exclaim:

Earthly law
Measures not crimes like his.

Thus the abandoned woman brings him back to the fact which arouses the most horror in him, the desecration of the natural love existing

¹ I, ll. 378-95, *passim*.

between a father and his daughter. This relationship becomes time and again in the poem a point of intensity.

In the first place, to Marmaduke, the enormity of the crime of which Oswald accuses Herbert is that he attempts his unspeakable betrayal under the guise of paternal affection. The mere thought of this villainy shakes the foundations of Marmaduke's moral life:

Father!—to God himself we can not give
A holier name; and, under such a mask
To lead a spirit, spotless as the blessed,
To that abhorred den of brutal vice!
Oswald, the firm foundation of my life
Is going from under me.¹

If the bond between father and daughter is not to be regarded as a sacred obligation, what is to become of those moral sanctions which the natural feelings give?

Marmaduke throughout the play shows his veneration for a father's relation to his child. Lacy's response to Oswald's incitements against Herbert's villainy is

Now, by the head
Of my own child, this man must die.

To this oath, Marmaduke, as one who knows its power, bows in reverence:

I love the Father in thee.
You know me, Friends; I have a heart to feel,
And I have felt, more than perhaps becomes me
Or duty sanctions.²

In his conversations with Herbert, he continually introduces the subject of the old man's relationships to Idonea.

Mar: This daughter of yours,
Is very dear to you.

Her: Ah! but you are young.
Over your head twice twenty years must roll
With all their natural weight of sorrow and of pain
Ere can be known to you how much a Father
May love his child.

Mar: Thank you, old man, for this [*aside*].³

¹ To the influence of Lessing's *Nathan der Weise* has been ascribed Wordsworth's appreciation of the dramatic effectiveness of a supposedly unnatural father. Cf. Herzberg, *op. cit.*, p. 336. In view of our knowledge of the Annette episode, this source for the idea seems remote and improbable.

² II, ll. 560-63.

³ *Ibid.*, ll. 268-73.

Later, Herbert exclaims that he will never murmur against God for his blindness, for he has been left

. . . . ears to hear my Daughter's voice
And arms to fold her to my heart.

Finally, when the old man was found half-dead by Eldred on the moor, "he was muttering something about his child—his Daughter." Yet Eldred leaves him alone and is forced to hear from his wife, the single devastating reproach:

Eldred, you are a father!

After the crime has been committed and Marmaduke is suffering agony of remorse, he seizes Eldred in a passion to know where he has seen the old man.

Eld: Tis needless, spare your violence, His Daughter—

Mar: Ay, in the word a thousand scorpions lodge
This old man *had* a daughter.¹

His thoughts, one might say, fly to Idonea inevitably because he is in love with her, but it is curious to note that in the crises of his feeling, he speaks of her never as his adored one, but always as a wronged daughter.

Perhaps the best example of Wordsworth's obsession with this relationship is to be found in the second scene of the second act. The sole dramatic purpose of this scene is to give the pilgrim an opportunity to announce that Herbert is forthwith to be restored to his baronetcy. The news comes just as disaster is about to overtake him, and so is fraught with dramatic irony. However, the emotional value of the scene in no way depends on the revelation of this fact. It lies in a strange reminiscence in which the pilgrim indulges after his announcement has been made. He recalls an hour long before when he was traveling with her father as a companion mendicant. Idonea was then but "a tottering Little-one." An angry night overtook them; the thunder rolled in peals. In the midst of the storm's uproar, the blind Herbert had a vision of his daughter, a sort of veridical hallucination, which the Pilgrim reports as follows:

O Lady, you have need to love your Father.
His voice—methinks I hear it now, his voice
When, after a broad flash that filled the cave,
He said to me that he had seen his child,
A face (no cherub's face more beautiful)
Revealed by lustre brought with it from heaven;
And it was you, dear Lady!²

¹ V, ll. 79–81.

² II, ll. 63–69.

This episode contributes nothing to the dramatic value of the scene into which it intrudes or to a realization of the movement of thought and action through the tragedy. It is the artistic expression of an experience very like to that which must have come often to Wordsworth straining to envisage imaginatively his little daughter, to whom his affection and remorse must have flowed constantly across the Channel.

Throughout *The Borderers* fires of a resolutely concealed passion thus break out, revealing unawares the actual source of an emotion which in the drama is carefully provided with a conventional origin. Wordsworth himself later realized that in this play he had given most unguarded expression to his intensely personal struggle with speculative schemes.

That promised to abstract the hopes of Man
Out of his feelings.

At least he appears to admit as much in one of his characteristically oblique references to *The Borderers*. It occurs in that part of *The Prelude* devoted to this period of his life.

Share with me, Friend! the wish
That some dramatic tale endued with shapes
Livelier, and flinging out less guarded words
Than suit the work we fashion, might set forth
What then I learned, or think I learned, of truth
And the errors into which I fell, betrayed
By present objects, and by reasonings false
From their beginnings, etc.¹

This has generally been thought to be a reference to *The Excursion*, but every detail in the passage from "dramatic tale" to his betrayal "by present objects" describes more aptly *The Borderers*. They are just the kind of expressions to suit the poet's adopted method of referring to the Annette episode only in the most guarded and indirect terms.

Moreover, *The Borderers* is not the only work in which Wordsworth betrays his personal remorse in this clandestine and oblique fashion. We have already noted in another connection² two stanzas of "The Female Vagrant" and a passage in the third book of *The Excursion*³ in which this feeling asserts its right to live; snatches, as it were,

¹ *The Prelude*, IX, 282 ff. ² See *Modern Philology*, XXIII (1926), 303-5. ³ LL 844 ff.

the pen from the conscious author, and inserts in its own fulfilment lines which bear almost no relation to the context. These are but particularly significant examples of the poet's uncontrollable tendency to intrude upon his own dramatic creations. He describes the artistic phenomenon, in the excellent analysis of his own powers which he makes in *The Prelude*, as a turgid excess of creative energy.

A tempest, a redundant energy
Vexing its own creation.

In the light of such evidence, it is no longer possible to assume arbitrarily, as does Garrod, that the Annette episode was a matter of no consequence to Wordsworth's spiritual history. The facts revealed by Harper and Legouis are now seen to be of a sort to stir profoundly the nature even of the most insensitive man. The intense emotional susceptibilities of the young Wordsworth must have responded to them with a violence to shake his moral nature to its very foundations. Such an experience would be reflected powerfully in his art.

Now hitherto the whole matter has been received too much as a mere piece of gossip, an occasion for what Garrod calls "small talk about great men."¹ It has become widely current because it gives a destructive blow to the persistence in tradition of pontifical "daddy Wordsworth." Such a view of this episode is unintelligent. Scholarship now demands that the poet's first experience of the tragic conflict between natural duties and personal freedom be sympathetically studied with a view to determining its effect upon his art.

We are justified, then, in asserting that in *The Borderers* Wordsworth is putting Godwin's philosophy to the severe test of its power to discipline an emotion that is for it anarchic—devastating remorse created by a bitter personal experience. This view of the drama brings us to the central problem of this study, to show how Wordsworth's mature theory of art arose out of a clash between Godwin's philosophy and the vital experience here unwillingly revealed.

Now the central idea of the plot of *The Borderers*, the form of Oswald's attempt to liberate Marmaduke from the control of his in-

¹ Cf. Garrod, *op. cit.*, p. 20: "It must needs be that there should be small talk about great men." Garrod takes the position that biographical study of an author, no matter for what purpose pursued, is an impertinence. He says (p. 21): "The poet is thought of as a man who writes a book. The book that he writes is his poetry. He gives you that (he, in fact, sells it to you) and you have no right to follow him home."

instincts and natural feelings, is an adventure in the Godwinian universe. The description of this cosmos as presented in Godwin's purely philosophical works is often complicated and contradictory. However, in his illustrations of its processes, contained in such literary works as *Caleb Williams*, it becomes much simpler. In these works of fiction, everything is presented as a mere puppet of necessity. It can be shown without much question that Godwin's influence upon Wordsworth was exerted almost as much through his novels as through his philosophical treatises. The poet's often-quoted advice to the student of chemistry, "Throw aside your books on chemistry and study Godwin on Necessity," shows what aspect of Godwin's thought caught his imagination. He was interested in the novelist's revelation of the moral and aesthetic implications of the necessitarian point of view.

This set of fatalistic doctrines robbed the individual's life of all its meaning. He became completely severed from his past. He retained no interest of any sort in the things which he had done. If he were wise, he would, like Oswald, allow chance remembrance of them to produce in him no emotion whatever, least of all remorse. He would live solely in the present, conscious that the future toward which he was moving was utterly unpredictable.

The individual thus found his life conducted to an *impasse*. The two constituent elements of his nature became locked in a death-struggle. Godwin believed that humanity could issue from this conflict only by stripping itself of all its passions and adopting without reservation his system of reason. Thus from Godwin's philosophy there emerges in absolute form the typical eighteenth-century triumph of reason.

A poet who adopted in whole-hearted fashion this particular form of determinism almost inevitably cast his tragic view of life into one of two aesthetic modes. The suffering of the man who subjects his will and his feelings, as Godwin advised, to rational necessity will be a mere pitiable spectacle. On the other hand, the man who foolishly tries to assert himself by acting in a world of forces which securely enmesh him is doomed to painful futility. His struggles, like those of Laocoon, seem mere muscular grimaces, capable of inspiring only

horror. Godwin's metaphysic thus gave additional authority to the two popular contemporary aesthetics of tragedy—that of sentimental morality and that of horror. Accordingly, the artistic methods of both the Gothic Romance and the sentimental narrative appear in exaggerated form in this work, written during the period of Wordsworth's discipleship.

In *The Borderers*, as in "Guilt and Sorrow," the emotional essence of the poem is sentimental. The main course of the action is artfully conducted in a way to arouse the greatest possible amount of pity. Herbert, the individual chosen by Oswald to be the victim of Marmaduke's emancipatory murder, is endowed with those very qualities most sure to arouse universal tenderness. Wordsworth emphasizes, not only his blindness and his helplessness, but also his innate nobility, his meekness, and his powerful, self-sacrificing love for his daughter. The dramatic situations are so contrived as to carry our pity for him to the very highest pitch. Idonea, too, is a figure designed to arouse the most intense sympathy. She is completely a blameless, tender-hearted creature. She devotes her entire being to her father. But for him, she is utterly alone in the world.

The supreme crisis of her pitiful story and of the tragedy as such comes when she learns that her lover has brought about her father's death. Tragically deserted a second time, she falls into a swoon and is borne off senseless while our hearts are suffused with pity. This oblique treatment of an emotional crisis, it may be remarked, remains a characteristic of all Wordsworth's art. It is due, not to any of his aesthetic formulas, but to a fundamental limitation in his artistic power.

Marmaduke, too, becomes at the end of the play an utterly pitiful figure. He departs to become a melancholy and hopeless wanderer over the face of the earth, seeking only expiation. Through him, Wordsworth makes clear the artistic value of this progressive invocation of pity. The character himself enunciates the aesthetic creed of sentimentalism:

Beloved! If I dared, so would I call thee,
Conflict must cease, and in thy frozen heart
The extremes of suffering meet in absolute peace.¹

¹ V, ll. 200-203.

A statement of another one of the tenets of this theory of tragedy is curiously put into the mouth of Oswald:

Action is transitory.

.
Suffering is permanent, obscure and dark
And shares the nature of infinity.¹

According to this aesthetic, then, grief which comes to the witness of undeserved suffering produces a peace deep and stable as infinity. In that peace lies the essence of the aesthetic experience, as Wordsworth always conceived it.

The dramatist, however, was not satisfied to trust exclusively to this sentimental aesthetic for all of his artistic effects. He also introduces some of the familiar paraphernalia of the aesthetic of terror. A forbidding moor peopled with strange fantastic shapes, the stage for much of the action, is early introduced. It is later swept by a storm like that in *King Lear*.² Eldred comes in from the moor, thus tempest-swept, to report his finding of the old man lying unbonneted upon the ground. He has raised him, seen blood upon him, and left him to die alone. His report leaves our imaginations sounding with the storm which howls over prostrate Herbert. Because of this murder, the moor becomes specter haunted. The characters shudder at the thought of crossing it.³

The properties of Gothic Romance are assembled perhaps most consistently when Wordsworth sets his scene for the spot on which Oswald seeks to induce Marmaduke to murder Herbert. We are conducted to the "area of a half-ruined castle on one side of which is the entrance to a dungeon." It is night. The cold is bitter and the tempest roars. Later we become aware of a foaming torrent and the ominous howling of a dog. These are objects guaranteed by ample usage to produce violent feelings.

¹ III, ll. 406-10, *passim*. Wordsworth prefaced these lines to *The White Doe of Rylstone* to serve as a kind of text to that poem.

² Idonea's speech echoes some of the old king's thoughts when he buffets the tempest. She says:

"The storm beats hard. Mercy for poor or rich
Whose heads are shelterless in such a night."

The influence of Shakespeare in establishing the principles of the aesthetic of terror was profound.

³ The beggar woman exclaims:

" . . . That Moor—How shall I cross it!
By night, by day, never shall I be able.
To travel half a mile alone."

Though the two aesthetics thus appear distinctly in this tragedy, they are here much more successfully blended than in "Guilt and Sorrow." In the earlier poem a confusion of the two produced emotional weakness and uncertainty in the moments of crisis. In *The Borderers*, the terror is clearly made subordinate to pity. It is largely used to intensify the situation in which Herbert is placed and so to render him more appealing to tenderness. The two unite to form a single impression, that of a man as helpless to influence events and so a pitiable object of suffering. The significant implication, however, to be discovered in Wordsworth's use of these two aesthetics in *The Borderers* is that, through an interpretation of his own life, he has come to realize that in the aesthetic experience, memory is a central fact. Both horror and suffering, he believes, are transformed through the serene operation of this faculty into the peace which is the essential quality of the aesthetic experience. Marmaduke's remark to Idonea,

In thy frozen heart

The extremes of suffering meet in absolute peace,

shows how Wordsworth conceived the refining influence of undeserved suffering to act. And Oswald interprets the aesthetic of terror by saying:

In terror

Remembered terror, there is peace and rest.

The excitation of both terror and pity thus converge in peace. This is a definite foreshadowing of the importance which the feeling of tranquillity is to play in Wordsworth's later conceptions of beauty. Moreover, his realization that, without the alembic of memory, experience cannot be distilled into beauty, points directly to the strong retrospective character of his whole mature aesthetic point of view.

The play, then, is in essence the poet's characteristically oblique artistic reaction to a great crisis in his life. A tragic experience brought him face to face with the moral *impasse* which Godwin's version of eighteenth-century rationalism created. He tried to escape from it by ignoring his past with all its envelope of feeling and by living entirely in the future. This attempt involved the complete surrender of his emotional life and, therefore, of the continuity of his individual existence. This Wordsworth could not do. His failure brought him a permanent conviction that his feelings were of primary

importance. Human nature, he learned, serenely emancipates itself from the trammels of a reason which seeks to prove that the very fabric of man's being is illusory. By sheer intensity, he raised his personal experience to the level of a universal problem. In solving his own difficulty, he found a way out of the rationalistic dilemma.

In the poem, the escape is not presented as part of the drama. Marmaduke is thrown back upon complete acquiescence in suffering and the poem upon the familiar aesthetic of sentimentalism. But Wordsworth himself was not to rest there. The feelings based on natural relationships which he had attempted in life to flout, and Marmaduke in the drama to override, even in the action of *The Borderers* reassert themselves as the fundamental facts of human life. Wordsworth, the artist, therefore, saw that they must serve as the bases upon which to build any vital aesthetic experience. The poet became in his eyes pre-eminently the "upholder and preserver of these natural feelings carrying with him everywhere relationship and love." In other words, Wordsworth discovered the truths later enunciated in the Preface to *The Lyrical Ballads*.

The Borderers, then, is no mere record of Wordsworth's conquest of Godwinian pessimism. It is, essentially, the record of a revelation that came to him when he tried to escape the inevitable consequences of a profound natural emotional experience through a philosophy that denied the importance and validity of that very experience. In the light of this illumination, he denied the philosophy and affirmed the experience. In so doing, he was able to appraise anew the values of life and to gain an original conception of the methods and aims of art. The poem thus records a strong transition in Wordsworth's soul which became in very fact the aesthetic transition from the eighteenth to the nineteenth centuries. The broken universe of the late eighteenth century, in which man and nature were disparate, gave way to the homogeneous universe of the nineteenth century, in which man became as never before at home in nature. A new world thus appeared in prospect, in which the poet's function was to bind together by passion and knowledge the vast empire of human society.

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STUDIES IN ENGLISH PHONOLOGY

II: *AI*

In the sixth volume of Skeat's monumental edition of Chaucer's works we find, among other things, a discussion of Chaucer's pronunciation. Skeat's treatment of this subject is pretty generally accepted as authoritative by Chaucer teachers, in this country at least. Any mistakes on the part of the learned editor, then, could hardly fail of wide though superficial propagation. Certainly the pronunciation of the diphthong *ai* is a case in point, although here, no doubt, the subconscious influence of present-day speech has always played an important part. For Skeat preaches the undeniably convenient doctrine that Chaucer pronounced *ai* as we pronounce it today. But let us see just what he says. I quote from page xxvi of his "General Introduction," substituting, however, square brackets for the round brackets which Skeat uses to indicate phonetic transcription: "*ai*, ay [ei]. Ex. *array* [arei]; *fair* [feir]. As in modern English." Skeat adds a note, which reads as follows:

Dr. Sweet gives the sound [ai], as in German *mein*. But he adds: "The distinction between *ai* and *ei*, as in *day* and *wey*, was probably still kept up in Chaucer's pronunciation, but the two diphthongs were beginning to be confused, probably through the *a* of *ai* being modified nearly to the sound of our vowel in *man*." However, the rimes prove that Chaucer never distinguishes between them at all; and I believe these diphthongs had been confused much earlier. . . . I should say that the statement that the *a* of *ai* was "modified nearly to the sound of our vowel in *man*" might have been much more strongly asserted. In such a word as *day*, from A.S. *dæg*, the *a* was already [æ] at the first, and needed no modification at all. It was already spelt *dei* before A.D. 1200; . . .

The dialectal *e* in *dei* belongs to the OE period; indeed, it is pre-historic. See K. Luick, *Hist. Gram. der engl. Sprache*, p. 166. It therefore cannot be used as evidence of a ME shift [æ > e], in the diphthong or elsewhere. Moreover, when Skeat objects to the statement that the *a* of *ai* was modified nearly to the sound of our vowel in "*man*," he shows himself contaminated, at least, by what may be called the

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[æ]-heresy. There are those who believe that the [æ] of OE remained a front vowel throughout the history of the language, the [æ] of today being thus simply a perpetuation of the OE sound. Such people may be called [æ]-heretics; their heresy is just as convenient for would-be pronouncers of ME as Skeat's instructions for the pronunciation of *ai*: you need only to pronounce as in modern English! Unfortunately, however, the evidence is all against the heretics. The sound-shift [æ > a] is attested by the change in spelling and by rimes like "water": *mater* (*Prioresses Tale*, pp. 188 f.). It is supported, furthermore, by the grammatical treatises of later days and by theoretical considerations. As these last have never been pointed out, I may be pardoned for stating them briefly. The change [æ > a] is simply a part of a general ME change, which affected all the short vowels. In OE the short vowels were close; in ME they became open. The change involved at least two things: a lowering of the tongue and a shift to the rear of the place of articulation, things which regularly go together anyhow. The change [æ > a] is thus nothing astonishing. It is strictly in line with ME speech tendencies. In view of these tendencies, the preservation of OE [æ] in ME would have been nothing short of anomalous.

Now Skeat is not heretical on the ME pronunciation of *a* as such. He prescribes [a]. But he adds this significant remark:

"We have no clear evidence to show that the modern *a* [æ] in *cat* [kæt] occurs anywhere in Chaucer; though it is possible that the sound occurred in Southern English, without any special symbol to represent it."

This remark of Skeat's reveals that he had heretical tendencies; and these tendencies blossom forth when he comes to the *a* of the diphthong *ai*. Sweet held that this *a*, originally [a], later became [æ]. Skeat objects, and argues that "in such a word as *day*, from A.S. *dæg*, the *a* was already [æ] at the first, and needed no modification at all." In other words, Skeat maintains that OE [æ] never changed to [a] in such words as *dæg* > *day*, in spite of the spelling; he considers that here the [æ] remained, and by Chaucer's time had been raised to [e]. Skeat's views, then, may be formulated as follows: OE [æ] became [a] except in combination with an [i], however developed, where it remained [æ] in early ME, to become [e] in later ME.

In these views Skeat has found no followers, in print at least, so far as I know, except Mr. C. H. Foster, who in 1911 published a note on the subject in *Modern Language Notes* (XXVI, 76 f.). Even Mr. Foster does not go so far as Skeat. He sums up as follows (p. 77):

"The evidence . . . is fairly strong that Chaucer gave the diphthongs *ai*, *ay*, *ei*, *ey* a sound between that of *ei* and *ei*, a pronunciation very possibly, in view of the recorded pronunciations of the sixteenth century, not so close as that of NE *they*."

It will be noted that whereas Skeat tells us to pronounce the diphthong "as in modern English," Mr. Foster more cautiously adds a "possibly not so close." We may be reasonably sure, nevertheless, that in practice Mr. Foster makes no distinction between the ME diphthong and its modern descendant. And, if I may judge from my own observation, the vast body of American teachers of Chaucer, although they have never printed their views, may safely be reckoned as disciples of Skeat in this matter.

Mr. Foster begins his paper with the following statement:

"Scholars now generally hold that Chaucer identified the diphthongs *ai*, *ay*, *ei*, *ey* and gave them the sound of, approximately, *ei*." That Chaucer identified the diphthongs is obvious from the rhymes. I do not understand, however, where Mr. Foster got his idea that scholars generally consider Chaucer to have pronounced the diphthongs [ei]. Skeat, as we have seen, gives this pronunciation. But the English grammarians have never accepted Skeat's pronouncements, or perhaps it would be better to say that they have never paid any attention to Skeat's obviously superficial observations on the matter. Mr. Foster cites the *Modern English Grammar* of Professor Jespersen. It may be well, therefore, to see just what Mr. Jespersen has to say. On page 96 of the first volume of his *Grammar* I find the following:

"Towards the end of the ME period two hitherto distinct diphthongs *ai*(*ay*) and *ei*(*ey*) were confused into one /æi/ or /æi/, perhaps with a half-long first element. . . . The phonetic value of the diphthong was probably /æ:/ (the long of PE *had*) gliding slowly upwards in the direction of /i/."

In other words, the Danish grammarian considers that the two diphthongs were leveled under *ai*, not under *ei*. This view is diametrically opposed to that of Mr. Foster, who holds that the leveling

was under *ei*. Sweet's views, as quoted by Skeat, are apparently the same as those of Mr. Jespersen, though not so unequivocally expressed. The same may be said of Mr. O. F. Emerson's statement in the grammatical introduction of his *Middle English Reader*. Mr. Emerson states (p. xlii):

"ME *ai*, in the earliest times, had the sound of the diphthong in *high*. As *ai* came to rime with *ei* in late ME, its pronunciation probably assumed the sounds *a* (as in *man*) + *i* in the course of its development."

The theory that *ei* was leveled under *ai* in late ME times was first brought forward by Professor Karl Luick, of Vienna, in *Anglia* XIV (1892), p. 273. Mr. Luick says:

Es ist bekannt, dass bei Chaucer me. *ai* und *ei* ohne anstand im reime gebunden werden. . . . Auch in der spätmittelenglischen schreibung giebt sich dieser wandel zu erkennen, indem *ei* und *ai* nicht mehr genau nach der etymologie auseinander gehalten werden, und die neuenglische schreibung hat ja dies bewahrt. Die vermischung tritt in der weise ein, dass *ai* vordringt und das gibt uns einen hinweis, in welchem laute sich die beiden diphthonge vereinigt haben: in *ai*.

This view obviously differs somewhat from that held by Sweet and his followers. Mr. Luick says nothing about a change of *ai* from [ai] to [æi]. On the contrary, he assumes a change of *ei* from [ei] to [ai]. This solution of the problem is much more satisfactory than the other, since it accounts for both spelling and rhymes, whereas even if one assumes with Sweet that *ai* developed to [æi], one is still dealing with a diphthong somewhat different in quality from *ei*, which according to him was pronounced [ei], and such spellings as "way" for earlier *wey* remain unexplained. And it is the theory of Luick, not that of Sweet, which has found acceptance in most of the recent grammars. Thus, Professor W. Horn, of Giessen, in his *Historische neuenglische Grammatik* (1908), supports this view. He says (p. 96): "ME *ei* (*wey*) and *ai* (*day*) sind schon in Chaucers Zeit unter *ai* zusammengefallen (*ei* > *ai*)."
And much earlier, of course, Sweet, in his *History of English Sounds*, had pointed out (p. 241) that the Welsh transliteration known as the *Hymn to the Virgin* (c. 1500) uses *ai* (or *ay*, *æ*) everywhere except in the habitually unstressed "they." As Sweet adds, this points to [ai] as the English diphthong, 100 years after the death of Chaucer.

Since the publication of Mr. Foster's note several other works on

historical English grammar have appeared. The most important of these is Mr. Luick's still unfinished *Grammatik*, which bids fair to be the definitive work on the subject. Mr. Luick naturally holds fast to his original theory. He dates the sound-change *ei* > *ai* at c. 1300 (*op. cit.*, I, 433). I may mention also Professor H. C. Wyld of Oxford, who tells us in his *Short History of English* (p. 152), that "the old diphthongs *ai*, *ei* were levelled under one sound [ai] in the ME period (Chaucer), though the traditional distinction survived in the spelling." This work came out in 1914. In his *History of Modern Colloquial English*, published in 1920, Mr. Wyld holds to this view. He says (pp. 71 f.), "The following are some of the chief differences between the pronunciation of vowels in the ME period and that of the present day: . . . (10) ME *ai*, *ei*, both pronounced [ai] in the later period, . . ." The latest British writers on the subject, Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Wright, adopt the same view in their *Elementary Middle English Grammar*. Finally, Professor R. Jordan of Jena, in his *Handbuch der mittelenenglischen Grammatik* (1925), pp. 106 f., takes the same position: In fact, Mr. Foster stands practically alone in his contentions, except for Skeat, and he appears to have misunderstood even Skeat's arguments, though one must admit that these are not notable for lucidity.

Mr. Foster continues as follows:

Jespersen . . . states as a fact that the ME diphthong had the value of *æi*. But no one has adduced adequate proof that his theory is reasonable; and no one, so far as I am aware, has adequately discussed Chaucer's pronunciation from the derivative or Old English dialect point of view. This note, therefore, though obvious, may perhaps be justified.

Mr. Foster here falls into two serious errors. In the first place, he attempts to determine the ME pronunciation through a study of the OE etymology alone. Thus, he argues that since "day" is derived from the Mercian *deg* it must have been pronounced [dei] in the fourteenth century. Of course his premise here is doubtful, since only in a part of the Mercian area were such pronunciations as *deg* current. But even if we grant his premise, his conclusion remains unsound. For if "day" is derived from *deg*, the *a*-spelling is obviously unhistorical, whereas the *e*-spelling (which also occurs) is historically correct. A spelling which is sound both phonetically and historically is, in the

nature of the case, well fortified; it tends to become traditional and to maintain itself even after it has ceased to represent the current pronunciation of the word. The rise of the *a*-spelling, then, and its triumph over the older *e*-spelling, find a natural and obvious explanation in a sound-change *ei* > *ai*, but become knotty problems indeed if one ignores the possibility of such a change (as does Mr. Foster) and attempts to account for everything on the basis of the OE etymology.

In the second place, Mr. Jespersen's theory that late ME *ai* was pronounced [æi] did not spring from the author's knowledge of etymology (as Mr. Foster evidently supposes), but is based on a study of modern English phonology. There can be no doubt that the diphthong eventually came to be pronounced [æi] or something of the sort. Mr. Jespersen simply dates the change [ai] > [æi] early—earlier than most scholars would agree to. He would find his support primarily in such studies as that of Zachrisson: *Pronunciation of English Vowels, 1400-1700*, although even Zachrisson does not carry [æi] farther back than the year 1400. There is nothing in Mr. Jespersen's *Grammar* which would lend any support to Mr. Foster's (and Skeat's) theory that OE *æg* and the like became *ei* without going through the stage [ai]. On the contrary, Mr. Jespersen seems doubtful of the existence even in OE of such a sound as [æ]. He inclines to the belief that the OE digraph stood for nothing more than an advanced *a* as in French *dame*.

The early history of our diphthong has been given in detail by Luick in his monumental *Grammatik*, and I need do no more than summarize it here. In words like "day" a diphthongal [æi] had developed in OE times (Luick, p. 233). During the eleventh century an [æi] developed likewise in such words as "tail," "nail" OE *tægl*, *nægl* (Luick, p. 365). The [æ] of the diphthong became [a] at the same time that [æ] in general became [a], viz., during the twelfth century (Luick, p. 347; cf. p. 352). Toward the end of the thirteenth century ME *ei* (open *e* + *i*) became [ai], as in "way" OE *weg*, "play" OE *plega*, "hay" OE *hæg*, "clay" OE *clæg*, "raise" ON *reisa*, "strain" OF *estrein* (Luick p. 433). The Anglo-Norman diphthong *ai/ei* was represented in English by *ai*, as "gay," "pray" (Luick, pp. 453 f.). The diphthong *ai* also appears in such words as "fail," "Spain," for *a* followed by a mouillated *l*, *n* (Luick, p. 449). In such words as "eight," "neighbour" the diphthong *ei* was preserved into the fifteenth century (Luick, p.

434). We thus cannot tell whether the leveling was under *ai* or *ei* in this case, as *ai* by then might have advanced to the stage [ei].

The value of the first element of the diphthong must be judged primarily by the spelling; the evidence of the spelling is particularly cogent when it marks a departure from the older, traditional spelling, as in "way" for earlier *wey* OE *weg*. In a few cases the second element of the diphthong is lost, as before *s*-combinations: "master" for earlier *maister*, "gas" for earlier *gaispe*, itself from a still earlier *geispen*. In such cases the value of the first element of the diphthong becomes obvious. The sound-change [æi > ai] is simply a part of the sound-change [æ > a]. The change [ei > ai] however is a case of dissimilation. The same change took place in German, as everybody knows. The older *stein* "stone" came to be pronounced [stain], although the old spelling with *ei* has been kept to the present day. In the so-called Cockney English a similar change has taken place in recent times: the Cockney says [dai] rather than [dei], etc. Mr. Luick has brought the sound-shift [ei > ai] into line with a number of other diphthongal changes of the early fourteenth century. He groups the whole under the rubric: *Vereinfachung des Diphthongbestandes*. ME found itself supplied with about a dozen diphthongs. As Mr. Luick puts it, "Gegenüber dieser Mannigfaltigkeit macht sich nun, wie öfter im Mittelenglischen, eine Tendenz nach Vereinfachung geltend, die dahin ging, die weniger ausgeprägten Typen, d.h. diejenigen, deren Komponenten einander näher standen, zu beseitigen."

The diphthong *ei* was one of the diphthongs eliminated, manifestly because its component parts stood close to each other. In such words as "eye," where the first element of the diphthong was close, assimilation took place, and a monophthongal [i] was the result, though the old spelling was not given up—Chaucer usually spells "eye," though sometimes *ye*. In such words as *grey* however, where the first element of the diphthong was open, dissimilation took place, giving "gray" [grai]. The change is reflected in the spelling, but many *ei*-spellings maintained themselves by force of tradition, like "grey" itself. Before *gh* the *ei*-diphthong, whether close or open, seems to have resisted the tendency toward simplification.

But what happened next? Or, better (since we know what happened), when did the palatalization of the *ai*-diphthong begin? The

orthoepists of the sixteenth century usually describe the sound as diphthongal, and scholars commonly identify its first element with the so-called long *a*, which at that time was doubtless [æ] or [e]. There is some evidence that the smoothing of the diphthong, and its complete coalescence with "long *a*," had already begun in the sixteenth century. See E. Ekwall, *Hist. ne. Laut- und Formenlehre*, p. 26, and Zachrisson, *op. cit.*, p. 125. Zachrisson's investigations of fifteenth-century spellings led him to the same conclusion for that century (*op. cit.*, pp. 65 f.). From 1400 on, then, "long *a*" and *ai* were either identical, or, if they differed, differed only through the presence of an off-glide in the diphthong which did not appear in the monophthong. The most striking and persistent characteristic of the diphthong throughout its later history has been this identity of its first element with "long *a*." The identity was complete so far as the quality of the sounds was concerned, and nearly if not altogether complete in quantity as well. Strictly parallel are the relations between the *ou*-diphthong and the long open *o*. Here too we have complete identity in quality between the vowel and the first element of the diphthong from a very early period to the present day, and nearly if not altogether complete identity in quantity as well, the diphthong being distinguishable only by its off-glide, which, like the off-glide of *ai*, had vanished by the seventeenth century if not before. It is a reasonable inference, then, that inasmuch as the long *a* and *ai* kept in step from the year 1400 on, they were in step before 1400. In other words, the first element of the diphthong *ai* was qualitatively identical with the long *a* in the fourteenth century, even as it has been in all succeeding centuries. If so, the palatalization of the diphthong and the palatalization of the long vowel began at the same time. Now no one would argue that the palatalization of the long *a* began before 1400; hence it is probable that the palatalization of the diphthong too began only with the fifteenth century—a conclusion which is in accord with Zachrisson's results, and agrees with Jespersen's statement if by "towards the end of the ME period" the fifteenth century is meant.

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NOTES AND COMMENTS

The Grand Prix Gobert of ten thousand francs has been awarded by the Institut de France to D. S. Blondheim, of Johns Hopkins University, for his group of studies entitled *Les Parlers Judéo-Romans et la Vetus Latina: Etude sur les Rapports entre les Traductions bibliques en Langue romane des Juifs au Moyen Age et les anciennes Versions*, Paris, 1925. For a review of this work, see this journal, XXIII (February, 1926), 356-57.

Of the three volumes which Professor Carleton Brown proposes to devote to the medieval religious lyric in England, the first to appear is *Religious Lyrics of the XIVth Century* (Oxford University Press, 1924). The other two volumes will contain selections from the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries, and the final one is to include a historical and critical study of the type. This is a field that the ordinary student has hitherto found it impossible to deal with intelligently. A number of the lyrics have never been published, many more have been accessible only in rare works, and the variant texts of still others have never been printed or collated. By virtue of his years of work in the field, Professor Brown is perhaps the one man to close this gap in our literary history. The present volume, with its 135 poems arranged in approximately chronological order, renders a large body of the extant fourteenth-century pieces accessible. Nearly a third of the poems have never been printed before, and many others are for the first time printed from the earliest or best text. The notes have something significant to offer for nearly every one of the selections—records of extant forms and editions; lists of variant readings for a number of pieces which on account of their popularity underwent striking changes from generation to generation; comment on various groups in the homiletic, moralizing, and mystical poetry of the century; indication of sources in Latin hymns, passages from the Church Fathers, and so on. The Introduction and notes also call attention briefly to various phases of the development of the religious lyric in the century, such as the contribution of individual men and schools, the translation of poems for use in sermons, and the growing skill and power shown in the later moral and mystical lyrics. Many of the more significant poems published here have long been recognized as possessing the magnificent qualities belonging to the medieval lyrics in Latin and in the vernacular found among the continental peoples. But in reading through the selections of this volume one is surprised at the large number showing a fine poetic quality, whether it be in the power of the refec-

tion on life and manners found among the moralizing poets or in the freshness of the constantly recurring notes of tenderness and rapture heard among the mystics.—C.R.B.

From a sense of proprietorship, French as well as English readers have an affection for Arthurian stories. The recent paraphrase in modern French prose of Chrétien's *Erec* and *Yvain*, by André Mary,¹ is close enough to the originals to inspire confidence and full enough to possess style. Nothing essential to the narrative has been omitted (the famous *Con mar i fus!* is well rendered by "Tu fus là-bas pour ton malheur!") Such condensation as there is aids rather than harms the story; M. Mary has also a just appreciation of Chrétien's importance in medieval literature. The illustrations, by Maurice Lalou, are appropriate and in excellent taste. But M. Mary is primarily an *amateur de livres* and not a scholar. His Introduction states that from 1160 to 1170 "Chrétien vécut à la cour de Flandre" (for which there is no evidence) and, referring to the *Yvain*, it concludes:

On n'a pas, que nous sachions, dégagé la signification originelle de la fable qui sert de base au roman. Qu'est-ce que cette fontaine? Cette femme impérieuse qui en est la dame? Ce chevalier qui la défend? C'est, suivant nous, un mythe analogue à celui du prêtre de Nemi, débris d'une antique religion agricole.

On all of this we may remark, in the language quoted a century ago in the *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen*,

Hätt' er etwas mehr gelesen,
So erfänd' er nicht so viel.

The fact is, the analogy of the Fountain story and the Arician Diana myth (see now Zenker, *Beiheft* 70) was originally set forth in *Modern Philology*, III (1906), 267 ff.; and again *ibid.*, VII (1909), 145 ff.; and *ibid.*, XX (1922), 101 ff. Erudition is not the prime function of a popular preface, but a due regard for accuracy is expected of the critic as well as of the scholar.—W.A.N.

The Provençal numbers in the series "Classiques Français du Moyen Age," edited by M. Roques, are now eight in number. The works of six individual poets have been edited, besides which there is a collection of Gascon troubadours and a life of a saint. In addition to these texts, the Provençal publications include Jeanroy's bibliography of all the Provençal poets: nine issues in all.

Of these nine works, five, or over half, are due to A. Jeanroy, who has given us editions of William IX, of Cercamon, and of Jaufre Rudel, as well as the Gascon collection and the bibliography. All these works are marked by thoroughness and ripe scholarship. The introductions to William IX and Jaufre Rudel, for example, discuss the language and the versification of the

¹ *Erec et Enide, Le Chevalier au Lion, traduite de Chrétien de Troyes. Paris: Boivin et Cie, n.d.*

poet; that of Jaufre Rudel also traces the development of the poet's romantic biography. These texts are carefully established and are adequately translated. The bibliography is characterized by the same thoroughness: there is, first, a complete list of manuscripts and diplomatic editions; then come general collections of verse and regional collections; and, finally, a list of editions of individual poets with critical remarks and references to the chief reviews of the editions. Jeanroy's other work, the collection of Gascon poets, had a different purpose—to present raw material for the student rather than finished work: no text is established and there is no translation.

As to the other works in the series, W. P. Shepard's *Jausbert de Puycibot* (1924) is a competent piece of work, done in the Jeanroy manner. The same may be said of Långfors' *Guilhem de Cabestanh*, in which, however, the editor deals more with the different redactions of the poet's fantastic biography than with the usual questions. Textual difficulties are few in Brunel's *Sainte Enimie*, because of the existence of only one manuscript. Anglade's *Peire Vidal* is somewhat less satisfactory because of being based almost entirely on Bartsch's earlier edition, and because the variants are not thoroughly presented.

Thus the Provençal numbers in the "Classiques Français du Moyen Age" represent a substantial beginning. It is to be hoped that their number may be increased by the inclusion of some of the better texts already published elsewhere as well as by the addition of new material.—EDWARD L. ADAMS.

Albert Wesselski's *Märchen des Mittelalters* (xxiii+272 pp. Berlin: Stubenrauch, 1925) may be justly said to be the year's most important contribution to the comparative study of folk-tales. It contains a prefatory essay on the delinquencies of the Finnish method of investigation; sixty-six narratives, which often vary considerably from the type usually called *Märchen*; and seventy pages of commentary and citation of parallels. Professor Kaarle Krohn has already defended the Finnish method in *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* (Helsingfors), May, 1925. Wesselski stresses the importance of literary fixation of a theme and believes that the Finnish method neglects it. The significance of intentional changes, which loom large in Wesselski's eyes, is naturally much greater in tales preserved as literary relics. The novelty and value of the Finnish method lies in matters which have been quite overlooked: it emphasizes the geographical limitations of the changes in tales and the possibility of eliminating such changes by comparison. Each change which comes into a tale has a definable vogue; it spreads over a definite area and can be identified by its distribution. Comparison of scores, even hundreds of tales on a single theme, makes possible the discarding of accidental changes and the recognition of a drift in the tradition. In all this there is nothing mystical, nothing of a romantic *Volksgeist*. No believer in the Finnish method will maintain that the application of the method has yet been perfected. At most he would maintain that the method has produced a technique capable

of improvement, and until now a technique for such study has been lacking. Wesselski's notes need no commendation to those who know his *Mönchslatein* and his later works; they are, as always, admirable. The firm of Herbert Stubenrauch has produced an attractive and indispensable volume.—ARCHER TAYLOR.

A notable event in the field of English philology is the publication of *Five Hundred Years of Chaucer Criticism and Allusion*, by Caroline F. E. Spurgeon, professor of English literature in the University of London (Cambridge University Press, 1925). Professor Spurgeon undertook this work at the suggestion of Dr. Furnivall, as far back as 1901. In 1911 she published the first fruits of it in her doctoral thesis at the University of Paris, *Chaucer devant la critique* (Paris: Hachette et Cie). In that work, which extended to four hundred and twenty-two pages, she surveyed many aspects of the history of Chaucer's reputation from his own time to ours, including Chaucer's reputation in France (sixty pages) without printing the text of the allusions. From 1914 to 1925, the complete collection of quotations appeared in parts (under the title given at the beginning of this paragraph) among the publications of the Chaucer Society. The present edition is printed from the stereotype plates of the Chaucer Society issue, and therefore is, with a few additions, identical with the latter. It adds, however, twenty-four collotype illustrations, comprising reproductions of pages from manuscripts, portraits of Chaucer, and modern pictures of Chaucerian scenes. The present edition is in three volumes, of which the first contains a brief Foreword, an Introduction of a hundred and thirty-six pages (largely summarized from the French work cited above), and the text of allusions from 1357 to 1800; the second volume gives the text of the allusions from 1801 to 1900; and the third gives appendixes, containing additional references, German and French references, and an Index.

Concerning the larger significance of the work Miss Spurgeon truthfully says:

The collection itself must in one sense remain unique. Of no other great English poet will it be possible, for a century and a half to come, to collect a continuous record of the critical opinion of his countrymen during five hundred years. Indeed there is only one other European poet,—greater even than Chaucer [i.e., Dante]—the fluctuations of whose fame can be followed during these special centuries, which bridge over the time of transition from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance, and from the Renaissance to the modern world [p. cxliii].

Discussion of the value of such a collection of allusions is unnecessary. It provides an opportunity of observing not only the history of Chaucer's reputation but also the development of English criticism and taste. This latter value of the work Miss Spurgeon well understands: in *Chaucer devant la critique* she devoted a chapter to a brief account of the evolution of literary criticism as revealed by her data; in the Introduction of the present work (pp.

cxiv ff.) she again offers some generalizations (drawn from this material) as to the growth of critical taste. She introduces her deductions by these effective sentences:

As we watch this vast company of writers passing before Chaucer, and leaving on record their opinion of him, it is curious to reflect that the criticism Chaucer has received throughout these five centuries in reality forms a measurement of judgment—not of him—but of his critics. Just as we trace the development of the mind of an individual by studying his opinions and works at different periods of his life, so it would seem that in looking at this ever-shifting procession of critics we can trace the development of the mind and spirit of the nation to which they belong.

Miss Spurgeon then sketches briefly "the evolution in taste, in critical standard, and critical faculty," the evolution of "new senses, especially the sense of humor," and "the evolution of scholarship and accuracy in literary matters." Obviously, this collection of material affords a basis for many such studies, and it will have as great a value therefore to the general literary historian or the students of the sixteenth, seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries as to the Chaucerian.

Such a collection as this is, of course, never complete. That further references still remain to be found is indicated by the fact that Professor H. E. Rollins, of New York University, has contributed seventy-eight items to Appendix A, and that many others, evidently discovered too late to be included in their proper places, are added there.

The form of the work is entirely satisfactory: definite bibliographical details are given for each allusion; the quotations are sufficiently full to be clear, and are given verbatim. Where necessary Miss Spurgeon has added a note of explanation or reference to a published discussion. Many an entry is a model of compression and clearness (e.g., the account of the succession of articles on Chaucer in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*). The physical appearance of the work, moreover, is handsome, and the presswork is all that one could ask.

The Chaucerian of our day is fortunate in being well equipped with tools: He has Miss Hammond's bibliography, supplemented by Professor Wells's *Manual*, the *Life-Records of Chaucer*, this monumental collection of allusions, and he will soon have Professor Tatlock's concordance. He needs now only a Chaucer lexicon, which the Middle English dictionary, already begun, will supply in time.—J. R. H.

In *The Platonism of Joachim du Bellay* (University of Chicago Press, 1923) R. V. Merrill has made a scholarly contribution to the study of an important element of French Renaissance literature. The term Platonism covers such a wide range of varying elements that it is very confusing to the student who first approaches early sixteenth-century literature. The studies of Professor Lefranc, now dating back a number of years, and particularly his analysis of the religious thought of Margaret of Navarre, form a necessary foundation

for the studies which have followed. The biographer of almost every poet of the early Renaissance has had to treat his or her relation to Platonism. R. V. Merrill's essay has, however, the additional merit of presenting one of the fullest and most lucid analyses of the movement and its various aspects. This is particularly commendable, inasmuch as Du Bellay, the poet, was himself far from systematic, and reflects not contradictory but yet not necessarily identical emotions, shading from pure Platonism into neo-Platonism and Petrarchism.

The first chapter disentangles the threads of literary and social Platonism. It is shown to the reader how the original doctrine of the Academy became in time perverted into the confused theological and metaphysical neo-Platonism which the Renaissance encountered; how in Paris Ramus tried to return to the doctrines of Plato in dialectic, and in Italy certain poets tried to react in love against the jargon of neo-Platonism, so that in the literary background of Du Bellay we find both strains, but the neo-Platonism often purified by a more sincere Platonic idealism. The author points out the ready confusion made between Platonism and Petrarchism, though the latter sets the lover below the beloved, whereas the Platonist is in time freed from physical passion and proceeds by the side of the beloved one to virtue.

But this chapter is obviously preliminary. The second and longest section examines the Platonistic concepts in the works of Du Bellay, under the general headings of "Cosmos," "Beauty and Virtue," and "The Soul." The author, while avoiding the appearance of a catalogue, skilfully brings together the passages illustrating Du Bellay's indeterminate poetic Platonism, ranging from the expression of somewhat conventional and superficial phraseology to the idealism of the famous sonnet, "Si nostre vie est moins qu'une journée." Merrill has made his survey effective by constant comparison and reference to the passages in Plato's *Dialogues* upon which the structure of literary Platonism has been erected.

The third, fourth and fifth chapters, which are all briefer, clarify still further Du Bellay's thought by showing what are his direct as opposed to ultimate sources, his stages of poetic development, and the character of his Platonism. The task of differentiation between expressions of true feeling and the reiteration in other passages of conventional commonplaces and *clichés* is subtly done. Merrill's study will remain a valuable item for record in the bibliographies of helpful studies in the details of the French Renaissance.—C. H. C. WRIGHT.

Two books of importance to students of Samuel Johnson have appeared within the last few months. One of them is a new edition of the well-known *Bibliography of Samuel Johnson*, by W. P. Courtney and D. Nichol Smith, which was originally published in 1915 as No. IV of the "Oxford Historical and Literary Studies," and is now reissued with the welcome addition of thirty-eight facsimiles, chiefly of title-pages (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1925).

The other is Joseph Epes Brown's *The Critical Opinions of Samuel Johnson* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1926).

This latter work—a beautifully printed volume of three hundred fifty-one pages—is admittedly a compilation, but it is a compilation of an unusually intelligent and useful sort, which can be recommended alike to Johnsonians and to students of the general history of literary doctrines in the eighteenth century. The task which Mr. Brown set himself was to bring together, under appropriate headings in a double alphabetical index, all the passages in Johnson's writings or recorded conversations which express either general literary theories (Part I) or judgments on particular authors and works (Part II). The result is a rich anthology of texts, the more important of them quoted or analyzed in detail, conveniently arranged in chronological order under each heading, with numerous cross-references and with occasional notes pointing out anticipations of Johnson's ideas in earlier writers or calling attention to modern studies of special points, the whole introduced by a forty-page essay which undertakes to define the chief tendencies in Johnson's literary doctrine and to situate it in the movement of aesthetic theory in the eighteenth century.

The work, on the whole, is very competently done. We have noted no omissions of important passages, and in a fairly large number of cases in which we have compared Mr. Brown's text with his original we have discovered no serious errors in transcription. Our chief reservations have to do with the notes and the Introduction. We could wish, for example, that the attempt made here and there in the notes to illuminate Johnson's historical position by paralleling or contrasting his views with those of earlier critics had been carried out more thoroughly and systematically. We do not of course expect from Mr. Brown an elaborate commentary such as would be appropriate in a critical edition, but surely to have given us more notes like those on pages 6 and 135 would not have placed on him an undue burden of research.¹ The consequence of this failure to take adequate account of the critical literature antecedent to Johnson appears strikingly in the Introduction. This is in many respects a sound piece of interpretative writing, sound in its definition of the distinguishing elements in Johnson's doctrine, sound—and somewhat original—in its analysis of his connections with the "liberal" critics of the mid-eighteenth century. It presents, however, a view of Johnson's relation to neo-classicism which Mr. Brown, we feel sure, would not have advanced had he known the representative critics of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries as well as he knows Johnson. It is true, of course, that Johnson condemned imitation of models, denied the sanctity of many of the "rules," and consistently subordinated authority to "Nature."² But it is not true that

¹ In general, Mr. Brown shows adequate familiarity with recent scholarship in his field. References might have been added, however, on p. xlviii, n. 101, to A. D. McKillop's article in *Modern Philology*, XXII, 391-404, and on p. 324, n. 1, to Paget Toynbee's *Dante in English Literature*. The article mentioned on p. 134, n. 1, appeared in *Studies in Philology*, not in *Modern Philology*.

² See particularly the texts printed by Mr. Brown on pp. 10, 133-37, and 221-28.

doing all this constituted in any fundamental sense a "break with neo-classicism." For the distinguishing feature of neo-classicism as it appears in all its most influential spokesmen from Boileau to Pope was not, as Mr. Brown thinks, "its concept of authority," but precisely that appeal to "Nature"—to "the natural and invariable constitution of things"—for which Johnson stood. It was in "Nature" and not in the ancients or the rules, we may recall, that Pope placed the ultimate "test of art"; such authority as the rules had for him derived from the fact that they were simply "Nature methodiz'd"; and he could be as outspoken as Johnson in his scorn for critics who "write dull receipts how poems may be made." The only difference, in fact, that we can see between Johnson and the critics who are generally recognized as orthodox neo-classicists is that he perhaps went farther than some of them did in distinguishing between the genuine "laws of nature" and the "accidental prescriptions of authority." But this, if true, amounts to no more than a difference of degree; that there were rules, "invincibly supported by their conformity to the order of nature and operations of the intellect," to which poets must conform, he never once questioned. And that, after all, is the essential point.—R. S. C.

A preliminary report of progress on the first of the *Handwörterbücher zur deutschen Volkskunde*, which are planned by the Verband deutscher Vereine für Volkskunde, was made at the annual meeting at Stuttgart on September 26, 1925, and is now printed as "Anlage zu Nr. 31" of the *Mitteilungen des Verbandes*. The first *Handwörterbuch*, a compendium of German superstition, is already well advanced. The six hundred thousand cards which have been made and arranged in alphabetical order will soon be put at the disposal of the collaborators. By this means it is expected that the lexicon can be prepared in an unusually short time. The following groups of ideas will be taken up in their relation to superstition: law, religion, the vocations, clothing, the house, utensils, food, agriculture, parts of the body, sickness, birth, marriage, death, manners and customs, feasts, the saints, animals, plants, minerals, astronomy, meteorology, divination, magic, charms, witches, the devil, and others. So far as possible each group will be assigned to a single subeditor. It is hoped that the finished articles will begin to be delivered to the editors-in-chief by the end of 1926, and that the first fascicle can be printed in the spring of 1927. Although the work is announced only as a compendium of German superstition, it will of course be much more. It can be expected to provide scholars with a firm foundation for comparative studies in superstitions. The competence of the editors-in-chief, Hanns Bächtold-Stäubli, author of *Die Gebräuche bei Verlobung und Hochzeit mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Schweiz* (1914), and Eduard Hoffmann-Krayer, editor of the *Schweizerisches Archiv für Volkskunde*, is already thoroughly established.—ARCHER TAYLOR

The *Neuhochdeutsche Sprachlehre*, by Willy Scheel (Heidelberg, 1908), is on the whole disappointing, the natural consequence of its exceeding brevity,

viii+89 pages. But why put into the hands of those who are unable to judge for themselves a digest of facts given so inadequately that they are necessarily misleading? At times one cannot help wondering whether Scheel himself understood the facts. Thus (p. 34) it is stated: "Das *h* in *befehlen* ist ursprünglich—kein Dehnungszeichen, sondern ein stammhafter Konsonant, der aber gegenüber der älteren Form seine Stelle gewechselt hat (*befehle*:*befülhe*)."¹ The facts are that the *h* (as spirant) in the older form disappeared with the consequent lengthening of the vowel in the open syllable. But the statement in the book would lead the learner to assume that metathesis had taken place. Again, in discussing the change of older *i* to *ei*, it is said (p. 24): "Alte Formen erhielten sich noch in unbetonten Nebensilben: *Heinrich* gegen *Reichtum*." This should have been explained as the regular shortening in the unstressed syllable, as in *kindlich*:*gleich*. On page 46, *wir nahmen* is given as "die folgerichtig eingetretene Dehnung des Pluralis in offener Silbe," in spite of the fact that the vowel was here originally long: OHG *nānum*. These and similar loose statements make the book an unsafe guide.

Similarly dangerous are Heinrich Schröder's *Ablautstudien* (Heidelberg, 1910). This is the same Schröder who, in *PBB*, XXIX, 479 ff., reduced "movable *s*" to an absurdity; and, in his *Streckformen* (Heidelberg, 1906), drew more infixes out of the air than anyone before ever dreamed of. In these *Ablautstudien*, he refers to a base *stenak*(*ψ*) OHG *stincan*, ON *snaka*, *snylkr*, etc.; to *steyek* NHG *stauchen*, Du. *verzwikken*. Thus any consonant may be excluded so as to combine NHG *steuern*, *schwören*, *schwer*, *schwären*, Gr. *στύπαξ*, *ἔρμα*, *ῥπος*, *ῥπος*, *ῥπος*, etc.; Goth. *sniumjan*, "eilen," NHG *schwimmen*; MHG *smouch*, "smoke," OHG *swehhan*, "riechen," etc. In the entire book there are few combinations that are probable and many that are impossible. Such comparisons lead to utter confusion and are incapable of proof; to believe in their possibility would render linguistic research a futile occupation.

Professor Dr. Ernst Meyer, Wiesbaden, in his article on "Die deutschellettisch-litauische Sprachverwandtschaft" (*Mitteilungen*, No. 1, 1. Jahrgang), releases the vowels and consonants from all restraint and makes it possible to combine any word with any other. This article accompanies a catalogue of historical and linguistic books (Georg Neuner, Berlin) and would not deserve notice if it did not indicate a vicious tendency. One instance will suffice to show the method of the writer, who connects NHG *lieben*, *buhlen*, Gr. *φιλέω*, Lith. *mýliu*. This is the boldness born of ignorance.—F. A. W.

Shakspeare's Debt to Montaigne, by George Coffin Taylor, of the University of North Carolina (Harvard University Press, 1925), presents an imposing array of parallels between Florio's translation of Montaigne's *Essays* (1603), and the plays of Shakespeare written during the second half of his career. In the body of his work Professor Taylor prints and discusses a group of passages from the essays and the plays showing that Shakespeare seemingly echoed the thought and at times the phraseology of Florio's Montaigne, and

the appendixes contain a group of less significant passages and an astonishingly large number of phrases and words "in Florio's Montaigne used by Shakspeare only during 1603 and after." Though no new parallel so notable as the well-known one of *The Tempest* (II, i, 143-58) has been found, Taylor has brought together much evidence to show the kinship of these two great figures of the Renaissance who searched the complicated meanings of life more brilliantly than did any of their contemporaries and who certainly reflected frequently on the same problems. A large number of the parallels are found in *Troilus and Cressida* and in *Hamlet*, both of which most students regard as having been written before 1603. This raises a question as to whether after all most of the parallels are not due to a common inheritance of Renaissance ideas shared by Montaigne and Shakespeare. Evidence of contact between the two minds seems to me clearest in *King Lear* and *The Tempest*. But here apparently opposing points of view are revealed. Shakespeare stands firmly for the social and moral tenets and institutions which the Renaissance as a whole believed in, and he expresses his individual sympathies and antipathies without questioning the basis of the accepted social structure, whereas Montaigne, for all his humanistic leanings and conventions, is constantly undermining the foundations of Renaissance institutionalism. To my mind, both *King Lear* and *The Tempest* include definite attacks on the iconoclastic phases of contemporary philosophic thought as reflected in Montaigne, and it is probable that the reading of the essays influenced Shakespeare strongly in these two plays. Caliban seems a definite answer to Montaigne's glorification of primitive people in his essay "Of the Caniballes," and Gonzalo's use of Montaigne's passage on the ideal socialistic state of the Indians is made to involve a *reductio ad absurdum*, since Gonzalo "would be king on't." In connection with *King Lear* the passages that Taylor cites from the essayist on "the oppression of aged tyranny" indicate a lack of sympathy with old age, while the darkest pictures of villainy in Shakespeare represent youth's disregard of its obligations to age.¹ It is only just, however, to say that the other parallels between Montaigne and *King Lear* quoted by Taylor reveal a harmony between the two writers in their reflection on the paradoxes of life. Whether or not one agrees with Taylor as to the extent or nature of Montaigne's influence on Shakespeare, one must be grateful to him for his intensive study and his painstaking collection of material bearing on the relation of the two.—C. R. B.

¹ It is possible that Shakespeare's attention was called to the problems of aged tyranny and children's obligations by *The Old Law*, which was probably first acted in 1599. The ideas that Edmund ascribes to Edgar (I, ii, 47-57, 74-79) and other parts of *King Lear* seem to reflect that play as well as the whole essay of Montaigne under consideration here, "Of the affection of fathers to their children."

REVIEWS AND NOTICES

A Register of Bibliographies of the English Language and Literature.

By CLARK SUTHERLAND NORTHUP, with contributions by JOSEPH QUINCY ADAMS and ANDREW KEOGH. New Haven: Yale University Press; London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1925. Pp. 507.

"The present volume," writes Professor Northup in his Preface, "attempts to supply a full though not a complete list of the bibliographies of the language and the literature of the English-speaking peoples." It opens with a brief "Introduction" by Mr. Keogh (pp. 1-7) on "general reference works of interest and value to the student of English which do not specifically relate to the English language and belles-lettres." The *Register* itself is divided into two parts, headed respectively "General" (pp. 9-33) and "Individual Authors and Topics" (pp. 34-417). The second of these constitutes the heart of the work: it is an elaborate subject dictionary catalogue, in which the individual bibliographies are arranged alphabetically under the author, work, or topic to which they pertain. The great majority of the entries in this section are naturally of the "author" type; topical entries, however, are fairly numerous, and some of them—notably those on "American Literature," "Bibliography," "Drama," "Fiction," "Manuscripts," "Periodicals," "Poetry," "Printing and Publishing," "Translations," and "Travel"—amount to substantial bibliographies in themselves. The record in both parts is brought down to October 1, 1924, but there is an appendix of "Additions and Corrections" (pp. 419-49), which lists a few later items. An excellent index (pp. 451-507) closes the volume.

Those who are familiar with the earlier bibliographical work of Professor Northup, particularly his admirable *Bibliography of Thomas Gray*, will not need to be told that the *Register* has been prepared with a thoroughness that on many points at least is close to exhaustiveness. The original numbering of items runs to 5,680, but with all the additions and insertions (indicated by a system of decimal numeration), the final total cannot be far from 10,000.¹ It is beyond comparison the most extensive bibliography of bibliographies ever published for its special field. To say this, however, is to give but a very inadequate idea of the intelligent concern for the needs of scholars which Professor Northup has shown in its compilation. Especially praiseworthy is his extension of the term "bibliography" to include many types of publication—

¹ This total, however, includes the fairly numerous "additional entries."

histories, editions of texts, dissertations, articles and notes in periodicals—whose bibliographical value, not being obvious from their titles, is too often not realized by students. He has been no less commendably liberal in his decision as to what should be understood by "literature." Philosophers like Locke or James, scientists like Newton, statesmen like Jefferson, have interested him equally with novelists and poets, and contemporaries like James Joyce and Theodore Dreiser, equally with older and more established reputations. He has added greatly to the practical usefulness of the book, too, by supplying critical notes, many of them containing valuable lists of reviews, by giving full bibliographical descriptions, and by multiplying cross-references. The *Register*, in short, is an admirable instrument of work, in point of richness and variety of contents quite unrivaled in its class.

It has its shortcomings, of course. The arrangement of material, satisfactory on the whole, could undoubtedly have been improved in a number of respects. It will be a matter of regret to many, I believe, that Professor Northup did not give more weight in his general scheme of organization to considerations of chronology. This is done to excellent purpose in the article on drama; but nowhere else in the *Register*, so far as I have noticed, is any special provision made for readers whose primary concern might be to know what bibliographical guides exist for the systematic study of a particular literary period. The information can be gathered from Professor Northup's pages, to be sure, but only at the cost of a laborious search through Part I and the entries dealing with literary genres in Part II; it might easily have been made accessible in a more direct way through the insertion of a few additional headings (for example, "Colonial American Literature" or "The Restoration") and an increase in the number of cross-references. The treatment of material in the section headed "General" also seems to me open to criticism. As it stands, this part of the *Register* can be only a source of annoyance to the student. To begin with, it includes a large number of works which are every whit as specialized as many of those listed in the second part—bibliographies or studies of limited topics like Miss Brown's *The Political Activities of the Baptists and Fifth Monarchy Men in England during the Interregnum* (No. 32) or Miss Scott's *Elizabethan Translations from the Italian* (No. 204), or of particular periods like Arber's *Term Catalogues* (No. 9). Some of these works, it is true, are referred to under appropriate headings in Part II, and when this is the case no one can complain, though it is difficult to see why they should also have been allowed to occupy valuable space in Part I. Unfortunately, however, there are not a few items, no more "general" than these, which appear only in Part I. And here the mischief is serious, for who could be expected to look in the "general" section of a book like this for bibliographies on such special subjects as the relations of science and literature in the classical period (No. 60), medieval English historiography (No. 142), or southern American literature (No. 197)? Clearly one of two things should have been done: either the system of cross-references should have been made ex-

haustive or, better still, all the specialized items now listed in Part I should have been taken out and arranged under proper topical headings in Part II. The trouble with the general section, however, is not merely that it contains material that might more conveniently be placed elsewhere. An even more annoying circumstance is the fact that its highly miscellaneous contents are presented without the slightest attempt at classification. Bibliographies of bibliographies, dictionaries of authors, catalogues of libraries, trade bibliographies, lists of rare books, bibliographies of current publications, encyclopedias, lists of reference books, learned journals—all these varied types of tools are thrown together in one alphabetical list that runs to fifty or (if the Supplement is included) to fifty-six closely printed columns. Surely Professor Northup could have done better than this! To have grouped all the items of a single kind under an appropriate subhead would have cost him but little extra labor, and the resulting gain to the reader in ease of reference would have been immense.

The *Register*, again, rich in substance as it is, is not entirely free from regrettable omissions. That it realizes to a quite remarkable extent its professed aim of including "all items of real value," there can, I think, be little question, and it must of course be remembered, as Professor Northup reminds us in the Preface, that "the compilers have deliberately rejected some thousands of references which might have gone into the book." Still it is possible, after only a limited checking, to make up a fairly formidable list of oversights, some of them involving works of fundamental importance in their respective fields. Not all of the items that follow—a selection from a somewhat larger total that I have noted—are of this type; all of them, however, seem to me to have as good a right to inclusion in the *Register* as many of the items that are now there. I give them in the order and with the numbering which they would have in Professor Northup's scheme.

DOBELL, P. J. *Books of the Time of the Restoration, being a Collection of Plays, Poems, and Prose Works produced between the Years 1660 and 1700, by the Contemporaries of John Dryden*. London, 1920. [59.1

NEWBERRY LIBRARY, THE. *Book Arts*. Parts I and II. Chicago, 1919, 1920. [760.2

FLASDIECK, H. M. *John Brown (1715–1766) und seine "Dissertation on Poetry and Music."* Halle, 1924. [942.3

SPURGEON, CAROLINE F. E. *Five Hundred Years of Chaucer Criticism and Allusion (1367–1900)*. Cambridge, 1925. 3 vols. [1270.1

Originally issued for the Chaucer Society, 1914.

DOBELL, P. J. *John Dryden; Bibliographical Memoranda*. London, 1922. [1964.1

MCCULLOCH, J. R. *The Literature of Political Economy, a Classified Catalogue*. London, 1845. [2004.1

BARBEAU, A. In his *Une ville d'eaux anglaise au XVIII^e siècle: la société élégante et littéraire à Bath sous la Reine Anne et sous les Georges* (Paris, 1904), pp. 313–39. [2100.05

- BERNBAUM, ERNEST. *The Mary Carleton Narratives, 1663-1673*. Cambridge [Mass.], 1914. [2196.05]
- CAZAMIAN, MADELEINE L. In her *Le roman et les idées en Angleterre: l'influence de la science* (Strasbourg, 1923), pp. 455-72. [2203.2]
- HUGHES, H. S. "English Epistolary Fiction before *Pamela*." In *Manly Anniversary Studies* (Chicago, 1923), pp. 156-69. [2227.055]
- NEW BEDFORD, MASS. Free Public Library. *Catalog of English Prose Fiction*. New Bedford, 1895. [2240.05]
- SCHULTZ, W. E. *Gay's "Beggars' Opera": Its Content, History, and Influence*. New Haven, 1923. [2498.21]
- DOTTIN, PAUL. "A Chronological List of Gildon's Works." In his *Robinson Crusoe examin'd and criticis'd*. . . . (London and Paris, 1923), pp. 47-53. [2520.05]
- GRAVES, T. S. "On the Reputation of John Heywood." In *Modern Philology*, XXI (1923), 209-13. [2785.05]
- CLARK, A. M. "A Bibliography of Thomas Heywood." In *Proceedings and Papers of the Oxford Bibliographical Society*, I (1924), 97-153. [2786.2]
- BROOKE, TUCKER. "The Reputation of Christopher Marlowe." In *Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences*, XXV (1922), 347-408. [3508.15]
- DRAPER, J. W. In his *William Mason, a Study in Eighteenth Century Culture* (New York, 1924), pp. 337-65. [3540.1]
- GALLAND, RENÉ. *George Meredith and British Criticism (1851-1909)*. Paris, 1923. [3576.2]
- ROLLINS, H. E. "Martin Parker, Ballad-monger." In *Modern Philology*, XVI (1919), 449-74; cf. *ibid.*, XIX (1921), 77-81. [3848.1]
- AITKEN, G. A. "Notes on the Bibliography of Pope." In *Transactions of the Bibliographical Society*, XII (1914), 113-43. [4236.05]
- CASE, A. E. "Some New Poems by Pope?" In the *London Mercury*, X (1924), 614-23. [4237.05]
- SHERBURN, GEORGE. "Notes on the Canon of Pope's Works, 1714-20." In *Manly Anniversary Studies* (Chicago, 1923), pp. 170-79. [4244.1]
- BÖHME, TRAUGOTT. *Spensers literarisches Nachleben bis zu Shelley*. Berlin, 1911. [5056.1]
- JONES, R. F. In his *Lewis Theobald: His Contribution to English Scholarship* (New York, 1919), pp. 347-55. [5251.05]
- TREGASKIS, JAMES. [Editions of Thomson's *Seasons*.] In his *Caxton Head Catalogue*, No. 556, London, February, 1912. [5268.05]
- FOSTER, F. M. K. *English Translations from the Greek, a Bibliographical Survey*. New York, 1918. [5307.1954]
- HECHT, HANS. *Daniel Webb: ein Beitrag zur englischen Ästhetik des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts*. Hamburg, 1920. [5468.1]
- KITTREDGE, G. L. "Notes on Witchcraft." In *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, XVIII (1907), 148-212. [5594.12]
- NOTESTEIN, WALLACE. *A History of Witchcraft in England from 1558 to 1718*. Washington, 1911. [5594.13]

I have dwelt at perhaps too great length on the shortcomings of Professor Northup's book. Certainly it would be unfair to leave the impression that it

is not in all essentials a very admirable piece of work. Such defects as it has can easily be remedied in a second edition, and even as it stands it is bound to render services to students in all fields of English that will be literally incalculable.

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

RONALD S. CRANE

Lettres de Marie-Madeleine Pioche de La Vergne, Comtesse de La Fayette, et de Gilles Ménage. Publiées, d'après les Originaux, avec une Introduction, des Notes et un Index. By H. ASHTON, University of British Columbia, Vancouver, Canada. University Press of Liverpool, Ltd.; London: Hodder & Stoughton, Ltd., 1924. Volume I, "Publications of the Modern Humanities Research Association."

There are two hundred and two letters in this collection. One hundred and eighty-six are from the pen of the Comtesse, and all but four of them—one to M. de St. Pons, two to the Marquise de Sablé, one to Huet—were written to Ménage. His contribution consists of twelve letters in French and four in Latin.

In his Introduction (twelve pages) the editor gives brief accounts of the manuscript and of the relations between Mme de La Fayette and Ménage as seen through these letters, and concludes by an indication of their significance for a clearer comprehension of the real Mme de La Fayette.

About fifty of Madame's letters are very brief, and most of these are grouped together (CXI-CLV, pp. 121-37). It is not because their brevity renders them less interesting or important, but because there was no way of determining their date or sequence. The rest are dated and arranged in chronological order. The dating in most cases seems to have been based almost wholly upon internal evidence, and this arduous task seems to have been satisfactorily performed. The correspondence between the two principals begins, as the editor states in his Introduction, "shortly before her marriage," but it is evident that the letters here given, and dated from 1654 on, were preceded by others. In the first letter, for example, the Comtesse complains that his letters "viennent toujours beaucoup plus tard qu'elles ne devraient" (p. 23). After the first letter, "elle [la correspondance] est très suivie de 1655 à 1662 et reprend vers 1689 pour cesser quelques mois avant la mort de Ménage."

The footnote material, on the whole, is adequate, although at times giving an impression of meagerness. For example, on page 25, a M. de Sévigné of the text is identified in Note 1 as Renaud de Sévigné—only that and nothing more. A detail or two, or at least a reference to d'Haussonville or to the editor's own very satisfying treatment of this gentleman in his life of Mme de La Fayette (pp. 16 ff.), would have been serviceable to the uninitiated. This

criticism applies to a few other cases. The volume is also very fully indexed. One wonders, in passing, why the eleventh *Lettre Provinciale* is listed only under the designation given it in the text: *lettre des Jansénistes*.

As the editor points out in his Introduction, these letters have been quite abundantly cited by d'Haussonville in his *Mme de La Fayette* (1891 and 1896); also by André Beaunier in his *La Jeunesse de Mme de La Fayette* (1921), and by the editor himself in his *Mme de La Fayette* (1922). But this in no way detracts from the value and interest of this publication. These letters, read serially, present an interest and importance quite apart from that which they have when read separately and when used to back up some statement of a biographer. We follow in them from day to day, or rather from week to week, the preoccupations of a distinguished lady of the seventeenth century who was herself a *grande dame*, and at the same time a woman of letters; who was happy in her home, where she reigned as "absolute mistress," "adored" by her husband, of whom she was "very fond"; who was interested in what interested her and not so much in what interests us. There is much enthusiasm over *Le grand Cyrus* and *Clélie*, *les petits vers* of her correspondent and of other *beaux esprits*, over her studies, over social and occasional political events, and the vicissitudes of her health. There is no allusion to the Hôtel de Bourgogne or to the opera, no mention of Corneille, Molière, Racine, Boileau, or La Fontaine.

We are indebted to Professor Ashton for this publication, and to the Modern Humanities Research Association, which hereby begins auspiciously the series of its publications. We trust that it will not seem ungracious if we voice our regret that the editor did not see fit to join to his publication the limited number of other letters of Mme de La Fayette which are scattered through various *Recueils*, publications, and editions of the author's works: the thirteen letters to Mme de Sévigné published in *Les Oeuvres complètes de Mesdames de La Fayette, de Tencin et de Fontaines* (1820), II, 498 ff., along with the two or three score whose existence he has indicated in the *Bibliographie* at the end of his biography, pages 237 ff., Nos. 153-71.

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UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

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MODERN PHILOLOGY

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MODERN LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES

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